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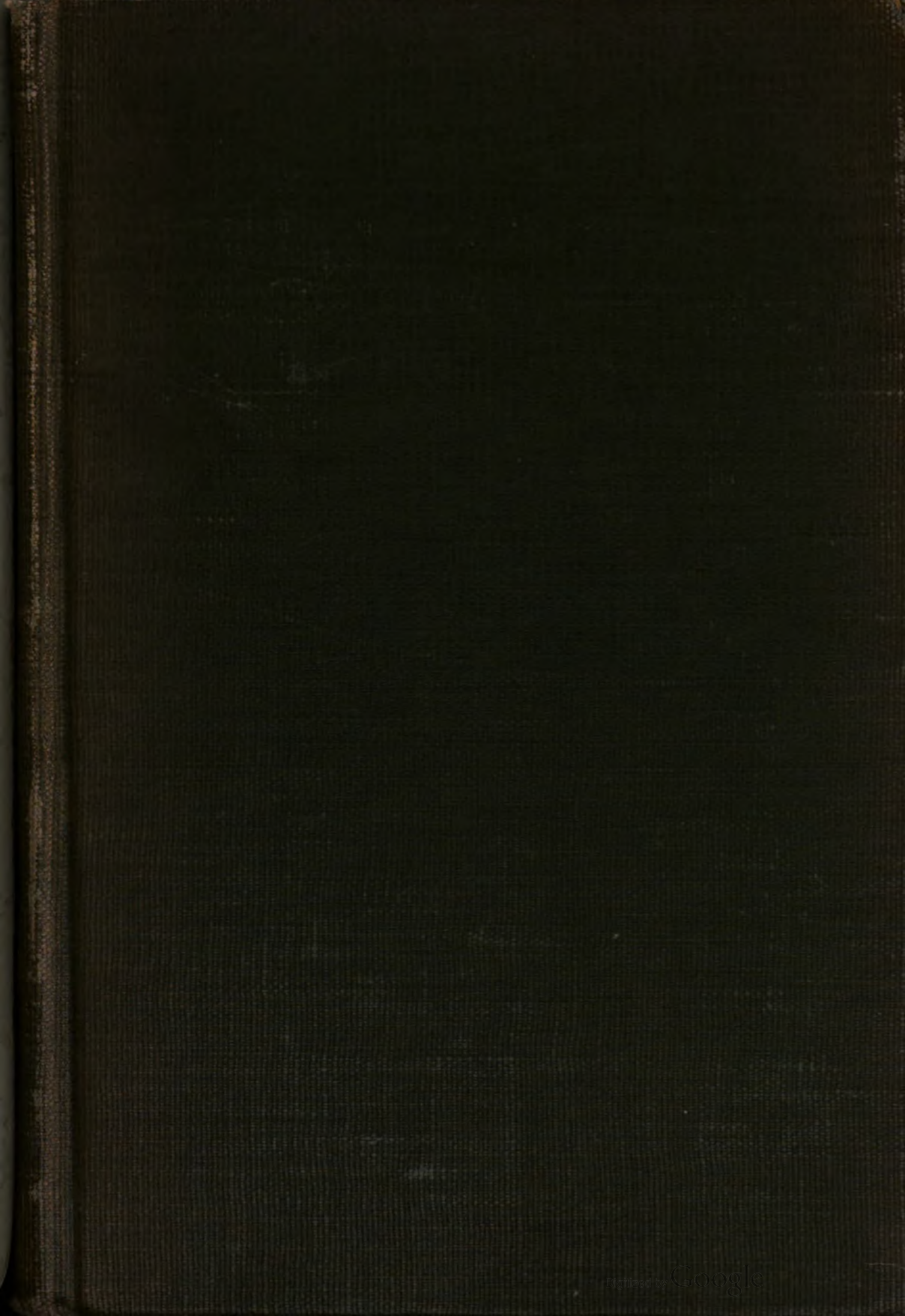


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THE JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

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THE BEOWULFIAN MAÐELODE

The *Beowulf* has twenty-six examples of a formula beginning "Bēowulf¹ (Hrōðgār, Wiglāf, Wulfgār, Unferð, Wealhðeo) maðelode." Of these, nine are represented by (a)

Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgðeowes;

two by (b)

Wiglāf maðelode, Wihstānes sunu;

and one by (c)

Unferð maðelode, Ecglafes bearn;

while three are represented by (d)

Hrōðgar maðelode, helm Scyldinga.

All under *a* and *d*, and one of those under *b*, immediately introduce a speech in the next line, and the same is true of

Wulfgār maðelode tō his winedrihtne (360);

Hrōðgār maðelode him on andsware (1840).

To these must be added one line with a quasi-parenthetical clause (1215):

Wealhðeo maðelode, heo fore ðām werede spræc.

Of the remaining ten lines, two (286, 2510) have a following hemistich before the speech begins; three (405, 2631, 2862), a line; one (348), a line and a half; two (925, 1687), two lines; one (2724), four lines; and one (499), six lines. The last mentioned (499-505), offering an extreme example of intercalated² matter, here follows from Klaeber's text³:

Unferð maðelode, Ecglafes bearn,
þē æt fōtum sæt frēan Scyldinga,

¹ Bēowulf (12), Hrōðgār (6), Wiglāf (3), Wulfgār (2), Unferð (1), Wealhðeo (1), weard (1).

² What Klaeber (*Beowulf*, p. lvi) calls "descriptive, characterizing, explanatory matter intruded between the announcement and the actual beginning of the speech."

³ Thus translated by Clark Hall: "Then Unferth, the son of Ecglafe, who sat at the feet of the lord of the Scyldings, spoke, and gave vent to secret thoughts of strife—the journey of Beowulf, the brave seafarer, was a great chagrin to him, for he grudged that any other man under heaven should ever obtain more glory on this middle-earth than he himself."

onband beadurūne—wæs him Bēowulfes stō,
 mōdges merefaran, micel æþrunca,
 forþon þe hē ne lþe þæt ænig oðer man
 æfre mārða þon mā middangeardes
 gehēde under heofenum þonne hē sylfa—
 “Eart þū sē Bēowulf,” etc.

If, now, we distinguish the formula which immediately introduces a speech as “pure,” it will be seen that we have sixteen of this sort to ten of the other, and that, of the latter, there are eight which intercalate no more than two lines, and, of these, five which intercalate no more than one line. These proportions are in marked contrast with those in two other poems frequently regarded as early—*Widsith*⁴ and *Genesis A*.⁵ In the *Widsith*, the first line,

Widsið maðolade, wordhord onlēac,

is followed by eight intercalated lines. In *Genesis A*, line 1820 is followed by three intercalated ones, or, if we count 1820^b, three and a half; 2892 is followed by one (one and a half).

The *Andreas*, which probably followed *Beowulf* somewhat closely,⁶ has no example of *maðelian*, though it has two occurrences of the kindred verb *mālan*, of which line 300 alone illustrates the usage signalized above. In the *Elene*, on the other hand, there are seven instances (out of nine) of the pure form (332 = 404, 573, 642, 655, 685, 807), though none of them falls under either *a*, *b*, *c*, or *d*; of the other form, that with intercalated matter, there is, besides 604 (quoted below), one (627) in which the bare noun and verb are followed by four and a half parenthetic lines. Worth our notice, for one reason or another, are such as these:

Elene maþelode, ond for eorlum spræc:	(332)
Elene maðelade him on andsware:	(642)
Elene maðelode þurh eorne hyge:	(685)
lūdas maþelode, glēaw in geþance:	(807)

⁴ Chambers (*Widsith*, p. 178) says: “*Widsith* seems to belong to a period . . . earlier than *Beowulf* or *Genesis*: that is, to the seventh century”; on the other hand, Holthausen (*Beowulf*, 4th edition, 2.30) calls *Widsith* an Anglian poem of the eighth century.

⁵ Klaeber (*Beowulf*, p. cxiii) believes: “One of the reasonably certain relations brought to light by a close comparison of various Old English poems is the influence on *Beowulf* of the extensive poem of *Genesis (A)*.”

⁶ See *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 26. 275-6.

Line 604, mentioned above, has a following hemistich which may be compared with one of a similar character in *Beowulf*:

Elene mǣlode tō þām ānhagan, (604)
tīrēadig cwēn:

Weard mǣlode, ðær on wige sæt, (Beow. 286)
ombeht unforht:

The chronological position of the *Riddles* is more or less conjectural, but Wyatt⁷ would assign them to the century of Cynewulf. In them there is only one example of our usage (38. (39.) 5), and that of the pure form:

Mon mǣlade, sē þe mē gesægde:

The date of *Waldere* is somewhat indeterminate; Holthausen (*Beowulf*, 4th edition, 2. XXIV-XXV) assigns the fragments of the manuscript to the tenth century, and the poem itself to the eighth or ninth. There is only one occurrence of our form, and that not pure (2.11-3):

Waldere mǣlode, wiga ellenrōf—
hæfde him on handa hildefrō[f]re,
gūðbilla gripe, gyddode wordum:

The influence of Old English poetry began, about the time of Cynewulf's death, to make itself felt on the Continent. The *Hildebrandslied*, existent only in a fragmentary state, is found in a manuscript of two leaves, written, probably at Fulda, about 820, but composed not far from 780. It is disputed whether it represents an Old Saxon original as transcribed into Old High German, or the converse. In any case, it exhibits a mixture of Low and High Germanic forms. A significant fact is that the letter *w* is represented by the runic form, *wēn*, as commonly in Old English.⁸ The three occurrences of the formula in this poem (14, 36, 54) are of the pure form (subdivision *b*, above), and are identical in Holthausen's restoration, except for the reading *suno* for *sunu* in 54:

Hadubrant gimahalta, Hiltibrantes sunu:

⁷ See his edition, p. xxxiii: "For most of the riddles, in the form in which they have come down to us, the best assignable date is the 8th century."

⁸ See Holthausen, *Beowulf*, 4th edition, 2. XXX, XXXII.

The Old Saxon *Heliand*, a poem of nearly 6000 lines, composed about 830, has four examples, no one of which is pure. They are as follows, from the text of Sievers' edition:

Zacharias the gimahalda, endi uuid selban sprac (139)
Drohtines engil:

Iohannes tho gimahalde, endi tegegnes sprac (914)
them bodun baldico: "Ni bium ic," quad he,
"that Barn Godes."

Petrus tho gimahalde, (3136)
helid hardmodig, endi te is Herron sprac,
grotte thene Godes Sunu: "God is it her te
uuesanne."

Thuomas gimalda—uwas im githungan mann, (3993 Cott.)
diurlic Drohtines thegan:

From an Old Saxon original comes the Old English *Genesis B*, two lines of which contain our verb, though neither illustrates the pure form, the first having eight whole lines intercalated, and the second a hemistich only, like *El.* 605, *Beow.* 287, above:

Satan maðelode; sorgiende spræc (347)
Adam maðelode, þær hē on eorðan stōd (522)

Then, on the very verge of the eleventh century, we come upon two instances in the *Battle of Maldon*, neither one pure:

Byrhtnōð maðelode, bord hafenode, (42)
wand wācne æsc, wordum mælde
yrre and ānræd, āgeaf him andsware:

Byrhtwold maðelode, bord hafenode, (309)
(sē wæs eald genēat), æsc ācwehte;
hē ful baldlice beornas lārde:

Finally, in the prose of the *Ancren Riwe* (ca. 1225), we encounter the latest instance of the verb.⁹

The earliest Germanic form of OE. *mæðel* is Gothic *maþl*, occurring in Ulfilas' version of Mark 7.4 as the rendering of the Greek ἀγορά, "forum, public place." From this comes *mapleins*,

⁹ Compare, in the *New Eng. Dict.*, the verbs *mathele*, *mele* (from *mælan*; see line 43 of the *Battle of Maldon*), *mell* (from *mæðlan*, *mæðlan*), etc. Of words kindred with *maðelian*, *Beowulf* has *mæðel* (-); *Andreas*, *mæðel* (-), *mæðel-*, *mæðlan*, *mælan*.

"speech," λαλιά, John 8.43, and *maþljan* (= OE. *maðelian*), "talk," λαλεῖν, John 14.20.

Here, then, is a point of contact between the group of Germanic words we have been discussing and the Greek ἀγορά, a word derived from the verb ἀγείρειν, "gather together." The order of the meanings of ἀγορά is this (Liddell and Scott): (1) assembly of the people (*not* council of the chiefs); (2) place of the assembly, forum; (3) public speaking. From this noun is formed the verb ἀγορεύειν, which Homer employs in two chief senses: (1) speak in the assembly, harangue, speak; (2) proclaim, declare, mention. If we now turn our attention to the Old English words, we see that Klaeber defines the Beowulfian *meðel* as "council, meeting"; *meðelstede* as "place of assembly"; *meðelword* as "formal word"; and *maðelian* as "speak, discourse, make a speech." Sweet (*Dictionary*) defines *maðel* as (1) meeting; (2) council; (3) harangue, talking; and *maðelian* as "harangue, speak, discourse, make a speech."

How has it come to pass that Ulfilas translated a group of related Greek words in their more colloquial, and, so to say, trivial meanings, while the author of *Beowulf* employs the same Germanic equivalents to render the same Greek words, or words of the same general signification, but this time with all their Homeric connotations, in their stately, formal, formulistic—in short, their epic—character? Even if we supposed the Old English vocabulary to be lineally descended from the Gothic, this would by no means account for the poetic nobleness with which the terms are invested by the Beowulfian poet and his English and Continental successors.

In the first place, then, *maðelian* bears an etymological analogy with the Homeric ἀγορεύειν; in the second place, it is used formulistically in the Homeric manner.

The Homeric formula for introducing a speech is normally, if not uniformly, of the "pure" character, that is, ends with the single line, and this is the predominant form in *Beowulf* (62 per cent), *Elene* (78 per cent), the *Riddles* (100 per cent), and the *Hildebrandslied* (100 per cent), though not in *Widsiþ*, *Genesis A*, *Waldere*, *Heliand*, *Genesis B*, nor *Maldon*. The formulistic line of Homer, when, besides naming a person, it designates him as the son of his father, resembles *a*, *b*, and *c*

above. Here is one, containing also the verb *ἀγορεύειν* (*Od.* 16.245):

Τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου παῖς, ἤρχ' ἀγορεύειν:

(Then among them Eurymachus, *son of Polybus*, was the first to speak:)

Again, *d*, and also *Beow.* 1840, is represented by a line like the following, though with a different verb (*Il.* 13.221):

Τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἴδομενεὺς, Κρητῶν ἀγός, ἀντίων ἤδα:

(Then Idomeneus, *leader of the Cretans*, answered him again:)

Like *Elene* 807, above, is *Il.* 1.253:

δ σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετίειπεν:

(He *with good intent* addressed their gathering, and spake among them:)

The foregoing correspondences between *Beowulf* and Homer are most naturally accounted for, I believe, by assuming an influence by Homer upon the author of *Beowulf*.¹⁰

Not only are *ἀγορά*, *ἀγορεύειν* paralleled by *maðel* (*meðel*), *maðelian*, but also by *ðing*, *ðingian*. In *Beowulf*, *ðingian* is found once in this sense (*Beow.* 1834, cf. 426), but not in the formula with which we have been dealing. In *Andreas*, where *maðelian* is not found, it occurs in *wið ðingode*, of the formulistic character, in 632 (cf. 263, 306), and similarly in *El.* 77; *Jul.* 260; in *ongēan ðingode* (*El.* 609; *Gu.* 210); and in *gēan þingade* (*Gen.* 1009).

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

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¹⁰ Cf. *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 25.336-343; 26.324-5; 28.1-20.

Another parallel which points in the same direction (but cf. Klaeber, *Archiv* 126.353, note 3) is the *folces hyrde* of *Beow.* 610, 1832, 1849, 2644, 2981 (*rices hyrde*, *Beow.* 2027, 3080), compared with the *ποιμήνα λαῶν* of *Il.* 10.3 (But Agamemnon, son of Atreus, *shepherd of the host*, sweet sleep held not). To this we may add the *kyninga wuldor* (MS. *kyningwuldor*) of *Beow.* 665 (cf. *Ap.* 991, 1413?), compared with the *μέγα κῆδος Ἀχαιῶν* of *Il.* 9. 673 ("Come, tell me now, Odysseus, greatly to be praised, thou *great glory of the Achaeans*"); *Od.* 3.79 ("Nestor, son of Neleus, *great glory of the Achaeans*"), etc.

ON THE RECEPTION OF RICHARDSON IN GERMANY

The novels of Samuel Richardson were translated into German promptly and frequently but not always well.¹ *Pamela*, which was finished in 1740, was translated in 1742 from the sixth English edition. A *Pamela* translation of 1763 and one of 1772 are also recorded.² All three of these editions have an unsigned "Vorrede" and a "Widmung" signed Leipzig, den Sten May 1743, Jacob Schuster. The book is dedicated to the Gräfin von Brühl. A comparison of the texts of the three editions shows that the variations that exist are slight, and the internal evidence points to revision rather than re-translation. The "Vorrede" states that the work became well known in Germany through the French translation, that a German translation was demanded by the public, that the translation seeks to be smooth rather than literal, and that the French translation was consulted from time to time during the progress of the work. The translator does not venture an opinion as to whether Richardson was the author of the letters or merely the editor. Various surmises have been made in regard to the translator of *Pamela*. The *Journal von und für Deutschland* speaks of Claudius as the second translator but it is obviously referring to *Leonore Schmidt*, an imitation of *Pamela* rather than a translation. (See footnote 8 below.) Goedeke seems to distinguish two translations of *Pamela*, noting IV, 1, p. 576 that Johann Mattheson translated *Pamela*, Leipzig 1742 and 1750, and adding: "Friedrich Schmit übersetzte die *Pamela* 1772." The University of Königsberg also regards F. Schmit as the translator of its copy of *Pamela* on the authority of Enslin-Engelmann in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*² I p. 327. The Prussian

¹For advice, for certain items of information regarding translation, and for aid in securing excerpts from his own and the Johns Hopkins Library I am indebted to Professor W. Kurrelmeyer. The "Auskunfts-bureau der deutschen Bibliotheken" has rendered me all possible service. Fr. M. Cossonneau of Leipzig has compared editions of *Pamela* for me and searched for criticisms in the Leipzig literary journals of the time.

²*Pamela oder die belohnte Tugend* . . . Leipzig, Jacob Schuster 1743; a copy in the University Library at Münster. The same, Leipzig and Liegnitz, David Siegert, 1763; a copy in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. The same, Leipzig and Liegnitz, David Siegert 1772; a copy in the University library at Königsberg.

Staatsbibliothek has assumed that Jacob Schuster was the translator on the strength of the "Whidmung" and to further complicate the question we have the statement of Kästner's biographer (*Abraham Gotthelf Kästners gesammelte poetische und prosaische schönwissenschaftliche Werke*, Berlin 1841, Theil IV, p. 203, footnote 3) that Kästner, in order to increase his income, participated in several undertakings of translation, among them *Pamela* and *Grandison*. These statements are not absolutely contradictory for there is no certainty that *Pamela* was translated by a single hand. The above mentioned "Vorrede" is assiduously indefinite on that point, using such phrases as "da man sich unsers Orts anheischig gemacht hat, sie in einer teutschen Kleidung erscheinen zu lassen, so erfüllet man damit sein Versprechen," and "Man versichert den geneigten Lesser, dass man es an keinem Fleisse habe ermangeln lassen." If a single translator had rendered the entire work he would have been more likely to announce himself and assume responsibility as did Kosegarten for his *Clarissa* of 1790 mentioned below.

Clarissa began to appear in England in 1747. Michaelis of Göttingen began his translation in 1748,³ but became discouraged in 1749 and allowed another to finish it. Two new translations of *Clarissa* saw the light in 1790. The authorship of the Manneheim *Clarissa* is in doubt.⁴ One of the translations of *Clarissa* was Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten.⁵ From all the indicators may have been Christian Heinrich Schmid. The probabilities regarding this will be discussed later. The translator of the Leipzig *Clarissa* was Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten.⁶ From all the indications it would appear that there were two translations of *Grandison*, the first one begun in 1754,

³ *Geschichte der Clarissa, eines vornehmen Frauenzimmers. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.* Göttingen 1748-51, VII 8vo. (See Goedeke² IV, 1, p. 576). The authorship of the concluding part is discussed later, on p. 21 of this essay.

⁴ *Klarissa oder Geschichte eines jungen Frauenzimmers, aus dem Englischen des Richardson.* Mannheim, Schwan und Götz, 1790f. XVI 8vo. "Probe vorher in Reichards *Bibliothek der Romane*" 1785, 12, 257ff. Goedeke² VII, p. 716 and Goedeke² IV, 1, p. 576 attributes this in part to Christian Heinrich Schmid. See text p. 31.

⁵ *Clarissa, Neu verdeutscht, und Ihro Majestät der Königin von Grossbritannien zugeeignet* von Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten. Leipzig in der Gräffschen Buchhandlung 1790ff, VIII, 8vo. (See Goedeke² VII, p. 716).

a year after its publication in England⁶ and the second one in 1789.⁷ The identity of the earlier translator is a matter of conjecture. One German bookseller offered the work recently as the translation of "J. D. Michaelis?" The copy from the private library of R. M. Meyer was offered as the translation of Joh. Matthison. Both these indications presumably are surmises. It seems particularly unlikely that Michaelis would have undertaken the translation of *Grandison* after his unfortunate experience with *Clarissa*. The author of an article entitled "Über die verschiedenen Verdeutschungen von Richardsons *Clarissa*" in the *Journal von und für Deutschland* IX (1792) refers (p. 17) to the fact that "der von dem Gottschedianer Schwabe . . . schlecht übersetzte *Grandison* zu wiederholtenmalen gedruckt worden ist." This definite statement from a writer who seems to be rather well informed is more deserving of credence than the conjectures just mentioned. The same author says later (p. 22) that *Grandison* has been retranslated more recently by an anonymous person. This writer as well as a reviewer of the 1789 *Grandison*⁷ in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1790, 2, p. 71, knows only of two translations of Richardson's last novel. Texte in his *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris 1909) offers no support for his assertion (p. 178): "Gellert traduit *Pamela* et *Grandison*." Clara L. Thomson in her *Samuel Richardson* also attributes a translation to Gellert (p. 285) but indicates neither date nor place, and in her list of translations and adaptations (p. 292f.) includes no German translation of Richardson and only one German novellistic adaptation, namely, *Grandison der Zweite*. It is possible that the statement regarding Gellert is an error based on the fact that he made reference to the novels of Richardson in his lectures and possibly offered incidental

⁶ *Geschichte Herrn Carl Grandison. In Briefen entworfen von dem Verfasser der Pamela und der Clarissa. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.* Leipzig 1754-59 VII, 8vo. Leipzig 1770 VII, 8vo. (Schwabe?). (See Goedeke² IV, 1, p. 576 and Lessing *Sämtliche Schriften* ed. Lachmann-Muncker, V, p. 398f. and 433, VII, p. 18f.). *Die allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 1790 II, also attributes the first translation to Schwabe.

⁷ *Karl Grandison nach dem Englischen des H'n Richardson in vier Bänden.* Dresden und Leipzig, Breitkopf (Richter) 1789, II, 590 u. 588 pp. 8vo. Translator unknown. (See Goedeke² IV, 1, p. 576; cf. Goedeke² VII, p. 716 Cf. *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1790, 2, p. 71-82).

translations of them in connexion therewith, or it may be based on the fact that he was Richardson's first imitator in Germany.^{7a} He wrote his *Geschichte der schwedischen Gräfin von G.* in 1749 under an impulse derived from *Pamela* and just too soon to profit by the example of *Clarissa*.

Those who found the complete Richardson too long or too tedious were served by abridgments and adaptations. *Pamela* was renamed *Leonore Schmidt*⁸ and *Clarissa*, *Albertine*;⁹ and all the main characters of Richardson were included in Streit's *Die Wege der Tugend*.¹⁰ For that perhaps comparatively small portion of the public which cared more for Richardson's moralizings than for his romances still another work was provided. Richardson published in London in 1755 his *Collection of the moral and instructive sentiments, maxims, cautions, and reflections contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison digested under their proper heads . . .*, and these were duly translated into German by Christian Felix Weisse.¹¹

^{7a} That Gellert really translated *Grandison* is evinced by a letter of Er. Reich, Librarian at Leipzig, to Richardson, dated Leipzig May 10, 1754. See *Correspondence of Richardson*, edited by Anna L. Barbauld 5, 297. Gellert himself mentions his *Grandison* in his famous Husarenbrief, Werke 8. 262 (Klee). (*Graf Dohna*), "der alle meine Schriften, selbst den *Grandison*, auswendig wuste." See also Lessing's announcement of the translation 4,483 (Lachmann). —Editor.

⁸ *Leonore Schmidt, Nach Richardsons Pamela.* Leipzig 1789-91, II, 330 u. 362 S. (See Goedeke³ IV, 1, p. 625) by Georg Karl Claudius, who wrote under the name of Franz Ehrenberg.

⁹ *Albertine, Richardsons Clarissen nachgebildet, und zu einen Lehrreichen Lesebuche für deutsche Mädchen bestimmt.* 5 Th. Berlin 1788f., 382 S. 8vo. by Friedrich Schulz. *Die allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* LXXXVIII, 2, (1789) 162-164 reviews Parts I, II and III of this work. Neue Auflage *Clarisse in Berlin*, 5 Th. Berlin 1797, 8vo. (See Goedeke³ IV, 1, p. 9321. Schiller wrote to Körner April 25, 1788, that the work was "Sehr lesbar ausgefallen." See Jonas, Fritz, *Schillers Briefe*, Stuttgart, etc., 1892, III, 51.

¹⁰ *Die Wege der Tugend oder die Geschichte der berühmten Pamela, der Clarissa Harlowe und des Ritters Carl Grandisons ins Kleine gebracht.* Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Freidrich Wilhelm Streit, Altenburg 1765, II 8vo. "im Kleinen entworfen," Altenburg 1769-76, III, 8vo. (See Goedeke³ IV, 1, p. 567).

¹¹ *Sammlung der gemeinnützigen Lehren, Warnungen und moralischen Anmerkungen aus den Werken des Herrn Sam. Richardson, Verfassers der Pamela, Clarissa and Grandisons.* Leipzig 1777. (*Journal von und für Deutschland* IX (1792, p. 17). cf. *Richardson's Sittenlehre für die Jugend in den auserl. äsop.*

Of all three of Richardson's novels French translations appeared, not only in France but in Germany¹² as well; and at least of the first two, French continuations and imitations¹³ were published, while Grandison's name lived on in Musaeus's *Grandison der Zweite*,¹⁴ later called *Der deutsche Grandison*.¹⁵ Naturally, the Anti-Richardson literature was also known in Germany, and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) was duly translated,¹⁶ and of it, too, a German adaptation was forthcoming.¹⁷

Except for Voltaire's *Nanine* (1749) the French attempts to dramatize Richardson's themes were unsuccessful. The ill-starred dramatizations of the *Pamela* theme by Boissy and Nivelles de la Chaussée may not have been widely known in Germany. In Germany such dramatizations pleased the public. A translation of Goldoni's *Pamela nubile* (1750) was published

Fabeln. . . . Leipzig 1757. See *Lessing's sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann-Muncker, VII, 73.

¹² *Pamela*, Frankfurt 1770, and *Clarissa*, Winterthur 1787. *Grandison*, Leipzig 1764. See Heinsius *Bücherlexicon* IV, 157, 43, 90. Of *Clarissa*, translated by the Abbé Prévost, a "Nachdruck" appeared in Dresden 1751 ff. See *Göttlingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1751, p. 605.

¹³ *Histoire de Pamela en liberté, suite de la Pamela angloise*. Frankfurt 1770; See Heinsius, IV, 157. *La nouvelle Clarisse* II, 12mo. by Madame de Beaumont, Leipzig, Weidmann, 1767; in German translation 2 Th. 8vo. Leipzig Weidmann 1768; Heinsius, *Bücherlexicon* IV, p. 43. The heroine of this novel escapes from her harsh parents. The author makes it clear that a girl who does this must belong to the first protector who espouses her cause. In this case the protector is a French wig-maker. They escape to France and take up an abode in the country. Clarissa starts many idle countrywomen into profitable employment by letting them make over her wardrobe. She is ably assisted by her husband, who, it seems, was a French nobleman in disguise. See the review signed W1, in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* IX, 2 (1769) p. 262f., cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* XXIX (1776) 303-304.

¹⁴ *Grandison der Zweite oder Geschichte des Herrn von N*. Eisenach, 1760-62, 3 Theile.

¹⁵ *Der deutsche Grandison, auch eine Familiengeschichte*. Eisenach, 1781, 2 Theile.

¹⁶ Danzig 1745, Heinsius IV, 16. A reprint of the English *Joseph Andrews*. Dresden 1783. The *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* LXIX 2, (1786) 404, calls attention to a new translation, which it designates as the fifth.

¹⁷ *Fieldings komischer Roman in vier Theilen*. Berlin 1765. This was a version of *Joseph Andrews* with new names for the characters. The names indicate that this adaptation goes back to a French source. Cf. Kurrelmeyer in *Modern Language Notes* XXXIII (1918) 468-471. Clark, *Fielding und der deutsche Sturm und Drang*, Freiburg 1897, p. 2.

in Wien in 1765,¹⁸ but the comedy was played by the Ackermann company in Strassburg and elsewhere as early as 1761.¹⁹ *Clarissa* was dramatized in the play called *Clarissa ein Trauerspiel*, by Steffen (Zelle 1765), and perhaps in *Claryein Schauspiel* (Frankfurt 1770), to judge by the title. Echoes of *Clarissa* are to be found in *Miss Sara Sampson* and *Emilia Galotti* and in *Die Mätresse* of Lessing's brother Karl. Even *Grandison* gave rise to a dramatic attempt, Wieland's *Clementina von Porretta* (1760), but to mention all such instances would carry us too far.

To return to the novels of Richardson: *Pamela* seems to have attracted but little attention in Germany at the time of its appearance. Bodmer included it in his list of recommended reading in the *Mahler der Sitten* (1746). Gottsched may have proposed this newly published novel for the list as has been suggested.²⁰ The mere inclusion of the title, under whatever circumstances, does not justify Texte in saying: "*Les discours des peintres s'enflammaient pour ce pieux roman.*"²¹ The work is never again referred to in the *Discourse*. Neither does Gottsched seem to have lent vigorous public support to Richardson at the outset, tho his later opinions were favorable. In 1750 he commended Voltaire's *Nanine*, referring to the fact that it was based on Richardson's *Pamela*.²² In 1756 he called favorable attention to Richardson's *Collection of moral and instructive sentiments*,²³ and still later (1762) he agrees with a Danzig journal in attributing Fielding's greater popularity to the

¹⁸ *Pamela, ein Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen, dem italienischen nachgeahmt*. Wien 1765. In this play Goldoni makes it appear that Pamela was, unknown to herself, of noble birth. Goldoni later wrote a *Pamela maritate*, the plot of which was his own invention. In 1764 a German version of this was published in Wien under the title *Die verehelichte Pamela*.

¹⁹ See the Strassburg *Sammler* 1761, p. 76.

²⁰ Wood, A. *Der Einfluss Fieldings auf die deutsche Literatur*. Heidelberg Diss. Yokohama 1895 p. 1, footnote. Wood quotes Koberstein's *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*³ vol. V, p. 88, Anm. 9 to this effect. The assertion seems to be withdrawn from later editions. See Koberstein *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur*⁴ vol. II p. 281.

²¹ Texte, J. *Jean Jacques Rousseau et les origines . . . littéraire*. Paris 1909, p. 178. *Die Mahler der Sitten* was the name given to the second edition of the *Discourse der Mahlern* (1722-23).

²² *Neue Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*. Band. X, p. 72.

²³ *Das neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit* 1756, p. 717.

frivolity of the reading public.²⁴ Haller coincides with this explanation in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.²⁵ In his last years Gottsched expatiated at length upon the merits of *Grandison*, but this was in a private letter which will be quoted later.

Our best witness to the comparatively cool reception of *Pamela* is the poet Brockes. Himself an enthusiastic admirer of the novel, he is pained and grieved at the indifference of even some of his enlightened fellow citizens. Virtue was once a cold abstraction. Thru *Pamela* it became visible to men, he said in his *Lobgedichte auf die Pamela*:

Das, was man, von der wahren Tugend, in hundert tausend Büchern lehret,
Wird, durch der Pamela Betragen, auf eine solche Weis' erklärt,
Dass der nicht nur kein tugendhaftes, kein menschliches Herz im Busen hegt,
Den diese tugendhafte Schöne zur Tugendliebe nicht bewegt.

* * *

Die Tugend war den Sterblichen, doch nur dem Namen nach, bekannt,
Bis sie, uns Menschen zu beglücken, beschloss, zu uns herab zu steigen,
Und uns, mit allem ihren Reiz, sich in der Pamela zu zeigen.²⁶

Pamela teaches the fear of God, humility, respect for parents, love, charity, duty, and all the other essential virtues.

Kurz: will ein jeder auf der Erden
Vergnügt, geehrt, geliebet werden;
Die Lehr' ist, nebst dem Beyspiel, da;
Man les' und folge Pamela.²⁷

Such a book as this can well supplant the learned disquisitions of the philosopher.

Wenn auch Wolf gleich sagen möchte:
Wisse menschliches Geschlechte,
Dass nur ich dein Lehrer bin;
Spricht das menschliche Geschlechte
Doch zur Pamela mit Rechte:
Du bist unsre Lehrerin!²⁸

But alas! many human beings seem to remain unconvertible,

²⁴ *Ibid* 1762, p. 304. The Danzig journal is called *Sammlung für den Geist und das Herz*, 1762 ff.

²⁵ *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1750, p. 123, see footnote 47.

²⁶ Brockes *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* 9 Bde. Hamburg 1721-48 Bd. IX, p. 554.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 555.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 556.

Da, seit die Pamela geschrieben.
Die Menschheit, wie sie war, geblieben.²⁹

To leave unread such books as *The Seasons* and *Pamela* is an impiety.

Wofern man diese nicht gebrauchet, und sich aus ihnen nicht belehrt
Wird, in der Pamela, die Tugend, im Thomson, die Natur verachtet.³⁰

Yet there are many even of the more educated classes who neglected the work. There was the "Bücherfreund," whose library contained the best works of ancient and modern times on the subject of virtue,

Allein war diess gleich alles da,
So blieb doch eins, ach eins! vergessen:
Ihm fehlte ja so viel, als er bisher besessen;
Ihm fehlte Pamela.³¹

There was the "petit maître" who said: "Oter moi la Pamela! C'est un livre dangereux,"³¹ and another disparager who said:

Ich habe es noch von meinen Ahnen,
Ich meid' und hasse die Romanen.
Drum hass' ich auch die Pamela.³²

To the latter Brookes replies with righteous indignation:

Ist dieses eines Ochsen Stimme?
So dacht' ich, im gerechten Grimme,
Als ich den groben Irrthum sah.
Sind Cyrus, Sethos, Cleveland
Und Telemach dir nicht bekannt?
Ist, was darinn für Weisheit steckt,
Dir Unglückselgen nicht entdecket?
So bist du freylich schlecht daran,
Und alles, was ich sagen kann,
Ist, dass du wirklich zu beklagen.
Allein, was soll ich weiter sagen?
Da du die Pamele nicht kennest,
Und ihr nicht deinen Beyfall gönnest,
Vermehret sich dein Unstern noch.³²

Ignorance is the only excuse for such a remark:

Denn hättest du sie einst gelesen,
So dächt ich, wärst du auch ein Vieh,
Du achtetest und ehrtest sie.³²

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 542.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 558.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 555.

Then there was a worthy member of the clergy who supposed that the book might be beautiful, but it could not be used in his sermons for in it there was nothing concerning "Gnade." At Brockes' request he consented to read it and did so.

Sprach er: Ich hätte es nicht gedacht.
Ich hab, in Lesung dieser Schrift, so viel Vergnüglichkeit genossen;
Mich deucht: es sey die Gnade selbst von diesem Buch nicht ausgeschlossen.²²

Pamela converted a misanthrope to brotherly love:

Ich bin vordem ein Menschenfeind,
So gut als Timon selbst, gewesen.
Seit ich die Pamela gelesen,
Bin ich ihr, und der Menschen, Freund.²³

To a lesser degree the reading of Pamela had a similar influence on Brockes's own view of man:

Seit ich die Pamela gelesen,
Kömmt, nebst dem Bau der Erden, mir
Die ganze Menschheit schöner für,
Als mir dieselbe sonst gewesen.
An Voll- und Unvollkommenheiten
Hat jedes Ding bey uns zwo Seiten.
Vorhero sah ich jedermann
Von seiner schlimmen Seiten an:
Jetzt wird mein Blick, von ihr belehrt,
Meist auf die gute hingekehrt.²⁴

Yet in spite of the earnest recommendation of Brockes the novel failed apparently to become popular in the highest degree, for Brockes is compelled to demand:

Sprich, deutscher Witz, sprich, deutsche Tugend, was ist, das dich hinfort erregt!
Sieht Pamela seit dreyen Jahren sich doch kaum einmal aufgelegt!

It remained for *Clarissa* to captivate the German public and win the praise of the impressionable as well as the deliberate critics. To the former belonged Gerstenberg, among whose papers an ecstatic cantata entitled *Clarissa Harlowe* has recently been found.²⁵ In an opening "Phantasie" Clarissa relates her passion for Lovelace and her disaster, and submits to the will of God. Lovelace interrupts, demanding of Belfort admission

²² *Ibid.* p. 557.

²³ Published by Albert Malte Wagner in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* CXXXIV (1916) p. 3-7. Cf. A. M. Wagner, *Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg und der Sturm und Drang I*, Heidelberg 1920, p. 52.

to the chamber where Clarissa lies dying. While he is being detained he has a vision:

Der alte Drach im Schwefel-Pfule
 Rauscht wild, rauscht fürchterlich
 In seinen Ketten, erhebt sich
 Laut donnernd von dem Flammen-Stuhle
 Und sträubt den gelben Kamm
 Schnell hascht er einen Verdammten, und spricht:
 Wolf! erwürgtest du nicht
 Jenes unschuldvolle Lamm?

The presence of Lovelace in the vicinity disturbs Clarissa's dying moments. She forgives Lovelace and urges him to turn toward God. Norton and Miss Howe finally bewail the death of their mistress and friend in a somewhat antiphonal fashion.

Norton

Sie war der Schmuck der Welt, der Menschheit Ehre!
 Für uns, für uns zum Muster aufgestellt!
 Sie war der Stolz und Schmuck der Welt!

Miss Howe

Wie vom Orkan entblättert, zerrissen
 Die Erstgebohrne des May, die junge Rose fällt:
 Weh uns, so fiel die Zierde der Welt.

This colorful poem has only recently been published while a rather tame and conventional poem, *Clarissa*, was included in his *Vermischte Schriften* (1815f).

The chief herald of Richardson in Germany was Haller in Göttingen. Even Gellert accorded him this distinction and called the attention of his students to Haller's criticism and praise of *Clarissa* which, he said, "in ganz Deutschland unter den grossen Gelehrten nur ein Haller hat verfertigen können."³³ Gellert's own commendation is a little more reserved: "Es giebt leere und freie Stunden, in denen wir diese Werke ohne Vorwurf und mit vielem Nutzen lesen können."³³ He refers here specifically to *Clarissa* and *Grandison*. *Pamela*, which he had imitated, is not mentioned at all. In Gellert's *Beschwester* (1745) II, 1, one of the characters to be sure says: "Die *Pamela* ist ein sehr guter Roman, der die Unschuld und Tugend liebenswürdig zu machen sucht."

³³ Gellert, *Moralische Vorlesungen in sämtliche Schriften neue verbesserte Auflage*, Leipzig 1784. Bd. VI, p. 258. Cf. footnote 44.

Haller's commendation, moreover, does not set in strongly until the appearance of *Clarissa*. Haller recognized not only the moral values of Richardson's novels but the accuracy of their observation as well. The scientist as well as the moralist speaks in these criticisms. For this reason, perhaps, he is one of the few German critics who was able to admire Richardson without entirely condemning his rival Fielding, tho to be sure the "niedere Auftritte" and the "lächerlich-heroische Schreibart" placed *Tom Jones*, in his mind, on a lower plane than *Clarissa*, but, he says:

Herr Fielding besitzt eine grosse Kenntniss des menschlichen Herzens. Nur gehört er zu den Mahlern, die lieber getreue, als schöne Gemälde liefern, und es für keinen Fehler ansehen, der Gegenstand sey auch schon hässlich, wenn nur die Aehnlichkeit getroffen ist. Er ist ein flämischer Mahler.³⁴

Beginning with 1748 Haller makes use of the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* to commend the novels of Richardson. The discussion of novels, to be sure, is not the ordinary function of learned journals, but Haller demands that an exception be made in this case.³⁵ For him the letter-form, tho necessary, is a defect, for it is unlikely that a girl in a time of great peril, when she was under the constant observation of her oppressors, would find time and opportunity to write extensive letters describing her emotions.³⁶ Nevertheless, he regards *Clarissa* as "ein Meisterstück in der Abschilderung der Sitten, der Art zu denken und sich natürlich und dennoch wizig auszudrücken,"³⁷ as "ein Muster der neuesten, reinsten, und zugleich der wizig-

³⁴ Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst* ed. Heinzmann. 2 vols. Bern 1787; vol. I. p. 62. Cf. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (G.G.A.) 1750, p. 123. It is known that several of the reviews of Richardson in the G.G.A. are by Haller and it is therefore assumed that the others are by him as well. Haller's own set of the G.G.A. is now possess by the Berne Stadtbibliothek which favors us with information as follows: H. means that the passage is signed by Haller, O that it is not signed, X that it is included in Haller's *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen*, Berne 1787. 1750, p. 610 lacks the H but has corrections in Haller's hand. 1748, 274-275, O; 1748, 659, O; 1749, 201-203, X; 1749, 570, O; 1750, 123, O; 1750, 610, H; 1750, 898, O; 1751, 605, O; 1752, 550, O; 1752, 1047, O; 1753, 1352, H; 1755, 161, H; 1761, 120, 0; 1765, 87-88, H.

³⁵ G.G.A. 1748, p. 274 and 1755, I p. 161.

³⁶ G.G.A. 1749, p. 201 and 202.

sten und blumenreichsten englischen Schreibart."³⁷ He prefers *Clarissa* as a character to *Pamela*.

Sie ist noch viel wiziger, sie verfällt nicht in ernsthafte und trockne Regeln, sie hat insbesondere keine solche Fehler wieder die Schaamhaftigkeit vorzuwerfen, als wohl die *Pamela* bey ihrer sonst guten Absicht sich zur Last hat legen lassen müssen.³⁸

The novel too is superior. The absence of all unplausible adventure is especially commended.³⁹ "Die Charaktere sind zahlreicher, lebhaft abgemalt, vollkommen wohl erhalten, und durch der Personen eigene Reden wizig und dennoch natürlich ausgedruckt."³⁸ or "durch ihre Ausdrücke, Vorhaben und Thaten abgemahlt."⁴⁰ Their characteristics are consistently maintained thruout the work and even their styles of writing are so precisely differentiated, "dass wir es eben nicht für schwerr halten, bey einer jeden Seite zu sagen, welche Person den Brief geschrieben habe."³⁹ It goes without saying that Haller approves of the moral lesson of *Clarissa*: parents should not coerce their children to unwelcome marriages, and young women should not give their love to dissolute admirers in the hope of bringing about a reformation of their characters.³⁹

Regarding the most realistic and tragic scenes of *Clarissa* there was difference of opinion among critics and poets. Uz wrote to Gleim that he found the conclusion of the novel unjustifiably sad.⁴¹ Haller suggests in 1750: "Das der *Clarissa* begegnete und für ein so himmlisches Frauenzimmer fast alzu demütigende Unglück ist vielleicht die Ursache, worum in Frankreich ein sonst so ausnehmendes Buch noch keinen Eingang gefunden hat,"⁴² and he is no doubt right for when the Abbé Prévost the next year translated it he diluted it at the expense of just such passages. Diderot objected to this procedure in his *Éloge*⁴³ written at the time of Richardson's death,

³⁷ G.G.A. 1748, 274.

³⁸ G.G.A. 1749, 201-202.

³⁹ G.G.A. 1748, 659.

⁴¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Uz*. Hrsg. Schüddekopf, *Bibliothek des lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, CCXVIII (1899) p. 233.

⁴² G.G.A. 1750, 610.

⁴³ Translation in the *Hamburger Unterhaltungen* Bd. I (1776) p. 118. Haller comments on Diderot's *Éloge* and agrees with him in regard to the suppression of harrowing passages, G.G.A. 1765, 88.

and published in the *Journal étranger* early in 1762. The same journal published a translation by Suard, the editor, of the account of Clarissa's funeral which had hitherto been thought too sad for the endurance of the French readers.

The German admirers of Richardson were chiefly of Diderot's opinion. Gellert confessed: "Ich habe ehemals über den siebenten Theil der *Clarissa* und den fünften des *Grandisons* mit einer Art von süßer Wehmuth einige der merkwürdigsten Stunden für mein Herz verweinet; dafür danke ich dir noch jetzt, Richardson!"⁴⁴ Haller approves of the ruthlessness with which Clarissa's story is related, first upon a moral ground: It serves to impress the lesson so much more effectively⁴⁵; and later upon an esthetic ground: "Es ist . . . wie eine Dissonanz in einer künstlichen Music, die das nachfolgende vortreffliche erhöht."⁴⁶ He also makes the point here that the story is inextricably connected "mit dem alzuwahren Verderben, das in London regieret."⁴⁷ Is he basing this assertion upon his own brief period of observation during four weeks in London, August 1727, or on the more extensive experience of his colleague at Göttingen, Michaelis?

The first German translation of *Clarissa* was published by Vandenhoeck and began to appear in Göttingen in 1748. Simultaneously with it a French translation was appearing in Holland.⁴⁸ This French translation was the occasion of Haller's most extensive laudatory account which appeared in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* of Amsterdam.⁴⁹ The praise of the

⁴⁴ Cf. footnote 33.

⁴⁵ *G.G.A.* 1749, 202.

⁴⁶ *G.G.A.* 1750, 610.

⁴⁷ *G.G.A.* 1750, 123.

⁴⁸ *G.G.A.* 1749, 201.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* 1749, Tome XLII, p. 325ff. Haller's criticism in this journal was translated in the *Gentleman's magazine* XIX (1749) 245-246 and 345-349. It is from the latter that Haller's opinions are quoted above. Haller's name is not attached to the translation. He is variously referred to as the French author and the ingenious foreigner. There is no doubt regarding Haller's authorship of the review, however. Part of it is included in Zimmernamn's *Hallers kleine Schriften* I 292ff. The fulsome praise is not quite satisfactory to the *Gentleman's magazine* for Haller concludes with certain objections to details in the narrative. The *Gentleman's magazine* devotes several pages to the task of overruling his objections. According to Hirzel the defence was written by Richardson himself. See Albrecht von Hallers *Gedichte*, Frauenfels 1882, p. cccxiii in *Bibliothek älterer*

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen was repeated and some considerations were particularly addressed to the French public. "All the readers we know," Haller says, "concur in giving it (*Clarissa*) the first rank among romances." The French, he says, may indeed take exception to this judgment, but French novels for the most part are no more than the presentations of the illustrious actions of illustrious persons. All the incidents of private life are suppressed. The hero only is exhibited, a being who has neither wants, nor manners, nor virtues, nor vices in common with the rest of mankind. His characteristics are courage, generosity, constancy, devotion. Who can but smile to see Cyrus fill Asia with his conquests only in search of his mistress. Marivaux, to be sure, has endeavored to bring his countrymen back to nature. His *Marianne* and his *Paysan parvenu* are paintings after life. In these the author speaks less and his characters more but his genius could not wholly cure himself of the fashion, nor did he dare to entertain his countrymen with private and domestic occurrences.

Haller approaches the conclusion with a defence of the middle-class novel in principle. In *Clarissa* we see a virtuous character in the same station of life with ourselves who suffers with an immovable and unshaken constancy. "The misfortunes of an Ariane move me not at all," he says; "those of a Princess of Cleves but faintly. The heroes there are beings too different from myself and the misfortunes which happen to them bear no proportion to anything that may happen to me. I cannot but know it to be a fable and the necessary effect of this knowledge is insensibility."⁴⁹

Literary historians have seemingly agreed to look upon *La nouvelle Héloïse* as the successor of *Clarissa*. It is therefore worth noting that Haller did not include Rousseau's novel in his commendation. No doubt he was personally and politically out of sympathy with Rousseau to begin with. Indeed, he once said in private conversation (1763): "Rousseau est un scélérat."⁵⁰ Still his judgment of Rousseau in conversation with Casanova

Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz III. Texte, J. Jean Jacques Rousseau. . . . (1909) p. 260, footnote 3 is unaware of the name of the author of the review in question.

⁵⁰ *Albrecht von Hallers Gedichte* ed. Hirzel. *Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz* III. Frauenfeld 1882, p. cccxcii, Anm. 1.

seems judicial and consistent with his opinion of Richardson for he might well feel that Rousseau was inferior to Richardson in moral value and in realistic power. Haller told Casanova that just to please a friend he had read enuf of Héloïse to be able to judge the entire work. "C'est le plus mauvais des romans," he said; "parcequ'il en est le plus éloquent. Vous verrez le pays de Vaud, mais ne vous attendez pas à voir les originaux des brillants portraits qu'a peints Jean Jacques."⁶¹ In his criticism of *La nouvelle Héloïse* in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1762)⁶² Haller expresses the same objection in a milder form.

From the preface of the Göttingen *Clarissa* it may be inferred that the translator is the orientalist Michaelis, a professor at Göttingen. It is generally assumed that the translation was undertaken on the advice of Haller. It certainly enjoyed his support from first to last. When the first two parts were completed Haller announced that the translator was one, "den, wir wider seinen Willen bekannt zu machen Bedenken tragen."⁶³ Haller has no doubt of his ability. "Er hat seine Unternehmung mit aller der Lebhaftigkeit und Kenntniss beyder Sprachen ausgeführt, die man von seinem langen Aufenthalt in Engelland und von seinem aufgewekten, durch andere Proben bekannten Geiste erwarten können (sic)."⁶⁴ The next year the third⁶⁴ and fourth parts are announced "von der gleichen beliebten Hand übersetzt."⁶⁵ In the announcements of the fifth,⁶⁶ sixth,⁶⁶ seventh and last parts⁶⁷ no mention is made of the translator. All authorities agree that the latter part is by another hand. Late in the century there was a tendency to attribute it to Haller himself. One critic spoke of the Göttingen *Clarissa* "an der Männer wie Haller und Michaelis Antheil hatten,"⁶⁸ and another referred to it as a translation "die so viel Rec. weiss,

⁶¹ *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Senigall écrits par lui-même*. Tome III. Paris 1848, p. 177-181.

⁶² *G.G.A.* 1762, 673f. Haller recognizes Rousseau as a follower of Richardson p. 373 and 375.

⁶³ *G.G.A.* 1748, 970, cf. p. 275.

⁶⁴ *G.G.A.* 1749, 202.

⁶⁵ *G.G.A.* 1749, 570.

⁶⁶ *G.G.A.* 1750, 610.

⁶⁷ *G.G.A.* 1750, 898.

⁶⁸ *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 1790, 3, 763-767.

von Michaelis und Haller herrührte,"⁵⁹ but the author of the article "Über die verschiedenen Verdeutschungen von Richardsons *Clarissa*," writing at nearly the same time professes ignorance regarding the authorship of the last part.⁶⁰ On the whole there is not sufficient evidence to show that Haller translated any part of *Clarissa*. Richardson wrote in a letter Feb. 24, 1752: "My vanity, however, has been raised by a present sent me of a translation of *Clarissa*, in the German language in eight volumes from the celebrated Dr. Haller."⁶¹ On the basis of this the editor of Richardson's correspondence unjustifiably entered in the index: "Haller, Dr. translated *Clarissa* into the German language." This unsupported statement may have misled later commentators. Of the German critics mentioned above the first two regard the Göttingen *Clarissa* as good for its time but antiquated in the 1790's, while the third can excuse its defects only in part on this ground:

Gerade das Matte und das Steife, das der Übersetzer in der Vorrede vermieden zu haben vorgiebt, ist der herrschende Ton in dieser Übersetzung. Alle Eleganz, alle Feinheiten sind verwischt; Platitüden, Weitschweifigkeit und Wässerlichkeit, kurz alle Fehler der Gottschedischen Schule findet man hier in reichlicher Masse, und dies war kein Wunder, da unsere Prose damals noch zu wenig ausgebildet, und der gute Geschmack in unserer Sprache noch nicht so fixirt war, dass der Übersetzer, der gewiss die Schönheit des Originals empfand auch im Stande gewesen wäre, sie getreu überzutragen."⁶²

When *Grandison* appeared it, too, found the favor and support of Haller, who said:

(Es) giebt hin und wieder kalte und den Lauf der Geschichte unnöthig aufhaltende Streitgespräche. Aber die Mahlerey ist unverbesserlich, und ein so genauer Ausdruck der menschlichen Natur in ihren verschiedenen Charakteren, dass wir nichts finden, dass einiger massen diesem Pinsel beykomme. Marivaux ist nur ein Nachspiel dagegen.⁶³

Haller admires also the noble virtues of *Grandison* and the gracious and modest (!) ones of Miss Byron and finds "so

⁵⁹ *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* XIV (1795) 161. The article is signed "D."

⁶⁰ *Journal von und für Deutschland* IX, (1792) 16.

⁶¹ *The correspondence of Samuel Richardson* . . . ed. Barbauld, London 1803, VI, 298.

⁶² *Op. cit.* p. 16.

⁶³ *G.G.A.* 1755, I, 161.

viele Thränen auspressende zärtliche Stellungen und Ausdrücke" that he is ready to promise to this novel as sure an immortality as to the noblest of all poetry, thus verging on the extravagance of Diderot who had exclaimed in his *Éloge*:

O Richardson, Richardson, homme unique à mes yeux, tu seras ma lecture dans tous les temps! Forcé par des besoins pressants, si mon ami tombe dans l'indigence, si la médiocrité de ma fortune ne suffit pas pour donner à mes enfants les soins nécessaires à leur éducation, je vendrai mes livres; mais tu me resteras sur le même rayon avec Moïse, Homère, Euripide et Sophocle; et je vous lirai tour à tour.⁶⁴

and of Gellert who in his poem *Über Richardsons Bildniss* has sung:

Dies ist der schöpferische Geist
 Der uns durch lehrende Gedichte
 Den Reiz der Tugend fühlen heisst
 Der durch den Grandison selbst einem Bösewichte
 Den ersten Wunsch, auch fromm zu sein, entreisst.
 Die Werke, die er schuf, wird keine Zeit verwüsten,
 Sie sind Natur, Geschmack, Religion.
 Unsterblich ist Homer, unsterblicher bei Christen
 Der Britte Richardson.⁶⁵

Nor was Gottsched much more temperate in his praise. In a letter to his niece Victoria he says that *Grandison* is the best novel ever written. Having read it he is determined never to read any other. "The characters of Grandison and Henrietta are both perfect in their own way. He urges Victoria to read the work "in dem guten Vorsatz, alles Liebenswürdige dieses trefflichen Frauenzimmers nachzuahmen." Charlotte Grandison and Lady G., to be sure, are strange creatures. "Ich habe mich oft über sie geärgert, und hätte sie prügeln mögen," he says, but he is delighted to find in *Grandison* his own life principles vindicated. "Read the book to the end," he tells his niece, "so werden Sie urtheilen können, ob ich recht Grandisonsche Grundlehren längst gehabt und nach Möglichkeiten ausgeübt habe."⁶⁶

Despite Gottsched and despite Gellert the younger circles of Leipzig society were not wholly enamoured of the Richard-

⁶⁴ Diderot's *Éloge* was first published in the *Journal étranger* which was much read in Germany, and a translation appeared in the *Hamburger Unterhaltungen* I (1766) 118.

⁶⁵ Quoted from E. Schmidt's *Richardson, Rousseau and Goethe*, Jena, 1875.

⁶⁶ Waniek, *Gottsched und die deutsche Literatur*. Leipzig, 1897, 675.

sonian ideal. In his poem *Unschuld* Goethe praised a virtue that was "mehr als Byron, als Pamele."⁶⁶ Cornelia's admiration for Grandison he did not share. In a bantering tone he wrote to her Dec. 6, 1765: "Du bist eine Närrin mit deinem Grandison . . . aber merke dir's, du sollst keine Romanen mehr lesen, als die ich erlaube." Then he adds consolingly: "Lass dir's nicht Angst seyn. *Grandison, Clarissa* und *Pamela* sollen vielleicht ausgenommen werden."⁶⁷ A little later he urges her to read meditatively the *Zuschauer*. "Dies ist besser und dir nützlicher, als wenn du 20 Romanen gelesen hättest. Diese verbiete ich dir hiermit völlig, den einzigen *Grandison* ausgenommen den du noch etlichemahl lesen kannst, aber nicht obenhin sondern bedächtig."⁶⁸ This, too, is probably persiflage. On the 14th of May, 1766, he wrote: "Mais je ne pense pas que je prêche envain. Tu ne veux que tes romans. Eh bien, lis les. Je m'en lave les mains. Pour *Clarissa* je n'ai rien à contredire."⁶⁹ There is no reason to suppose the last remark was meant else than seriously. But, unfortunately for his happiness, Goethe's days in Leipzig came soon to an end and from dreary Frankfurt he wrote a versified letter to Mlle. Oeser, Nov. 6, 1768, telling her that only the Grandison ideal prevailed where he now was.

Bin ich bei Mädchen launisch froh,
 So sehen sie sittenrichtersch sträflich,
 Da heisst's: der Herr ist wohl aus Bergamo?
 Sie sagen's nicht einmal so höflich.
 Zeigt man Verstand, so ist auch das nicht recht.
 Denn will sich einer nicht bequemen
 Des Grandisons ergebener Knecht
 Zu sein, und alles blindlings anzunehmen
 Was der Dictator spricht,
 Den lacht man aus, den hört man nicht.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Goethe, *Werke* (Weimar ed.) I 1, 52. To regard this as "uncritical praise" would be naive. Cf. Price, *English-German literary influences*. Berkeley 1919-20, p. 285.

⁶⁷ Goethe, *Werke* IV, 1, p. 20. The omitted passage reads: Ich kann nicht finden was Marty H. gesagt hat." The Weimar edition IV, 1, 269, is able to reach no conclusion regarding this reference.

⁶⁸ Goethe *Werke*, IV, 1, p. 27.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* IV, 1, 54-55.

⁷⁰ Goethe, *Werke*, I, 5: 1, p. 59. Goethe's opinion of Richardson's heroes and heroines probably changed little in later life tho he freely acknowledged Richardson's influence on the public and on literature. "Schon die Richardson'schen Romane hatten die bürgerliche Welt auf eine zärtere Sittlichkeit auf-

To Friederike's father he wrote a little later, November 24, 1768, that the girls of Frankfurt only cared for the astonishing ("das erstaunliche") and for the beautiful, naïve, or humorous but little. "Desswegen sind alle Meerwunder: Grandison, Eugenie, der Galeerensklave, und wie die ganze fantastische Familie heisst, hier im grossen Ansehen."⁷¹ In fact, Grandison soon becomes for the convalescent in Frankfurt practically synonymous with "Schwärmerei." He wrote to Friederike Oeser on the 13th of the following February telling of a young girl whom he had met. She pleased me so well, he said, "dass mir's ward wie's einem jungen Mädchen wird die den *Grandison* liest. Das ist ein feines Bissgen von einem Menschen, so einen möchtest du auch haben, denckt sie."⁷²

On the whole one derives the impression that Richardson was still in such high favor in Leipzig and Frankfurt, that only a few bold young spirits tried to make a stand against his popularity, and that in Frankfurt, at least, the effort was unsuccessful. But, if we leap over a space of twenty years and glimpse a period when the young of 1770 have reached maturity we find that the ardor for Richardson has decidedly cooled and he is being judged perhaps not unfavorably but at least with the intellect rather than with the emotions.

The author of the article "Über die verschiedenen Verdeutschungen von Richardsons *Clarissa*" in the *Journal von und für Deutschland*, writing in 1792⁷³ and looking back over the half century, finds five chief reasons for the original popularity of Richardson's novels: first, there existed no really good German novel at the time; second, the letter-form pleased on

merksam gemacht. Die strengen und unausbleiblichen Folgen eines weiblichen Fehltrittes waren in der *Clarissa* auf eine grausame Weise gegliedert. Lessings *Miss Sara Sampson* behandelte dasselbe Thema:" Goethe, *Werke*, I, 28, p. 193, and he also acknowledged Richardson's mastery in matters of technique. His *Werther* is the chief evidence of this but in *Wilhelm Meister* he specifically names Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela along with Tom Jones and the Vicar of Wakefield to support his contention that the hero or heroine of a novel should be not an active but rather a passive or at least retarding factor in the development. *Werke* I, 22, p. 178.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* IV, 1, 182.

⁷² *Ibid.* IV, 1, 192.

account of its novelty; third, the detailed pictures of social customs were an added merit; fourth, the tragic outcome in the case of *Clarissa* appealed to the emotional readers ("die Empfindsamen"); and fifth, the moral teachings commended it to all. For the later decline of Richardson's popularity there were three chief causes; first, the popularity of Fielding in England, who gained favor by his humor rather than his serious purpose, by caricatures rather than by general pictures of social life; second, "bey der zunehmenden Sittenverderbniss" Richardson's moralizing became tedious; he was read either not at all or for his stories, rather than for his morals; third, the opposition of the "Kunstrichter," beginning with the authors of the "Berliner Litteraturbriefe," proved effective, and ideal characters were condemned as improbable and uninteresting.

We may no doubt accept all of this as true, the "zunehmende Sittenverderbniss" perhaps, with a grain of salt. There is little need here to cite in detail the views of the "Berlin Sittenrichter." Their opposition to perfect characters went back directly or indirectly to Shaftesbury and even to Aristotle. Their views are to be found in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, the *Berliner Litteraturbriefe*. They have been quoted at length by Geschke in his *Untersuchung über die beiden Fassungen von Musaeus Grandisonroman* (Königsberg dissertation, 1910). The comments of Abbt, Musaeus, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai may be found there. The views of Blankenburg, Resewitz, and Lichtenberg, there and elsewhere.⁷⁴

But it may be well at this point to review chronologically the rise and fall of Richardson's fortunes in Germany. The works themselves and the first translations of all three appeared in the forties and fifties. Gellert's *Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.*, the first notable imitation, appeared in 1747 and Pfeil's *Geschichte des Grafen von P.* in 1755. Richardson enjoyed at this time the unqualified support of such acknowledged literary leaders as Gottsched, Bodmer, Haller, Gellert, and Lessing.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* IX. (1792) 16-25.

⁷⁵ Price, *English-German literary influences*. Berkeley 1919-20 p. 298f. and 325.

⁷⁶ Lessing's early favorable opinion of *Grandison* is express in the *Berliner privilegierte Zeitung*, 56 Stück, March 9, 1754. Cf. Lessing, Hempel ed. Berlin n.d. vol. XII, p. 549. 121 Stück, Oct. 8, 1754; cf. March 29, 1755, p. 601. It cannot be said that these reviews are of any great merit.

The sixties mark the height of the Richardson fever. At the beginning of this decade stands Diderot's *Éloge* and at the end Hermes' *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* (1769-73). In the midst falls Streit's *Die Wege der Tugend* and nearly all of the dramatizations mentioned above; but the counter tendency has already set in. Musaeus publishes his *Grandison der Zweite* 1760-62. It was praised by Abbt in the *Literaturbriefe*.⁷⁶ Musaeus himself had been contributing reviews to Nicolai's *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* since 1766, and the view of Goethe indicates a diminution of favor with the younger generation. In 1774 Blankenburg still felt it necessary to apologize for criticizing Richardson. "Ich fürchte die Verwunderung vieler meiner Leser über meine Kühnheit, den Richardson zu tadeln."⁷⁷ His hesitation was scarcely justified for altho a new translation of *Pamela* had just been completed (1772), in reality, Richardson was being supplanted by new favorites, *Werther* (1774), and the almost equally popular *Sophiens Reise*, not to mention *The vicar of Wakefield* and *The sentimental journey*.

It is clear that in 1780, when the editors had called for a new edition of his parody, Musaeus was in embarrassment for he could no longer rely upon it that his readers knew Richardson's novels. At least they would have heard of the sentimental novels of the preceding generation.

Wir trauen keinem unserer geneigten Leser die eiserne Ignoranz zu, dass er diese Produkte nicht wenigstens dem Namen nach kennen oder wissen sollte, in welchem Ansehen sie bey der ehemaligen Lesewelt stunden. Wie die beyden Extremen Werther und Siegwart nebst allen dazwischen liegenden Mittelstimmen des empfindsamen Akkords auf unsere gegenwärtige Generation gewirkt haben eben so wirkten bey der nächstvorhergehenden, diese ausländischen Droguen auf Geist und Herz. . . . Es gab eben so viele vaterländische Pamelen, Clarissen, Lovelacen, Grandisons, als es jetzt Lotten, Werther, Siegwarte, Sontheime, Adolphe giebt.

In more than one instance, as Geschke has pointed out,⁷⁸ Musaeus is forced to the awkward expedient of explaining the point of his parodistical passages. The decline of Richardson's favor can also be traced thru the moral weeklies which, at first

⁷⁶ *Literaturbriefe* 314 (1765).

⁷⁷ Blankenburg, *Versuch über den Roman*, Leipzig und Liegnitz 1774, p. 351.

⁷⁸ Geschke, *Untersuchung über die beiden Fassungen von Musaeus Grandisonroman*. Königsberg Diss. 1910, p. 84ff.

predominatingly favorable to him, came with the lapse of time to regard his works as positively harmful reading for young girls.⁷⁹

But the unexpected happened. At the end of the same decade Richardson came into prominence again in France and in Germany. In 1786-87 appeared the complete translation of Richardson's *Clarissa* by Le Tourneur in place of the abbreviated one that Diderot had decried. In 1788 a tragedy, *Clarissa Harlowe*, was produced in France. In Germany the new beginning was at first hesitating. In 1788 and 1789 were published the abbreviated adaptations of *Clarissa* and *Pamela*, the *Albertine* in 1788 and the *Leonore Schmidt* in 1789. In other words, it is an odd fact that Germany began in the forties and fifties with the unadulterated Richardson, whereas France began at the same time with dilutions. About forty-five years later, just as France was beginning to accept the complete Richardson, Germany began to try experiments with doctored versions. In 1789 appeared in Germany, however, a new translation of *Grandison* and the next year two new translations of *Clarissa*.^{79a}

The *Journal von und für Deutschland*⁸⁰ is probably justified in attributing the new interest in large measure to Martin Sherlock and Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz. The former⁸¹ wrote in 1781 his *Letters on several subjects* which were translated the following year into German.⁸² In these letters he made numerous observations more striking than deep. One portion

⁷⁹ Price, *Richardson in the moral weeklies of Germany*. pp. 169-183 in "Studies in German literature in honor of A. R. Hohfeld . . ." Dec. 29, 1925. Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in language and literature XXII. Madison, 1925.

^{79a} Shortly before this time, i.e., in 1784, the publisher Himburg in Berlin had projected a new translation of *Clarissa* by Bunzler, who had translated the *Spectator*. It was to be illustrated by Chodowiecki. This project failed.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.* IX. (1792) p. 21. Cf. *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (1790) III, p. 763.

⁸¹ Regarding Martin Sherlock (1750 ca. -1797) see the *Dictionary of national biography* vol. LII p. 90f., and the last book of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*. "A Reverend Mr. Sherlock sees Voltaire and even dines with him."

⁸² *Martin Sherlocks Briefe über verschiedene Gegenstände als über des Verfassers Unterredung mit dem Könige von Preussen, über den Charakter des Königs und der Königin von England; über das Frauenzimmer; über Genie, Witz und Geschmack; über Voltaire, Shakespeare, Richardson; über die Vorurtheile des Reisens; über das Spiel, u.s.w. aus dem Englischen*. Zwei Theile, Leipzig, 1782. in der Weygandschen Buchhandlung. 315 pp. See *A.D.B.* LVI (1783) 444-446,

of his discussion was devoted to Richardson. Here he said, among other things, that the greatest attempt of human genius was the making of the plan for *Clarissa Harlowe*. The second greatest was the carrying out of the plan. Martin Sherlock attacked directly the theories of the opponents of perfect characters. True, there are no such paragons as Clarissa and Grandison, but neither are there such perfect women as the Venus de Medici. Her beauty is made up of many perfections of many different women, yet we never grow tired of contemplating her; why, then, should we tire of Richardson's perfect characters?

Archenholz⁸³ lived in England for ten years 1769-79 and on his return could speak with authority of English opinion. In his *England und Italien*, 1782, he reported that *Clarissa* was regarded as England's best novel and he called for a new and modern translation of this masterpiece which the Germans had half forgotten.^{83a} Two such authoritative statements could not fail to produce an effect in Germany, which even in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was accustomed to look to foreign countries for guidance in literary matters. The tone of the reviews indicates that *Clarissa*, for it alone received serious consideration, is no longer regarded as a sensation in any respect, but rather as a classic. This accounts for the careful scrutiny given to the translation. All three of the longer reviews of the new *Clarissa* devote extensive space, half of the entire article or more, to parallel passages from two or even all three translations and a minute analysis of their defects and superiorities.⁸⁴

As for *Grandison*, it is treated with scant courtesy. Because Richardson preached virtue, the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* says, and because he was a foreigner the German critics united in praising him and one hardly dared mention the existence of faults in his work.

Man hat also bisher in der Stille den Ekel ertragen, den seine Personen durch ihr unaufhörliches und wechselseitiges ins Gesichtloben nothwendig erregen müssen. Man hat das Fräulein Byron ertragen, welches eben so un-

⁸³ Archenholz (1743-1812) had also written *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges* 1787ff.

^{83a} *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* LXXXVIII, 2 (1789) 162-164.

⁸⁴ *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* XIV (1795) 160-186; cf. Footnotes 60 and 85.

mässig gelobt, und allen Menschen für die Zierde Ihres Geschlechts aufgedrungen wird, ohne dass der arme Leser, der ihr Verwandter nicht ist, begreifen kann, warum? Man hat das Posaunen des D. Bartlett ertragen, der sich nicht scheuet, die Bescheidenheit des jungen Baronets sehr öfters auf grausame Proben zu setzen. Man hat den Triumph über den abgeschlagenen Zweikampf ertragen, obgleich die Situation des Grandison so ängstlich zusammen gestückt worden, dass sie in tausend Beispielen nicht einmal wieder passen kann. Man hat endlich auch das Feierliche, u. Auguste ertragen, worinn sich die Familie bei allen unerheblichen Vorfällen mit einem sich selbst belohnenden Beifalle schmückt, und das von selbst beinahe lächerlich wird. Aus gleichem Grunde hat man auch nichts gegen das langweilige der beiden ersten Theile eingewendet, die um zwei Drittel kürzer sein könnten. Nichts gegen das Naseise des Dorf-Fräuleins, das die Verwandte für ein Wunderkind hielten, "not that herself was wise, but others weak, etc.," . . . und das, weil es einige Bücher gelesen, sehr tief in die Charaktere der Menschen einzudringen glaubte. Nichts endlich gegen das fehlerhafte Hauptinteresse des Romans, welches sich auf Clementinen, und nicht auf Grandison lenket, und diesen jener gänzlich unterordnet.⁸⁵

Naturally, then, the reviewer objects chiefly to the new translation because it has omitted and abbreviated almost not at all. He adds that the style is also poor. "Der neue Übersetzer . . . verstand nicht einmal die Kunst, des englischen Originals reinen, so einfachen und naiven Briefstil sich einigermassen eigen zu machen."

On the other hand, the abbreviated *Clarissa* is received, on the whole, unfavorably. The *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* tries to be neutral at first but later gives the preference to a complete *Clarissa*.⁸⁶ No one was more outspoken in his opposition to a modified *Clarissa* than Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten, Perhaps some personal rivalry helped to stimulate his opposition, for a short time before Schulz had published an abridged

⁸⁵ A.L.Z. 1790 IV 1199. The Gräffsche Buchhandlung seizes an opportunity a week later to announce a reduction in the price of its *Clarissa* in rather un-diplomatic terms: "Wenn wir nun gleich nicht befürchten dürften, dass die Uebersetzung der *Clarissa* die des Allgem. Subscriptions- und Pränumerations-comptoir in Mannheim angekündigt hat, die unsrige von Seiten der innern Güte übertreffen, und somit nicht gefährden werde, so ist der grösste Theil des lesenden Publicums doch so sehr für die wohlfeilen Preise eingenommen, dass unsrer Unternehmung keine geringe Gefahr drohet. Um diese Gefahr soviel möglich abzuwenden, wollen wir demjenigen, der auf den 4ten und 5ten Band 1 rthlr, 12 gl. vorausbezahlt, den 1, 3, und 3ten Band für 2 rthlr, 6 gl. geben. Das Publikum mag nun erwägen, ob es forthin noch Ursache habe, auf jene Ankündigung aus Mannheim Rücksicht zu nehmen."

⁸⁶ Cf. footnotes 83a and 84.

translation of Pratt's *Pupil of joy*⁸⁶ under the title *Der Wüstling* (1788), while Kosegarten had published the work in its entirety under the title *Der Freudenzügling*. There was some controversy between the two on the occasion. When *Albertine* appeared, and when it became known that Schulz⁸⁷ was the author thereof, Kosegarten declared such a treatment of *Clarissa* "Sünde und Schande." The publishers of *Albertine* made some tart reply which perhaps stirred Kosegarten to enter the field as a rival, for he says in his preface: "er habe sich nicht davon abschrecken lassen, ob er gleich deswegen sei angeschnarcht, gezupft, und geneckt worden."

From still another side Kosegarten met with rivalry, for another complete *Clarissa* translation had been begun some time ago and was approaching completion simultaneously with Kosegarten's. The beginnings of this *Clarissa* went back to 1781 when a new translation was announced in Mannheim which was to be sold by subscription. The project at the time came to naught because the translator was unwilling to make any abbreviations. A part of this translation appeared in Reichard's *Bibliothek der Romane* XII p. 257 ff. Riga 1785. At this critical moment, 1785, Archenholz's declaration became generally known, that *Clarissa* was the best English novel, and the Mannheim project responded to the new impulse. The work as completed was the result of collaboration. Goedeke attributes the translation to Professor Christian Heinrich Schmid of Giessen and another. He also attributes to Professor Schmid the favorable review in the *Journal von und für Deutschland*. Certain it is, at any rate, that the reviewer had an intimate knowledge of the work of the translator else he could not say (p. 22): "Diese Übersetzung ist von zweierlei Verfassern fertig. Die Arbeit des ersteren geht vom Anfang an bis Seite 232 des dritten Bandes, alles von da an ist von dem andern Übersetzer."

It is not at all surprising that in the midst of this double rivalry Kosegarten had none too good a press. The *Journal von und für Deutschland* is diplomatic. It makes its compliments

⁸⁶ Pratt, Samuel Jackson, see *Dictionary of national biography* XLVI 295f. His *Pupil of joy*, 2 vols, 1776, was translated into French in 1787. It was written to illustrate the evil effects of the advice of Chesterfield.

⁸⁷ Friedrich Schulz 1762-98, actor, journalist, and teacher, author of *Albertine*; see footnote 9 and Brümmer's *Lexikon* Reklam no. 1981-90, Leipzig 1884.

to Kosegarten, points out the great superiority of his translation over that of the Göttingen *Clarissa* of forty-two years ago, and then, after an analysis of a passage from all three versions, leads the reader to see that the Mannheim translation is after all a little better than Kosegarten's. In *Minerva* v.A (Archenholz) devotes himself chiefly to the exaltation of *Clarissa* and contents himself with the statement that Germany now has for the first time a good translation "durch einen wakeren Mann ausgeführt."⁸⁸ The *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* does not fail to recall the Schulz-Kosegarten controversy,⁸⁹ finds much merit in Schulz's attempt, but welcomes Kosegarten's translation as well, and regards it as a success. Kosegarten seemed to have devoted his best efforts to the rendering of "Richardsons Feinheiten, verwickelte Perioden, häufiger Dialogismus, und die Nüansen in der Schreibart seiner drei Hauptpersonen."⁹⁰ He failed to reproduce, however, "die fortströmende Leichtigkeit und Ungezwungenheit, vereinigt mit abgemessener Präcision, die wesentlich zu der classischen Zierlichkeit des Originals gehört"; nor did he keep his promise as to literal fidelity in his renderings. A several page list of inadequate translations serves to demonstrate this fact. These compliments with reservations were rather less than satisfactory to Kosegarten, who, in an article called "Nicht Anticritic" in the same journal, reminds his critic that he has promised "wohl eine getreue, nicht aber eine buchstäbliche Übersetzung." He begs his critic to believe that "die meisten von ihm ausgehobenen Phrasen, mit gutem Fleiss und Vorbedacht, nicht aber aus Flüchtigkeit oder Uebersichtigkeit so und nicht anders gegeben, verändert, verkürzt, verlängert, eingeschoben oder weggestrichen."⁹¹

In the preface to his translation Kosegarten describes the difficult nature of his undertaking. He says:

Richardson ist gar leicht zu verstehen, aber er ist auch gar nicht leicht zu übersetzen. Seine Diction ist nicht immer die bequemste, seine Formeln sind etwas breit, seine Übergänge bisweilen etwas schleppend. Seine Prosa streift immer haarscharf an die Gränzlinie des Platten hin, ohne sie doch jemalen zu überschreiten. Seine oft seitenlangen Perioden sind zu Zeiten etwas ungefügt. Sie sind hauptsächlich dann, wann er sich in Betrachtungen verliert, so lang ausgesponnen, so verwirrend in einander geschlungen mit Einschiebsel über Einschiebsel so durchwirkt, dass er seinen Übersetzer zur Verzweiflung bringen

⁸⁸ *Minerva* 1796, IV, p. 364-367.

⁸⁹ *A.L.Z.* (1790) 3, 763ff

möchte, dass man ihn zerhacken, herumwerfen, das unterste zu oberst, das hinterste zu vorderst kehren, ja nicht selten seiner Einkleidung durchaus entsagen, und in Übertragung eines Gedankens sich seinem eigenen Genius überlassen muss.⁹⁰

The critics are generally agreed that Kosegarten followed the line of least resistance too passively in his work. The reviewer D. in the *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 1795, (p. 160 ff.), moreover, takes exception to his translation of the *Ode to Wisdom* written by Mrs. Carter and incorporated by Richardson in his *Clarissa*. This ode had already been excellently translated by Uz in a measure corresponding to the original. Kosegarten felt called upon to offer a new translation and gave one that did not correspond to the original in measure and would have to be sung to a different melody from the one to which *Clarissa* sang it. The two measures may be compared here:

Uz	Kosegarten
Der Nacht getreue Vogel schwirrt	Der braune Abend schattet,
Nun endlich, da es dunkel wird,	Die Fluren athmen Ruh,
Vom öden Thurm heraus:	Der müden Schöpfung sinken
Wo sicher vor des Tages Glut	Die schweren Wimper zu.
Er philosophisch einsam ruht	In seiner Epheugrotte
In Epheu, Schutt und Graus.	Im alten Thurm erwacht
	Und schwingt den leisen Fittig
	Dein Vogel, Mitternacht. ⁹¹

These three translations are not to be taken as an indication of a return of the Richardson fever. There is not even any sign that the translations were very popular and the publishers had no doubt good reason to be concerned regarding the success of their enterprise. The translations as well as the tone of the criticisms bear witness to the fact that Richardson was enjoying a renewed respect as a man of letters and that his *Clarissa*, at least, had become a "classic." LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

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⁹⁰ *Ibid.* (1790) 4, 1199-1200.

⁹¹ The original is as follows:

The solitary bird of night
Through the thick shades now wings his flight,
And quits the time-shook tow'r:
Where shelter'd from the blaze of day,
In philosophic gloom he lay,
Beneath his ivy bow'r.

The *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* gives the original, both translations, and the original music.

THE DOMAIN OF LITERARY THEORY

In a recent discussion of the place of definitions in the theory of literature,¹ I suggested the advisability of a general survey of that domain, in order to discover and delimit its chief divisions. The present paper is an attempt at such a survey, designed to show both what those divisions are and what names are best applicable to them. The service to be hoped for from such an undertaking will therefore be twofold—a clearer sense of the distribution of literary problems, and a more definite and consistent terminology; and I shall try to render it as effectively as the limits of a single paper permit.

I

The domain of literary theory lies between those of general esthetic theory on the one hand and of applied or practical rhetoric on the other; that is, it is concerned primarily with the problems raised by the consideration of literary activity as a whole, but these problems widen into those of artistic activity in general, and contract into the specific applications of the process of writing. Between these limits, however, we can distinguish a range of peculiarly literary problems, which we can look at from the distinguishable standpoints of theoretical and practical concern, recognizing at the same time that these two standpoints cannot be completely sundered. Theory demands definite objects for its contemplation, and practical solutions are often best arrived at in the light of wider considerations. Moreover, the individual worker sometimes looks at literature with the aim of getting definite hints to guide his own activity, and again in order to appreciate better something which he has no idea of undertaking on his own account. We all, for instance, may have to write reports or articles, but are less likely to undertake novels or tragedies; yet, we are pretty sure to read the latter, and it is advisable to see more clearly what the writers of novels or tragedies are driving at, if we would fairly estimate their achievements.

¹ "The Validity of Literary Definitions," *PMLA* XXXIX (1924), pp. 722-736

As a result of this double reference, the literary domain is necessarily complex. It embraces a variety of items, which can be looked at in a variety of ways; and it is therefore important to divide it as consistently as possible, and to designate the divisions by the clearest terms we can find. Confusion in the domain has resulted largely from resistance to this second requisite, particularly in the field of rhetoric, though the field of criticism has likewise not been immune. Terms have too often been allowed to fluctuate according to the convenience of the moment, especially when they are applied to objects of personal dislike. How many text-books are heralded as deserving because of their avoidance of "stereotyped rhetorical terminology"! Yet, I do not observe that new treatises on physics seek popularity by discarding the accepted terms of that science, or that chemists try to distinguish themselves by inventing new names for carbon. The basis of a successful literary terminology must accordingly be sought in some unmistakable demarcation in actual literary practice; and such a demarcation exists in the ways in which we group the items of experience with a view to literary treatment of them.

Simple inspection shows that these ways are four. We may wish (1) to give a vivid picture of objects directly perceived, and (2) to make clear a general statement about some aspect of experience. In the first case our procedure is descriptive, in the second it is expository. We may further wish (3) to recount a series of happenings or events, and (4) to reach a conclusion about something which raises a doubt, by arriving at a reasoned view of it. In the third case our procedure is narrative, in the fourth it is argumentative. In one or other of these four ways every impulse to concrete writing finds expression.²

But if the existence of these four ways is so obvious, why is there that objection to acknowledging them which every student of rhetoric has doubtless encountered? Because it is argued that "the division of all discourse into four or five mutually exclusive forms is entirely artificial, inasmuch as they normally occur in combination,"³ and that the result is "an

² "For it is the nature of the mind to be always thinking of something, whether it be grasped by the senses, represented by the memory, set in order by the keenness of the intellect, or fashioned by desire."—Coluccio Salutati, in a letter written in 1398 (*Epistolario di C.S.*, ed. Novati, III, 305).

³ E. M. Albright, *Descriptive Writing*, p. 3.

arrangement which is frankly at variance with the actual practice of writing."⁴ What this means is simply a confusion between the requirements of theory and the demands of practical rhetoric. It is perfectly true that in actual writing what we find are mostly blends or composites; but this is entirely consistent with the fact that each kind of writing is a definite direction of mental energy on a particular sort of experience. In other words, the kinds of writing, like certain chemical elements, seldom occur in a wholly free or pure state; but they are just as distinct, and just as capable of exact definition, as hydrogen and carbon. A chemist would smile at the notion that his elements are made artificial by the fact that their true nature can be learned only by close study and analysis; and exposition and description are none the worse because their natures are not revealed to immediate and casual inspection. It is a grave logical error to suppose that kinds which are mutually exclusive in their nature must be so in their application; for if they were, the existence of compounds of any sort would be inconceivable.

The four kinds thus discriminated occupy, as it were, an intermediate level in the literary field. They all make use of those means of expression which we are familiar with as words, sentences, and paragraphs, the latter two classes carrying on the work of composition in the proper sense. At the level of the paragraph we have something which can be either a whole in itself or a part of a larger whole in a degree that is not true of the sentence; so that we can fairly speak of expository or descriptive paragraphs, and use them as convenient illustrations of the kinds in question. But the kinds are of course more fully displayed in groups or series of paragraphs, even though they may there appear as those composites which have caused some writers so much concern. This occurrence of composites indicates the existence of a third level, that of the writer's total or comprehensive aim.

At each of these levels it is advisable to assign a specific term to the impulse which sets the writer to work. At the level of the means, we may use the term *motive*; in the sentence it is usually expressed by the main subject and predicate, in the paragraph it may stand out as a *topic*.⁵ At the level of the kinds, we may

⁴ Roe and Elliott, *English Prose*, p. vi.

⁵ For a fuller discussion of this point, see my paper "A Doctrine of the Paragraph," *English Journal*, November, 1923, pp. 605-610.

use the term *purpose*, to indicate whether the writer's aim in marshalling his motives is expository, descriptive, argumentative, or narrative. In the case of composites more than one motive may co-exist, but in good work it is usually easy to see which is the dominant one. At the third level, we may use the term *intention* to designate something yet more comprehensive than purpose, the existence of which is again shown by the fact that more than one purpose may be included in an intention, as we shall see more fully in a moment.

It is clear that in passing from the lower to the higher of these levels we attain more and more inclusive points of view, corresponding to our broad distinction between rhetoric and literary theory. In the province of means we are occupied with devices which human experience has gradually developed for clear and intelligible communication; in the province of kinds we are more definitely bringing out a guiding purpose which disposes our material; in the province of intentions we are yet more definitely bringing out our individual view of the significance of that material. In the first province, we are learning our tools; in the second, we are applying them; in the third, we are using them for personal expression and interpretation. In all three, but increasingly as we proceed, we are also drawing on the methods worked out by others; so that at the second level, and still more at the third, we find that shift of emphasis from practice to theory alluded to above, and we can now see more clearly that it is only a shift, not a breach of continuity.

In the first two provinces, the question of terminology is not troublesome; the terms we have used are current, and it is only a question of finding for them the most accurate definitions. In the third province, however, the case is otherwise. It seems to me that the fundamental intentions are three. A writer may desire chiefly to inform; he may desire chiefly to stimulate; or he may desire to give a quiet, non-controversial survey of some portion of experience, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. For the first two intentions the names *informative* and *stimulative* are ready at hand; for the third, I have found no better one than *retrospective*. I owe the suggestion of it to Pater's essay on Lamb, in which he speaks of Lamb's work as "mainly retrospective," "anticipating the enchantment of distance," pleasing and informing his readers "chiefly in a

retrospective manner." Its connotation of quiet, deliberate, yet not unemotional survey seems to make it better suited for this particular use than *reflective*; and I therefore employ it for the present in default of a better term, but in the hope that one may come to be suggested.

Now that we have effected our working demarcation of the provinces of rhetoric and of literary theory, it remains, before passing to a closer inspection of the latter, to note that each is governed by a separate set of principles. Those which control practical rhetoric have received classic formulation by Wendell under the names of Unity, Mass, and Coherence; those which control literary theory may be called Selection and Emphasis. Hence the series "Unity, Coherence, Emphasis" which is met with in so many current text-books seems to me a mixing of categories which has produced much confusion. Here, as before, the test of a higher level is greater inclusiveness; and it would appear that what is selected from experience, and what of the selected portion is given literary emphasis, account most fully for the differences which we find in actual pieces of literature. With this preface, we can go on to consider more closely the nature of literary theory as revealed at the level of the three literary intentions.

II

The first of these intentions, the informative, may reveal itself in either of two ways. A writer may desire to inform himself, by a diary or other personal reminder, or by setting down the effort to clarify an idea so as to subject it to external inspection and analysis. On the other hand, he may desire to inform others, as by a record, historical or scientific; by the presentation of a current idea that is more or less novel; or by the reinterpretation of past ideas from his own point of view. Naturally the frontier between these two classes is not rigid; one may be disposed to share one's own record with others, and one is unlikely to try to inform others without having made some effort to inform oneself.

Informative writing may also be subdivided according as it is elucidative or corrective. A matter may be set forth as if there were but one view to be taken of it, whether it be a topic simple in itself (though perhaps relatively unknown to the

reader), or a matter confused, complex, or subtle, requiring more careful treatment for its elucidation, but still not in explicit opposition to any other idea. On the other hand, a matter may be set forth with the distinct aim of correcting opinion about it, whether the correction be made implicitly, the correct account automatically replacing cloudy or erroneous notions, or whether it be made explicitly, the incorrect view being attacked or demolished before the correct one is presented. Simple self-information is the most rudimentary type, often taking the form of rough or even disconnected notes; simple elucidation goes a step farther; then, as we deliberately inform others, or elucidate more complex topics, our procedure becomes correspondingly elaborate; and with the overt correction of error we approach the borders of the next field.

The matters covered by the term stimulative may at first sight appear very diverse; yet a single intention, that of rousing and stirring the reader, underlies them all. Its manifestations, however, range from the informal and general to the formal and specific, from diffused discussion to defined argument. Under the first head fall the various methods of arresting attention, as by the slow encircling approach of the "Socratic method"; by the bold enunciation of a paradox; or by sheer vigor of presentation, as with James' *Principles of Psychology* or Green's *Short History*, which surely do much more than merely inform. Obviously none of these need be specifically argumentative; they may belong to expositions which are more than ordinarily anxious to be interesting, or to those which aim rather to incite inquiry than to appease it, as is seen in the well-known tendency of the early Platonic dialogs to "end in the air," with a conclusion scarcely adumbrated, much less enforced. Under the second head fall the various devices for rousing and directing passion, from the instinctive protest or the violent invective to the careful marshalling of a whole train of diverse emotional stimuli. But since sheer emotion is likely to expend itself in the air, it needs to be controlled by thought, in order that the alternatives offered may be felt as genuinely vital options, not as mere manufactured oppositions.

In practice, therefore, we may expect to perceive the stimulative gradually investing and warming the informative; and that is just what we do find in much expository and descriptive

work, and still more in argumentative. In the latter, the stimulative intention may take the trend of the assertive, the vehement, the dogged, or that of the urbane, the repressed, the ironic. There is a choice between stimulating by letting oneself go, regardless of means and consequences, and stimulating by the restraint that gives a sense of reserve power; between calling an opponent all the names you can think of, and rousing him by an air of polite consideration or of indifference. In exceptional cases, invective may be carried on almost as an end in itself; but for the most part the requirements of communication bring about a certain balance between the informative and the stimulative.

Our third intention, the retrospective, is perhaps best approached by way of a negative definition. Its aim is not primarily to inform or to excite; it is neither didactic nor controversial. It is conciliatory; if it does give us information, it is by way of reminder, not explicitly; it adapts itself scrupulously to the idiosyncrasy of a particular type of reader, but may be indifferent to the demands of other types. To put more positively what is admittedly elusive, its tone is very much that of one who, moving amid familiar surroundings or looking across a familiar scene, imparts to us his sentiments and recollections, trying to make us share by sympathy the mood which they create in him. Retrospection does not necessarily imply an overt turning to the past; but the suffusion of memory and experience which it brings over its material must involve something of such reference, even if the feeling itself is assigned to the present. We can recognize the tone in such essays as Lamb's, such appreciative criticism as Pater's, such memoirs as Conrad's *Personal Record*. A passage in the last-named, indeed, gives us an account of the quality in question which can scarcely be bettered:

One's literary life must turn frequently for sustenance to memories and seek discourse with the shades, unless one has made up one's mind to write only in order to reprove mankind for what it is, or praise it for what it is not, or—generally—to teach it how to behave. Being neither quarrelsome, nor a flatterer, nor a sage, I have done none of these things, and I am prepared to put up serenely with the insignificance which attaches to persons who are not meddling in some way or other. But resignation is not indifference. I would not like to be left standing as a mere spectator on the bank of the great

stream carrying onward so many lives. I would fain claim for myself the faculty of so much insight as can be expressed in a voice of sympathy and compassion.

—Deep Sea edition, p. 9.

To this intention are certainly due some of the finest and most delicate effects of pure literature; but its very delicacy resists analysis, and leaves it something to be known only by direct experience.

Just as the kinds of writing are capable of entering into combinations, so more than one intention may be discernible in a given piece of work; and just as one purpose may dominate another, so may one intention. Moreover, one kind may be better suited than another to display a particular intention. Purely expository writing is obviously informative; but as an expounder grows more anxious to rouse his reader, his work takes on a stimulative tinge, without at all ceasing to be expository. Description is very often stimulative, often retrospective; but it may be informative as well, that being precisely the nature of that "scientific" description of which our rhetorics have much to say, not always to a clear issue. Argument is by definition unsuited to the retrospective mood, but shows, as we noted, endless gradations between fact and feeling, conviction and persuasion. Finally, narration, complex and adjustable form that it is, readily admits all three intentions; and it will perhaps clarify this account if I quote three paragraphs, all clearly narrative in purpose, but each clearly governed by a different intention.

Good fortune seemed to wait on McClellan's early career. He graduated from West Point in 1846, just at the outset of the Mexican War, and plunged into active service at once. In Mexico everyone spoke well of him. He showed energy, resource, and unquestioned personal courage. He was handsome, thoroughly martial in appearance, kindly, and popular. After his return from Mexico, he taught at West Point, took part, as an engineer, in Western exploration, then served as one of the Government's military commission in the Crimea, and so acquired a technical knowledge much beyond that of the average United States officer. In the latter fifties he resigned from service and went into railroading, which probably gave him practical experience more valuable than could have been gained by fighting Indians.—Gamaliel Bradford, *Union Portraits*, p. 3.

Mr. Bradford's intention here is unmistakably informative; he sets before us certain cardinal events in McClellan's early career a knowledge of which is necessary for the understanding of the

analysis to follow. Contrast it with the purely stimulative aim of this paragraph from a novel of Hewlett's.

Just now she had enough to see. Pikpoyntz, with squared, grim shoulders, and his long blade, filled up the gateway. The homagers of a moment before huddled apart; her Uncle Havilot, foaming and purple, was now rushing on his destruction. Such it was, for he was blind with rage and blinded his horse with spurring. There were barely twenty yards between him and his foe; but he drove the spurs in to the heels, spurred and spurred again. The white eyes of the beast gleamed like streaks. On he came at a tearing gallop. Pikpoyntz, cool as a night frost, waited for him, chose his last moment, and brought his sword down crash on the horse's crest. The poor beast dropped on the very threshold of the gate; but the bishop did not stop. He was thrown forward against the wall; there was a sickening crash. Pikpoyntz picked him up, dead beyond recognition. Next minute he had to drop his burden, for he had the Viscount upon him, and the next his bowmen lined the terrace wall and a company of halberdiers stood behind him in the gate.—*The Song of Renny*, pp. 166-7.

To illustrate the retrospective mood in a single narrative paragraph is less easy; but perhaps this from Henry James will serve:

They went over the whole thing, remounted the dwindling stream, re-constructed, explained, understood—recognized, in short, the particular example they gave, and how, without mutual suspicion, they had been giving it side by side. "We're simply the case," Straith familiarly put it, "of having been had enough of. No case is perhaps more common, save that, for you and for me, it did look in the good time—didn't it?—as if nobody *could* have enough." With which they counted backward, gruesome as it was, the symptoms of satiety up to the first dawn, and lived again together the unforgettable hours—distant now—out of which it had begun to glimmer that the truth had to be faced and the right names given to the wrong facts. They laughed at their original explanations and the minor scale, even, of their early fears; compared notes on the fallibility of remedies and hopes, and, more and more united in the identity of their lesson, made out perfectly that, though there appeared to be many kinds of success, there was only one kind of failure. And yet what had been hardest had not been to have to shrink, but—the long game of bluff, as Straith called it—to have to keep up. It fairly swept them away at present, however, the hugeness of the relief of no longer keeping up as against each other. This gave them all the measure of the motive their courage on either side, in silence and gloom, had forced into its service.—*The Better Sort*, p. 16.

III

The fact that a single kind can thus accommodate more than one intention shows that more inclusive forces than the intentions themselves are at work. What, then, are these forces?

The obvious answer is that they are the different faculties in the mind of the writer. To the objection that such a term as "faculty" belongs to an outworn and discredited psychology, we can reply that it is sufficiently justified by convenience, and that thinkers of all varieties find themselves obliged to use it for ordinary purposes of description. Whatever may be the nature of the ultimate unity of mind, the mind as we know it in experience reveals itself through various channels, not all of which are equally present in every individual. Without in the least asserting that the mind is a mere bundle of faculties, we can fairly hold that it manifests itself in ways both readily distinguishable and very convenient as heads of classification, in a way familiar enough to us in the material world. The colors of the spectrum shade into one another, but we can perfectly well distinguish the main hues; all the senses have no doubt developed from touch, but each one now has its peculiar function; all forms of energy may be one at bottom, but in our actual world heat, light, and electricity work in definite ways which are not interchangeable.

If, then, we can find in literature certain ranges of phenomena which we can more readily handle by referring them to a "faculty" in the sense of a special direction of mental energy, we are entirely justified in such reference, and the only problem is that of determining how few such faculties we need to posit for an adequate literary theory. It would seem that we can distinguish three that are so marked and so specific as to furnish, either singly or in combination, a satisfactory framework; and these three we may call sense of fact, reason, and imagination.

By sense of fact I mean that type of mental reaction which gives us our direct sense of the world in which we find ourselves. Its foundation is obviously receptivity, which, roused by alertness and curiosity, and guided by attention, issues in sensitiveness to the range of fact in question. This range will naturally vary with the individual, some being curious about everything that comes in their way, others only about certain kinds of things. In any case, however, as definite statements of fact come to be made they fall into two great classes: those which are generally acknowledged, and which assume assent, and those which are asserted, compelling assent if the assertion is successful. We say, on the one hand, "It is a well-known fact that"

and go on to draw conclusions from this acknowledged basis. We say, on the other hand, "You may not believe it, but it's a fact that . . . ," and go on to assert the grounds of our belief. In either case, unless something is brought out which conflicts with the hearer's own personal experience or with his view of experience as a whole, the statement is not seriously challenged.

But all such statements of fact fall into two other great classes, according as they pertain either to the inner life of the individual or to the outer world which surrounds him. The former, though more or less communicable, are strictly speaking unsharable in their original form; the latter, under proper conditions, are thought to be accessible to anyone endowed with the power and opportunity of observation. Evidently the "facts" revealed in these two ways may be widely different. In the latter, we seek to inform, by elucidation or correction as the case demands; and the issue of the process may be called an idea. In the former we seek to stimulate, by rousing either active excitement or calmer sympathy; and the issue may be called a mood. In other words, we have either shared knowledge or shared emotion, and the origin, in psychological terms, of the informative and stimulative intentions respectively.

Sense of fact, however, despite the varied contributions which supply an indispensable basis for our mental life, cannot provide us with a full equipment for intelligent activity. As we well know, not all facts are in the deepest sense significant. Many of them are merely additional cases of a principle already familiar, and are recognized and dealt with by a purely habitual reaction; or, if they are allowed to accumulate, they may do so to an extent that baffles the ability of the mind to handle them. In purely literary terms, this means that direct renderings of fact for the mere value of record, or for immediate application to a specific need, may fall below the literary level. An inventory of furniture, a title-deed, a common-law statute, are all framed in view of such specific application, and consequently have no dependent literary value; and even the simplest sort of informative writing may be in the same case, though the transparent rendering of any group of facts in an easily grasped order may assume a tinge of literary pleasantness. But if we are to make real headway with facts, we must get at their significance by interpreting them; and to begin this task is the work of reason.

The primary business of reason seems to be to arrange the items of experience in determinate orders, which can be verified and accepted by other minds—which, indeed, *must* be so accepted if the arrangement is sound and the other minds sane. It achieves this result by extracting from the presented experience some part which can be regarded as its representative or equivalent, but which, in its limitation, suggests some relation or consequence better than the original whole could do. Its characteristic function, therefore, is subdivision and analysis, its characteristic expression the orderly presentation of the results of that analysis. One of its main powers is this ability to dissect concepts until their ultimate fibres are revealed; another is the lucid display of the results of such dissection for reader tracing and understanding; yet a third is the detaching of a closely linked chain of logical connections from a body of experience dispersed or confused. It constructs, then, as well as dissects; but it dissects before it constructs, and it may be satisfied by dissection without construction. When it does construct, however, it claims to discover permanent groupings and connections, which are not affected by personal prejudice and pre-occupation, but are rooted in the reasonable nature of things.

It is not hard to see that both the offices thus assigned to reason have their definite limitations. The dissection of ideas may become a pursuit so fascinating that it is carried beyond the point where the ordinary mind can retain the possibility of recombination; the logic which controls a great body of items may derive from a simplification which has lost touch with actuality, and yields only the barren pride of the system-builder pure and simple. Yet again, a train of reasoning outwardly cogent may be inapplicable to concrete experience because some important factor of the latter has been forgotten; not to mention the cases in which more or less harmful fallacies creep in by the way. Even if Reason in general deserve all the praises which its admirers bestow, reason in the concrete is subject to the shortcomings of human reasoners.

It is thus clear that sense of fact and reason depend, for their full effectiveness, on a certain reciprocal relation; for the dangers of sundering them are manifest. When the control of the sense of fact is lost, the pursuit of analysis becomes an end

in itself, leading to conclusions which have no existence save in the brain of the analyzer; when the laws of logic are ignored, endless misapprehensions and fallacies may ensue. Yet even the combination of them is not wholly adequate to the interpretation of experience. No matter how solid a given body of fact, no matter how cogent a given train of reasoning from it, both facts and reasoning may be painfully limited, and may be impressive precisely because they are limited. Hence it is an error to suppose, as some periods have done, that they can between them give a complete and satisfactory account of experience. Even at their best and fullest they leave some tracts unexplored, some syntheses unattempted; and thus a field is left for the exercise of yet a third faculty, imagination.

Part of the difficulty in satisfactorily defining imagination seems to arise from its appearance at different levels of mental activity, and its consequent association with the other faculties, from which it may seem, in its simplest forms, hard to distinguish. At the level of retention, it is associated with sense of fact, in that it makes vivid the impressions produced by the several items, and thus facilitates their revival. At the level of rational thought, it assists the formation and application of ideas by making vivid their constitution or their consequences, and thus becomes intellectual or deliberative; but at this level it begins to assume more clearly its peculiar character, the nature of which, put shortly, is this. The words commonly used to denote the process of thought—such words as *method*, *investigation*, *pursuit*—imply a search, an effort which will modify our thought or our action. Imagination, on the other hand, contemplates its objects; it may shift the point of view from which it regards them, but it is not modified thereby, any more than is an observer who walks around a great building and gazes at it from different sides. Reason moves in a step-by-step progression; imagination omits some or all of the intermediate steps, and penetrates directly to its goal. We might compare its simplest operations to occasional flashes or glimpses; its applications, in thinking, to a directed beam of light; its unrestricted activity, to the radiance of total vision.

Imagination, then, perceives and contemplates likenesses which are not discovered by dissection, or linked by logical connections, but are as it were directly presented and beheld.

It aims at the essences of things, revealed in all their inherent intensity; and it sees the object, not as a mere vivid piece of actual fact, not as a mere item in a train of reasoning, but as the salient point of a vast sweep of environing existence, which gives it a significance that mere minuteness of scrutiny or closeness of logical tissue could never compass. In virtue of their suppression or omission of the successive steps of logical procedure, imaginative products will possess a concision which comes, not from mere brevity or compression, but from an intensity of vision which holds together all the relevant details. But, in virtue of their sense of contact with experience as a whole, this concision will be accompanied and relieved by an amplitude which gives them their intensity and their significance. It is this seemingly paradoxical fusion of concision and amplitude which confers on all the products of imaginative activity their peculiar character.

On the same basis we can profitably make a working distinction between imagination and fancy. The latter, like the former, deals with likenesses; but it deals only with such as lend themselves to playfulness or to calculated ingenuity. It is essentially irresponsible and multifarious; it is satisfied with slight or temporary contacts, it passes rapidly and capriciously from one aspect to another. In a word, it disperses where imagination concentrates; and while its results may often be full of freshness and charm, they cannot have that grip on reality which imagination can assert and make good.

It is by no means difficult to find examples of the exercise of the faculties in well-known literary works. We have the direct outcome of the sense of fact in Pepys' diary, or in Elizabethan murder-plays and realistic comedies of London life, or in such a poem as Whittier's *Snow-Bound*. We have reason applied to experienced fact in Franklin's autobiography, applied to a body of concepts in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, turned to poetical use in certain poems of Browning. We have imagination in parts of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, in such a novel as Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, in lyric poetry, in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Shakespeare; and for a synthesis of all three qualities in a single work we can turn to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. These, however, are but cases noted in passing; for a more comprehensive view, we must turn once more to the total literary

field, and see what pattern is there formed by the various divisions which we have thus far considered separately.

IV

All literary achievements, from the humblest record of fact to the boldest imaginative synthesis, have their being in the general literary medium which we call *style*. Using this term to cover any "expression of thought or feeling in written words," as Wendell puts it, we find that such expressions fall into one or other of the two great divisions, verse and prose. In spite of pleas for a third order, in spite of the existence of admittedly puzzling "border-forms," we must hold that this distinction is as absolute as any in the whole literary field. We can discover instances of every purpose, of every intention, of every faculty, on both sides of the dividing line; they may be more numerous, or more at home, on one side than on the other, but it is obvious that the line does not sunder them. Yet it is equally true that the continued existence of these two modes must indicate a difference of function between them; and at least a part of the history of any literature is the discovery of what that difference of function implies, and of the consequent distribution of literary works in accordance with it.

This difference of function consists, in a word, in the indefinitely greater capacity of prose to accommodate and absorb detail. Meter, by its insistence on recurrent and often syllabically equivalent patterns, emphasizes what it includes, but is compelled to omit much else. Prose, on the contrary, is freer and more inclusive than verse; and as the concern for rhythm diminishes, the capacity for detail seems to admit of indefinite expansion. As a result, while verse and prose may at a very early period of their development not be clearly separated, a certain differentiation is bound to arise as soon as they are extensively practised, and to grow ever marked as the consciousness of literary function develops.⁶ We still use verse for convenience of memorizing, as in the familiar "Thirty days hath September," but consciously as a survival; whereas the use of

⁶ A pendant to any developed theory would be a doctrine of the specific forms of verse and prose—a task obviously too large to be undertaken here.

prose for all the purposes of recording facts, opinions, and arguments has become so native to us that we scarcely pause to think of it.

The result of this differentiation has been, in the evolution of literature, a steady widening of the sphere of prose at the expense of that of verse. Because verse, for various reasons, attained consciously artistic handling earlier than did prose, many things were attempted in it which subsequent experience showed to be better suited to prose. No one would nowadays attempt a philosophical poem on the model of Parmenides or Lucretius, or a rimed chronicle like those of the Middle Ages; and if we still tolerate narratives in verse, it is again as a conscious survival, which is not at all likely to crowd out the multifarious developments of modern prose fiction. The spirit of analysis can only exceptionally be the spirit of poetry; and the great work of analysis, in the collection and criticism of the items of experience, can best be carried on in prose. But by consequence the sphere of poetry has been more accurately delimited, and if it has been made, in one sense, less accessible, it is ensured a securer possession of its means and its results.

To pass, however, from the more strictly historical point of view to that of a wider theoretical outlook, we have to note, in the totality of literature, an increasingly marked difference of levels. Every mode of expression, besides its practical applications, tends to manifest its powers of inherent expressiveness; and if we can distinguish an infra-literary region in which words serve as barely more than figures and counters, and their combinations have only the practical utility of records and documents, we can equally well distinguish a region in which the expressional capacities of literature are progressively realized. Moreover, since prose and verse are, as we have seen, functionally distinct, we shall find each of them tending toward a form which shall be, for each, the quintessence of its capacities. This form is, for prose, the essay, and for verse, the lyric. Naturally, not every writer feels obliged to develop this expressional capacity to its extreme; so that, just as in the kinds of writing we inevitably discover blends, so there is a gradation between the mood of the pure essay and that of the pure lyric. There are poems that preserve a good deal of the former, as for example Marvell's *Thoughts in a Garden* or Shelley's *Lines Written among*

the Euganean Hills, just as there are essays, notably Lamb's, which suggest the atmosphere of poetry; but the blending is never complete, and at the extremes the most characteristic essays of Lamb and the best lyrics of Shelley are as obviously different in function as they are in form.⁷

This point of view leads us back, by a natural turn, to what was said, in the previous section, of intentions and faculties. It is evident that pure sense of fact, as the recording and accumulating of experienced items, finds its natural vehicle in prose. It is by no means excluded from verse, but it will there appear as selected, striking, vivid, more or less significant fact, and, if sufficiently vivid, will take on an imaginative tinge by mere force of vividness. But prose too, especially descriptive or narrative prose, is subject to the same impulses, and will become more varied and striking in proportion as they are kept at work. On the other hand, if facts are not to be accumulated beyond the hope of management, they will incite analysis, grouping, and subdivision, and so lead to those logical modes of treatment which it is the office of reason to direct. But the emphasis on fact as fact will always mean a trend towards prose, just as much of what passes for fancy is simply capricious sensitiveness to an unfamiliar or unusual range of fact, and therefore assumes a prose form. We must beware of thinking that sense of fact as here defined is merely, or is even akin to, matter-of-factness, or to "sticking to the facts" in any sluggish or unresponsive sense.

Just as sense of fact, in its finer developments, outruns the requirements of mere record, so reason finds other manifestations than those of pure analysis or of formal argument. We cannot, in the end, conceive of any piece of literature as wholly divorced from thought, or from rational thought; even the bare record demands some thought for its making, and the record of a subtle emotional effect simply cannot be got by mere accumulation. If we stop to think, we shall see that the framing of a firm, coherent plot in narration (novel or drama) is essentially the task of reason; and that, though sense of fact may guide it, and imagination transfigure it, neither can dispense with a reasonable regard for the great principles that govern human experience. The risk that such employment of the reason

⁷ See, for the development of this contrast, my papers on the lyric and the essay in *PMLA*, vols. XXXIII and XXXVI.

may turn to the mechanical and the schematic is real enough, as many "well-made" but frigid plays and stories attest; but it is a risk that must be run, and if it is evaded, the consequences may be even worse than schematism or frigidity.

And what holds of sense of fact and of reason holds no less of imagination. In itself it is steady; it should not be confused with the vagaries of fancy, or made responsible for errors which really belong to the count of false inference. Its light may be impaired by an imperfect organ of transmission, or by confusion in the external world; but that is the misfortune of the agent, not a defect or falsity in the faculty. Yet its manifestations may not only seem intermittent, but actually become so, if the strain which it imposes cannot be borne, or if it is applied to material not sufficiently discriminated in advance. This last point deserves notice as affording us another means of tracing the frontier between imagination and reason. What the imagination presents may have been attained only after a long and arduous search; but what is presented is the result, not the steps which have led to it, though we may be conscious that steps must have preceded the discovery. Conversely, the reason, turned constructive, may extend its sweep until it reaches the very threshold of imaginative vision. There is no absolute cleavage between the two faculties, and space is thus left for that "constructive intelligence" which Pater declared to be one of the forms of the imagination; for there is a type of structure which, while remaining reasonable, is not built up step by step, but seems inherent in the material, waiting to be revealed by the truly seeing eye and mind.

The entire literary activity may therefore be looked on as a "contention," as Pater liked to say, maintaining its existence between the level of immediate application to which practical application would drag it down, and the level of "pure" esthetic activity at which it risks losing touch with experience altogether. Yet within the domain thus defined it is still exposed to the same influences in modified form, and gets its existence in separate works by a more or less judicious adjustment of them. No responsible writer works in total ignorance of his aim, or in total disregard of the properties of his medium or the specific requirements of verse and prose respectively. Of course he is not always perfectly certain of his aim, or in absolute control of his

tools, and he is likely to make discoveries in both respects as he goes along. But trusting either to sheer inspiration or to the advantage of the moment is never a sure reliance; and if it occasionally succeeds, it is far more likely to end in more or less complete failure.

In the total field of literature, then, we shall find that purely literary merit is, at least to a large extent, measured by the fitness of the chosen vehicle to the purpose and intention in view. Since the vision of such fitness is not always clear, and since practical applications may exert a distorting influence, we need not be surprised to discover many works in which no especial fitness appears, and many others in which it is more or less obscured. Again, the desire for pure expressiveness must always make its way within the limits prescribed by the nature of the literary medium; and the more nearly those limits are approached, the greater the risk, as the examples of Donne's verse and Meredith's prose sufficiently attest. But the desire to approach the limits will always incite some writers to the perilous adventure, just as the North Pole and the summit of Everest have challenged terrestrial explorers; and those who do not sympathize with them are free to stay at home, where, however, they should not deride the more adventurous. We could ill afford to spare Donne and Meredith and their like merely because we could not emulate them, or because we are reluctant to give the effort which even following them from afar demands.

It is, no doubt, absurd to suppose that the demarcations here presented fully account for any individual piece of literature, any more than the life or meaning of a city are fully accounted for by its geographical and political situation. Yet, just as it is not a matter of indifference that a city is situated in a particular latitude and longitude, by the sea or amid prairies or mountains, in one state rather than another, so it is worth while to consider the blendings of purposes, intentions, and faculties in any particular literary work, and to use them, so to speak, as co-ordinates for determining its position. They do not pretend to exhaust its significance, nor should they be so employed as to obscure that significance; but, if rightly used, they should no more harm our enjoyment of literature than a city is harmed by being localized on a map. The better the map, the better

in certain respects, will be our knowledge of the city; the better our literary concepts, the clearer will be our knowledge of the concrete pieces of literature. But the only way to appreciate the life and the meaning of either cities or literature is to go there and directly experience it; and the only way to make our terminology accurate and effective is to keep it constantly in touch with the actual literary facts; revising, extending, enlarging it as those facts demand.

Such, then, are the main categories under the joint sway of which I conceive the phenomena of literature to fail. Speaking in terms of a different figure, we might say that the four kinds are substances, each with its peculiar properties; that the intentions are like dyes, diffusing through and tinging these substances; and that the faculties are like lights in which they are seen, and which, as they move across and fall from shifting angles, reveal new and unexpected aspects. They must all be taken into account before any piece of literature is fully accounted for, and none of them can be permanently dispensed with. None of them give a complete account of experience, whether in itself or in its literary records, any more than the principles of astronomy, or physics, or chemistry, or anthropology give such an account. The far-sweeping survey of imagination from its mountain-top of vision must perforce overlook many items which the sense of fact can track out in the valleys of the actual; the cautious links of reason can constrain conviction where the imagination can appeal only to sympathy. Each gives what it has to give; and because we have the *Oresteia* and Shakespeare's tragedies we are not obliged to forego Pepys' diary or Franklin's autobiography. Only by uniting the contributions of all can we hope to gain any real insight into the meaning of experience; and in the careful and intelligent grasp of the terms denoting them lies the only possibility of forming either a valid theory or a truly efficient rhetoric.

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HEINRICH VON KLEIST AND WIELAND

In a letter¹ of March 22, 1801, Heinrich von Kleist writes that in his boyhood he had adopted the belief that constant growth toward perfection was the goal of creation. He had come to the conclusion that after death man continues on another planet the process of development begun on this earth, and that the eternal verities acquired here below accompany man, aiding him to rise to a still higher degree of perfection in a future existence. Kleist does not give the name of the treatise from which he derived this idea, but believes it to have been written by Wieland. The editor of Kleist's letters, Georg Minde-Pouet, surmises (V, 203) that the treatise referred to is Wieland's *Natur der Dinge*. In an article in the *Jahrbuch der Kleist Gesellschaft* for 1923 and 1924, entitled *H. v. Kleist. Religiosität und Charakter* (p. 56), Maria Prigge Kruhoeffer states that this idea appears in Wieland's *Sympathieen* which, she alleges, influenced Kleist's youth. Elsewhere (M.L.N. Nov. 1924) I have cited an unacknowledged Wieland quotation by Kleist of the year 1792; this contains much the same thought, and is taken from Wieland's *Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen*. In view of the dearth of biographical evidence, it is largely a matter of conjecture which of Wieland's writings first brought such ideas to Kleist's attention. Suffice it to say that these views, which are to be found in one form or another in the writings of various rationalists, appear frequently in Wieland's numerous works. It is not surprising to find a strong kinship between the thoughts of Wieland and the young Kleist when one reflects how rationalistic Kleist's early view of life was. The two men agree fundamentally in their glorification of the life of reason, in their views on happiness, education, perfectibility, virtue, immortality, religion and God. There is substantial agreement in their opinions on the limitations of reason, and subsequently on the significance of emotion and intuition. It is Kantian philosophy, however, which drives a wedge between their views and brings about a decided change in Kleist's outlook on life. Wieland

¹ *H. v. Kleist Werke*. Bibliographisches Institut. Leipzig und Wien. 1904-05. V, 203.

finds himself essentially in accord with Kant's conclusions on pure reason and on practical reason, but Kleist's less pliable, uncompromising temperament involves him in a catastrophe of sweeping consequences. A brief survey of the points of similarity listed above must of course concern itself essentially with the views of Kleist before this catastrophe.

Of fundamental significance in Wieland's and Kleist's early view of life is human happiness which both regard as the goal of human effort. Wieland declares² (XXXV, 367) that the two most insistent desires common to all mankind are health and happiness. Nature, he continues, has given us aptitudes and inexhaustible resources for the attainment of both. Though such attainment is not entirely within our power, nevertheless in most cases it depends largely upon our conduct. Everything within and without us is in constant activity to maintain and to destroy these two ends. Both are essentially the result of a life according to nature, and the way to their achievement can consequently be based upon certain rules of conduct. Elsewhere (XXXI, 314) Wieland proclaims most emphatically what the nature of these rules is: "Die Menschen können nur dadurch glücklicher werden, wenn sie vernünftiger und moralischer werden." Thus the moral dictates of reason are the basis of happiness, and the life of reason is the life of happiness. Kleist, too, stresses the longing of mankind for happiness. He asserts (V, 30) that God himself has indelibly impressed a longing for happiness upon the human soul, thereby pointing unmistakably toward the possibility of its realization. Kleist adds that the first and foremost of all our desires is to be happy; this desire is voiced by every nerve and fibre of our being, and accompanies us throughout the entire span of life. He, likewise, emphasizes morality or virtue as the guide to happiness, and endeavors to attain this goal by a life based upon a definite plan. Such a plan (V, 43f.) must be determined by a rationalistic analysis of one's nature, and entails the choice of that moral happiness best suited to it. Both men regarded happiness as a radiant goal to be reached by the enlightened training of all human qualities and by following the dictates of reason and virtue.

² *Sämliche Werke*. Göschen. Leipzig. 1857.

This process of training or the perfection of man's nature is the very essence of the life of reason for Wieland and Kleist. Such education consists for both men merely in stimulating those inherent possibilities with which nature has endowed the individual. The child, says Wieland (XXX, 14) has within it everything it needs in order to attain the perfection of its individual destiny. Elsewhere he writes (XXIX, 110) that the whole perfection of man consists of aptitudes which lie in the soul; they merely require time, favorable influences and the impelling warmth of moderate emotions to blossom forth into realities. Similarly Kleist writes to his fiancée (V, 127) that he can place nothing in her soul, but can merely develop what nature has placed within. Since the soul is endowed with such capacities for development, the activity of the life of reason consists largely in constant striving toward ultimate, divine perfection. Wieland asserts (XXIX, 109) that man is capable of endless ennobling and that he is created for eternity. Only this truth, says he, can solve the riddle of human desires; it alone is capable of satisfying them, for this vague feeling of our destiny, this yearning for the infinite is manifest in every human breast. Again Wieland declares (XXIX, 31) that love of truth and of goodness are the best preparation of the human soul for religion, which is the highest perfection of our nature and the source of happiness. Whoever loves the good, must also love God, and whoever loves God despises everything which does not aid in perfection, since the more perfect a man is, the greater can be his love of God. Kleist expressed himself with equal fervor on this point (V, 204): The endeavor never to come to a standstill, to proceed incessantly to a higher degree of culture soon became the sole principle of my activity. Culture seemed to me to be the only goal worth striving for, and truth seemed the sole wealth worth possessing. Truth and culture were so sacred to me that I made the most costly sacrifices to acquire truth and to gain culture. —Thus Kleist's youthful slogan was culture, reason was his idol, and truth his aim.

For Wieland as well as for Kleist the possibility of endless ennobling demands a belief in immortality. Logically enough any span of finite personal existence would be too short to enable the human faculties to approach infinite perfection. Wieland maintains (XXIX, 126) that the very soul of Christian-

ity lies in the living recognition of two principles: namely, that God, the creator, ruler and judge of mankind is at the same time a merciful father, and that man, who is created for eternity, must never regard this life in any way other than in its relation to the future life from which alone it receives its value and genuine significance. As a rational creature and as a creature capable of deliberate acts, man is subject to the universal laws of order and of perfection, which make this world what it is. As an immortal being, sprung from heaven, he must live in accordance with the dignity of his nature and with the exalted character of his future status. His present life must be in constant accord with the laws of God and a serious preparation for the future life. Elsewhere (XXX, 16) Wieland postulates immortality as one of the two great truths by which man must live. He regards faith in the continuation of our fundamental being, with the consciousness of our own personality and of constant progress to a higher form of existence, as a belief which must have a most beneficial influence. Kleist also believed in personal immortality. This belief was associated with a continued existence on some other planet (V, 203) where man was to continue his striving for truth and whence he was to proceed subsequently to still higher and nobler forms of existence. Thus both men base their view of immortality upon the conception of life as a process of growth toward ultimate perfection; since the span of life on this earth is too short to realize this objective, they posit immortality as a means of approaching infinite goodness. Moreover they regard this life as a preparation for the future. This life derives its significance from positive attainment; its happiness is derived from the satisfaction attendant upon conscious progress. So strong was Kleist's faith in personal immortality that it persisted even after his catastrophe over Kant.

It has already been intimated that both Wieland and Kleist link up their conceptions of human perfectibility and of immortality with religion. They agree also on the futility of much religious speculation. Yet Wieland (XXX, 76) differs somewhat from Kleist in insisting that religion is not an affair of the mind but of the heart. For him religion does not consist in pondering and quarreling over the essence of the divine being, but rather in endeavoring to do God's will. According

to the clear dictum of Christ, he continues, the unalloyed, active love for those men whom we see is the most unmistakable evidence of our love for God whom we do not see; we are enjoined to manifest our faith not by confessions and forms but by our works. In the Scriptures God has nowhere manifested his pleasure over our babbling and squabbling as to what he is and what he is not, nor over our childish stammering as to his essence, attributes and intentions; on the other hand, he has declared in every possible manner that whoever is devout and does what is right, is pleasing unto him. Wieland concludes that the essential point of agreement for Christians must not be adherence to the same religious opinions and formulae, but rather an active faith in God and in Christ who was sent into the world by God for the most benevolent purposes. This faith must be supplemented by active love for mankind and by the living hope of a better life for those who are making themselves capable thereof by their present life. The strictly rationalistic, ethical foundations of Kleist's early religion have already been emphasized. His early views were seen to be characterized by constant effort, by untiring activity and unceasing striving after cultural and intellectual values. Man must hold something sacred, says he (V, 44). And since the ceremonies of religion and the decrees of conventions are not sacred to him, the laws of reason must be all the more so. He emphasizes (V, 128) man's duty to resolutely fill his place in this world. Like Wieland he values activity and right living higher than any worship which manifests itself in the mere observance of formal ceremonies (V, 130). Kleist points out that all religious forms and customs are the product of the human mind and are not God-given. All such forms change and, being ephemeral, they cannot constitute the real essence of religion. But, he concludes, a command burns within us, a command which must be divine, since it is eternal and universal; this command bids us do our duty, and thus it contains the doctrines of all religions. All other tenets are derived from this one and are based on it; if they are not contained therein they are barren and futile.

Neither Kleist nor Wieland doubts the existence of God. Moreover they agree that it is impossible for the finite mind to determine the exact nature of God. Reason, says Wieland

(XXX, 56) can merely state what God is not, rather than what he is. Wieland believes in the eternal existence (XXX, 16) of a superior being of unlimited power by whom the whole universe is ruled with wisdom and with benevolence in accordance with immutable laws. According to Wieland (XXX, 81) belief in God not merely as the primary cause of all things, but also as the unlimited and highest lawgiver, ruler and judge of mankind is, together with the belief in a future existence after death, the fundamental first principle of religion. Wieland asserts (XXX, 80) that man can by no means sin against God, Christ or the immortality of the soul by submitting man's conceptions, opinions and imaginings concerning them to the scrutiny of reason. Nothing in the world, he continues, is so sacred as to be immune to being summoned before the judgment of reason. For, says he, we do not investigate the things themselves but merely the judgments that men have made of them. Yet he cautiously concludes that a wise man will refrain from all speculations that are vain and which might perchance cause great harm. The youthful Kleist finds a quiet trust in God, who sees him, a most comforting belief; he is drawn to this belief by a faith of which his heart assures him and which his reason tends to confirm rather than deny (V, 131). Kleist holds that man can neither comprehend God nor clearly understand his decrees and ways. He conceives God as the acme of virtue and perfection to which man must aspire. Kleist, who considers fulfilling one's duty as the cardinal principle of all religions (V, 130 f.), maintains that if the idea of God and of immortality were merely a dream, he should no longer feel compelled to do what is right. But when he has done his duty, he permits himself to think hopefully of God and of a happy eternity which awaits him. Kleist states that God has placed man on this earth for a definite purpose (V, 131), and implies that God's purpose on earth is to be achieved through the agency of man (V, 173). Like Wieland, Kleist has faith in the benevolence of God (IV, 58) and like Wieland he regards God as the acme of virtue and of perfection.

The foregoing analysis demonstrates the rationalism of Wieland and of the young Kleist. Both were enthusiastic admirers of the power of reason, and both regarded reason as a guide to virtue. Wieland sings the praises of reason in the

following glowing terms (XXIX, 106): Reason exalts, beautifies and broadens the sensuous powers of the soul; it ennobles the animal by raising him to the rank of the angels. But how excellent is this reason in itself and how great it makes man, by opening the realm of truth for him and instructing him in the laws of order and perfection! Reason leads man from step to step in the approach toward the infinite perfect being. And again (XXIX, 108): Through the influence of reason upon the heart virtue is produced; virtue alone can make man worthy of his creator, can bring forth those kindly inclinations (*Neigungen*) which are constantly engaged in doing good; virtue induces that love of everything which by its beauty or perfection reminds us of the divine. Reason alone (XXX, 11) is the distinctive characteristic of man. Furthermore, says Wieland (XXXII, 209), reason brings all important truths to light, it dispels prejudices and teaches man to recognize error. This is essentially the view of reason which Kleist held prior to his catastrophe over Kant. To be sure, he had had occasional misgivings as to the primacy of reason, but in the main he felt himself subject to the dictates of reason (V, 44) and asserted that reason should guide him (V, 24). He considered his resolve to study as born of higher reason (V, 38); he asserted that a free, thinking man chooses his course on the basis of reason (V, 41) and that such a man is consistent in his actions since he has causes based upon reason for his every act and word (V, 42). In short, said he, reason finally assures man of his inward happiness (V, 44).

In view of such strong insistence upon reason as the guiding, determining factor in human life, it may at first thought seem strange to find statements to the contrary by both Wieland and Kleist. Yet, in the case of the latter, subsequent contact with the perplexing, complicated realities of life caused his naive faith in reason to waver; Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* dispelled this youthful faith by dealing it a death blow. In the case of Wieland, contradictory statements are frequent on various subjects. Pliable and adaptable as he was, it was easy for him to accept much that outwardly and apparently is irreconcilable. Nevertheless, though fond of glorifying reason, Wieland came to a realization of certain limitations of the reasoning faculties. Thus we find him challenging reason as

follows (XXIX, 142 f.): "Ich frage einen Jeden, der sich nicht erst seit ehegestern in der Welt umgesehen hat, was ist es, als gerade die kaltblütige, spitzfindige, immer zurückhaltende, immer argwöhnische, immer voraussehende, immer raisonnierende Vernunft, was von jeher am geschäftigsten gewesen ist, Glauben and Liebe, die einzigen Stützen unseres armen Erdenlebens, zu untergraben and umzustürzen? . . . Allerdings kann sie nichts dafür, dass Sophisten und Witzlinge von jeher ihren natürlichen Gebrauch in den unnatürlichen verwandelt haben; aber da der Mensch nun einmal diesen unglücklichen Hang hat, wehe ihm wenn seine Vernunft die einzige Führerin seines Lebens ist!" Though man owes reason much, reason has been abused and has become a dangerous instrument in the hands of sophists. Consequently man needs another guide to supplement reason. Here Wieland seems less inclined to challenge reason itself than its improper use. But since man is prone to such misuse, some other guide is necessary. Wieland now proceeds to extoll intuitive feeling as a source of infallible judgments. He observes (XXIX, 143 f.) that people are strongly inclined to scoff at those who declare that an inexplicable inner light is the guiding star of their belief and life; yet in spite of such ridicule they undeniably have something which represents an inner light—this is "das innige Bewusstsein dessen, was wir fühlen." Among all criteria, adds Wieland, this is undeniably the most certain, provided that the individual in question is sane and conscious of the difference between his perceptions and his imagination. Wieland argues that instances in which a human being has been deceived by his senses or by his intuition ("Sein inneres Gefühl") may be frequent, but that nevertheless these instances do not invalidate the faith which every man has in his own feeling. Wieland adds that man may be deceived by nature or by invisible powers, in short by causes with which he is unfamiliar, but as long as he is conscious of having felt, seen and touched a thing, he places more credence in his own feeling than in a whole world which testifies to the contrary and in all those philosophers who try to prove to him a priori that he is dreaming or raving. In proportion as Kleist became skeptical of reason, he, too, placed more faith in feeling as a source of knowledge and as a guide to action. His faith in reason was undermined by

Kant. Though entirely at sea for a time, Kleist soon acquired confidence in intuition. Even before his break with reason his attention had been directed through his friend Brockes (V, 188) to the difference between the coldness of reason and the responsiveness of the heart. Kleist had observed that Brockes' tendency to act on his first impulse or on a "Gefühlsblick" never led to error. Consequently it is but natural that in his quandary Kleist should substitute intuition for reason. Thus he subsequently writes as follows (V, 273): "Nichts, nichts gedacht, frage dein erstes Gefühl, dem folge!" And later (V, 328): "O der Verstand! Der unglückselige Verstand . . . Folge deinem Gefühl!"

Associated with the above emphasis upon feeling is the necessity of taking cognizance of errors that arise from a reliance upon feeling. "Gefühlsverwirrung" or confusion of feeling is a term employed by Wieland and by Kleist as well. The former says (XXIX, 143): Prove to a man that his reason is a sorceress that constantly deceives and leads him astray—this will not confuse him; but prove to him that he cannot rely upon his senses, upon his inner feeling—that will confuse him! And if it were possible for your evidence to fully convince this man, he would have to be consigned to a madhouse at once. But fortunately belief in his own feeling is the last thing which man will abandon—however weak he may be—in any case where he has been profoundly conscious of feeling. Wieland regards "Gefühlsverwirrung" as arising when the validity of intuitions is stoutly challenged, for such a challenge undermines the correctness of inferences through the element of doubt which serves to confuse intuitive faculties. For Kleist a similar confusion ensues when the intuitive faculties are not given free and full sway; yet they are blocked in their free operation not only by doubt, but also by the interposition of the fallible reason, by outward misunderstanding, by a conflict of emotions, and by the impossibility of recognizing the will of the deity. Man is capable of effecting a correct choice and of unhampered action in accordance therewith only when his innate feelings and intuitions are undisturbed.

Wieland's definite recognition of the limitations of pure reason, his insight into the significance of intuitive judgments and his yielding to the necessity of living by definite postulates

are indicative of his substantial agreement with Kant. The case of Kleist was different. His inability to effect a compromise, to produce a synthesis or reconciliation between different viewpoints, and his insistence upon consistently carrying a single idea to its ultimate conclusion led to a tragic situation fraught with most serious and far-reaching consequences in his life. Wieland (XXX, 14) agrees with Kant that the objects of speculative sciences are not things in themselves, but only our conceptions, opinions and imaginings, the deductions drawn from these, and the hypotheses and systems invented for their explanation. According to Wieland, we have not penetrated nor can we penetrate to the things of nature themselves. We live and have our being in an ocean of phenomena, ideas and phantoms by which we are deceived in countless ways; but our interest lies in being deceived by them as little as possible. Wieland maintains that it is essentially the human understanding and our sharply investigating reason which can teach us to distinguish between the truth and error and deception, between the useful and necessary and that which is harmful and destructive. The sciences, says Wieland (XXX, 382) are to the human reason what light is to our eyes. Accordingly, (XXX, 391 f.) there is no scientific object nor any article of faith which should not be scrutinized and upon which the searchlight of truth should not be thrown to determine whether or not it may be worthy of belief. There are truths and errors, writes Wieland elsewhere (XXX, 15), which have had a great decisive influence upon the weal or woe of the human race; they must be fearlessly and indefatigably examined from all sides and be exposed to the hottest fire of investigation until they are purged from the dross of error; then the pure gold which remains will be above contradiction and will be the most precious treasure of humanity. Although Wieland glories in such achievement, he admits (XXX, 96) that man has merely become acquainted with phenomena whose causes and effects can be computed, but whose innate powers are still a mystery. And even if we could resolve the whole mechanism of the corporeal world into its primary constituents, he argues that we should still be compelled to posit spiritual powers which gave consistency, life, sensation and thought to matter. Reason, continues Wieland (XXX, 98), does not forbid our declaring

a thing to be possible, merely because we cannot understand how and why it should be impossible. Elsewhere Wieland writes (XXX, 16 f.) that there are truths which are rooted in practical faith. They are not so much objects of speculative reason as of reasonable belief, yet they are rooted so deeply in human nature that there is no people on the earth in which certain forms of them are not fixed. These truths, for which peoples have an inexplicable predilection, are immortality and the existence of God. Wieland is firmly convinced that these two "Glaubenswahrheiten," when conceived in their greatest purity and simplicity, must have the most beneficial effect upon our inner morality, contentment and happiness. It can be proved and has been proved, he concludes, that these postulates are indispensable to mankind as a whole, and that by faith in them even the best and happiest man must become still better and happier.

Wieland was of a more investigative spirit than the youthful, inexperienced Kleist who accepted rationalistic views with great enthusiasm and without subjecting them to careful scrutiny. Kleist's immaturity and lack of systematic education virtually precluded the possibility of a conclusive searching examination of these ideas. It was a case of lack of background both in philosophical thought and in concrete experience. Kleist's self-chosen course of study emphasized rationalistic theories rather than empirical experimentation and investigation. Consequently Kleist found it impossible to adjust himself to two points of view which seemed to clash and permit of no synthesis. It is not at all unlikely—indeed, it is quite probable—that Kleist's Kant-catastrophe would have been averted, had he read with equal care certain other writings of Wieland which, as seen above, could have prepared him for a challenge of the infallibility of reason. Wieland, proud as he was of the achievements of reason, has been found clearly aware of certain limitations of reason and of the significance of intuitive feeling. Had Kleist's attention been focused upon this phase of Wieland's ideas, he might have been prepared for an appreciation of the validity of Kant's conclusions as set forth in the *Critique of Practical Reason* to which Kleist very likely neglected to give careful consideration. Such consideration should have averted a catastrophe as a result of

which for a time Kleist was desperate and disillusioned because the foundations of his view of life seemed to have vanished into air. This conjecture seems highly plausible in view of the importance that Kleist attached to those opinions of Wieland which moulded his early outlook upon life. Furthermore, this assumption is supported by the significance Kleist subsequently attached to Wieland's enthusiastic praise of his *Robert Guiskard*. For in moments of despondency over his failure to complete this drama on which he had staked all his hopes, Kleist found consolation and renewed faith in his poetic talents by reading and re-reading Wieland's letter of commendation.

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THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES AND ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY

Criticism has more than once denied moral purpose to the Elizabethan playwrights. Samuel Johnson writing in an age of different social consciousness from ours regretted that the genius of Shakespeare was only too often lost to the cause of moral order. Lines of verse which each generation rediscovers as comment on life coming home to men's bosoms Creizenach, in partial agreement with Johnson, would apparently credit to Shakespeare's instinct for "the profound dramatic effect which could be achieved by such brooding reflections."¹ These words may be made to imply that Shakespeare never sincerely shared the emotion of his characters when faced with the mystery of life, that he was only a spectacular technician, that he was much more the histrionic schemer than the lyric poet.

There is truth in Samuel Johnson's observation that Shakespeare's "precepts and axioms drop casually from him,"² though we may not agree that this lack of a dominant moral program is a grave fault. But this remark of Johnson's was immediately preceded by one which shows more wisdom than the other does penetration, and one which in quoting Johnson for his purpose Creizenach may reasonably be asked not to discard. Johnson says, "From his writings indeed a system of social duty may be selected, for he that thinks reasonably must think morally." If system seems to us too strong a word for what Johnson means, at least he perceives that Shakespeare as a commentator upon life gets very real tributes from the ordinary reader. Lack of agreement in interpretation of Shakespeare does nothing to weaken this fact.

However much the Elizabethan playwright may have fixed his view upon the story as a thing to intrigue or delight his audience—and he seems to have done this with an admirably healthy mind—he undeniably lived in an age to which moral

¹ *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, 1916, p. 127 (translated from *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 1909, IV, p. 146). The statement comes from a discussion of *Hamlet* and other plays in that fashion. Also see Stoll, *Modern Philology*, VII, pp. 564 ff., quoted by Creizenach, *English Drama*, p. 126.

² Malone's *Shakespeare*, I, p. 73. Also reprinted by Walter Raleigh in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, 1908, p. 21. Quoted by Creizenach, p. 127.

philosophy was not strange or repellent. Especially when he wrote tragedy, with its destructive forces which no audience can face thoughtlessly and which the uses of dramatic structure force an author himself to order thoughtfully, the dramatist could not do his thinking in a vacuum. The views of life held by his fellow writers were pressing him on all sides and the accepted moral values of an audience which he had to meet on understandable terms lay in wait for him. To say that neither audience nor dramatist was primarily interested in a philosophic gospel of consistent morality is but to say the apparent truth. But to say that life did not have a moral significance to the Elizabethan and that he did not take philosophic rather than dramatic pleasure in poetic assaults upon the problem of its order seems wrong as demonstrably as so subjective a thing can be shown to be wrong. The issue is not clouded by any Elizabethan critical discussion regarding the enmity of art and morality or the interpretation of life implicit in all great art. Elizabethan tragedy may expound for us no moral order beautiful in its consistency, but in spite of Aristotle, Hegel, Schopenhauer and other philosophers, inconsistency remains in Greek tragedy, and that inconsistency does not halt the world from giving highest place to Greek tragedy as moral poetry.

As a record of a maturing popular philosophy concerning man's misfortunes which surrounded the Elizabethan writer of tragedy, the *Mirror for Magistrates* and its many imitations³ have been more scorned than studied, dutifully as they have been noticed by name in our histories of literature and often as Sackville's "Induction" has been admired and reprinted. The unstinted moral comment of the *Mirror* has usually been repellent to the modern mind, and most of us would probably agree with James Russell Lowell in calling the work "that most dolefully dreary of books, *The Mirror for Magistrates*."⁴ But although intended as a continuation of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, it frequently manifests a growing revolt against medieval thinking worthy in all ways of the courageous Renaissance. The

³ For a bibliography of twenty closely similar works later in date than the *Mirror* see W. F. Trench, *A Mirror for Magistrates: Its origin and influence*, 1898, pp. 98 ff.

⁴ "Marlowe," *Harper's Magazine*, LXXXV (1892), p. 195.

Mirror is much more than the continuation of a medieval tradition of tragic story-telling.

Contacts between the original *Mirror* or its imitations and Elizabethan drama have been taken for granted, but they have hardly been examined critically.⁵ Where suppositions have been made these have had most to do with the interest in legendary history common to both tragic story and chronicle play. But the *Mirror* does more than point the way toward historic material for the dramatists. Though its philosophy may be naïve, it is none the less a very real attempt to penetrate the mystery of human suffering. The word tragedy for the Elizabethan did not confer dignity upon drama alone. Along with Shakespeare as great in tragedy Francis Meres mentions "the author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*," and makes no apology for so doing.

Back of the *Mirror* lies a long tradition having to do with a more or less deified Fortune and the familiar wheel on which she raises men up to felicity and casts them down to suffering and death.⁶ Seneca and Lydgate were for the Elizabethans the greatest in that pageant of authors who have dealt with the power of Fortune over mankind, and the *Mirror* is built upon both of them. Yet its departures from Seneca and Lydgate are more interesting than its adherences to them.

Concisely stated without attempt to reconcile minor points which are sometimes more rhetorical than consistent, Seneca's philosophy in both his dramatic and other work is a Stoicism modified to suit the Roman life of a corrupt era. In a day when men of material high position were banished, poisoned, or executed with disconcerting suddenness, a philosophy was

⁵ See F. G. Fleay, *A Bibliographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, I, pp. 17 ff, "Excursus on The *Mirror for Magistrates*." Fleay's information is exceedingly general. He announces, "As the importance of this series of poems as one of the principal *origines* of our historical drama has never been sufficiently recognized, I give an abstract of its contents, with references to plays more or less founded on them." The references amount only to a naming of the plays which cover periods of the chronicles also covered by the *Mirror*. Trench (op. cit., p. 89) refers to Fleay and adds, "I have not yet studied the question." See also J. W. Cunliffe, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, p. 198.

⁶ For a collection of the literature involved see a series of publications on the Goddess Fortuna by H. R. Patch, *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, III (1922) and IV, especially "The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature," III, pp. 179 ff.

assuredly necessary for intelligent men who would compete for the fabulously luxurious but insecure prizes of Roman life. Seneca gave them a creed which was essentially a denial of all justice for individuals in the things of this world. Cause and effect, in so far as they may be manifested in human character and action, are not allowed by him to be the explanation of what happens to us. Everything is determined for man before he is born, and his own volition can have no effect upon events. So far as material felicity is concerned, the virtuous may be punished and the wicked rewarded. Nevertheless life is not all vanity, and herein Seneca differs from the Christian theologians who later admired him. The proper attitude is to take good things when they come but never fall into slavery to them. Enjoy them cynically, knowing that tomorrow they will be another man's, and that tomorrow may come soon. Your satisfaction is your ability to retreat into yourself and be sufficient unto yourself, to know that you are virtuous and that virtue is the only good, and, most characteristically Stoic, to know that you can scorn an unstable world by committing suicide on its doorstep, thereby proving that it has no control over you.

Thus Seneca really believes in no worldly tragedy consistently proceeding out of a flaw in character. Good men do suffer evil, and that frequently. In words from Thomas Lodge's translation as they reached later Elizabethan readers the question is so put and answered: "Why therefore was God so vniust in distributing Fate, that to good men he alloteth pouertie, wounds, and cruell death? The workmaster cannot change his matters, it is subiect to suffer this Fire trieth gold and aduersitie valiant men."⁷

Although Seneca imaged for his followers no Christian heaven of eternal bliss, the secret of the enthusiastic reception which he commanded from medieval theologians and moral writers was undoubtedly his contempt for the material blessings of life, and the classical authority which he gave to an ascetic Christian for declaring that the delights of life on earth are to be despised as nothing and the delights of heaven to be valued

⁷ From the "Discourse of Prouidence: or Why good men are afflicted, since there is a Diuine Prouidence." *The Workes of Lucius Annaeus Seneca*, 1620, p. 507.

as everything. Thus belief in a fickle goddess of Fortune was sometimes reconcilable with belief in God and heaven, Fortune being regarded as an evil force given power over this base world by a God who wanted thereby to make man fix his eyes on another world where Fortune was utterly powerless.⁸ In general the medieval mind seems not to have been very clear as to how much poetic justice followed human action in this world, but it had an abiding faith in justice for a world to come. Good men might meet misery here but would achieve a sure felicity there.

The monkish Lydgate argues the insecurity of life with many Senecan commonplaces but also with the didactic Christian modifications. Although his *Fall of Princes* is a roundabout translation of Boccaccio through the French of Laurens de Premierfait, he generously impresses the book with his own personality. In his zeal for morality Lydgate would apparently see a punishment for vice in many operations of Fortune's wheel,⁹ but he is so little consistent in this that when he tells the stories of such world figures as Julius Caesar, King Arthur, Alcibiades, Lucrece, or Dido, he dwells lovingly on the evidence that even the valiant and virtuous come to grief. The inevitable moral to the story of Pompey is that heaven is the only realm of justice:

Sith al stant vndir daunger of Fortune,
Ye worldli men doth your look up-dresse
To thilke place wher ioie doth ay contune;
The Blynde Ladi hath ther non interesse.¹⁰

Certainly although he makes some men die appropriately as the result of their sins, Lydgate does not care to argue that tragedy always issues from what we know as the flaw in character. He can be found in plain words denying such relation of cause and effect:

⁸ A simplified statement of not wholly consistent opinions. See Patch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 190 ff.

⁹ For example, "How Constantyne the sone of Eracliyus supporting error and heresy was moordred in a stewe," *Fall of Princes*, ed. Henry Bergen, 1923, p. 935, or "How the proude tiraunt Domytyan Emperour of Rome and many other Emperours & nobles for ther outrages & wrecchidnesse micheously ended," Bergen, p. 829.

¹⁰ Bk. VI, 11. 2513-17, Bergen, p. 742.

Fortunys chaunges & meeuynge circuleer,
With hir most stormy transmucioun,
Now oon set up ful hih in hir chaieer,
Enhaunceth vicious, vertuou she put down.¹¹

Indeed it would be hard to appreciate the medieval reiteration that Fortune is utterly fickle if it were not plain that poetic justice is usually denied.

In the same authentic medieval fashion Chaucer tells his stories in the *Monkes Tale*. Ugolino, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and others are men who suffer grave misfortunes though they are to the medieval mind worthy, valiant, or virtuous; and the lesson is that in no wise can we trust the ways of this world.

Through this Senecan and medieval background the *Mirror for Magistrates* shows a new interpretation of tragedy forcing itself forward for acceptance, less insistently in the original *Mirror*, more insistently in its later extensions and imitations. This is no matter for inference alone. The philosophical comments on the stories often declare war upon medieval thinking in plainest terms. If in the *Mirror* cursed Fortune never leaves turning her wheel upside down, she at least becomes a dramatic figure rather than a real force which men should bow down to.

The original *Mirror* of 1559,¹² a symposium sponsored by William Baldwin, has as many shades of philosophy, Senecan, medieval, or Renaissance, as its many authors and its early date might be expected to give it. On the whole there is in its legends perhaps more connection of man's mortal fate with his own acts than there is in Seneca or Lydgate, but there are also direct indications of Senecan inspiration such as this moral introduction for the story of Northumberland:¹³

O morall *Senec*, true finde I thy saying,
That neither kinne, riches, strength, or fauour,
Are free from fortune, but are aye decaying.¹⁴

¹¹ Bk. IX, 11. 3043-46, Bergen, p. 1005.

¹² See Trench, op. cit., pp. 7-8, for evidence concerning a slightly earlier but suppressed edition.

¹³ I make no assignments of authorship. See Trench, op. cit., Joseph Haslewood, introduction to his edition of the *Mirror*, 1815, and J. W. Cunliffe, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III. pp. 514-15, who leaves the Tragedy of Northumberland anonymous.

¹⁴ Edition of Joseph Haslewood, 1815, II, p. 78. Succeeding references to the *Mirror* will be to this text.

The significant reasoning found in the history of Henry VI as to why good men suffer misfortune should be compared with that part of Lodge's Seneca already quoted:

Thus of our heauy haps, chiefe causes bee but twayne,
Whereon the rest depend, and vnder put remayne:
The chiefe the will deuine, calde desteny and fate,
The other sinne, through humour's holpe, which God doth
highly hate.

The first apoynteth payne for good men's exercise,
The second doth deserue due punishment for vice:
This witnesseth the wrath, and that the loue of God,
The good for loue, the bad for sinne, God beateth with his
rod.¹⁵

The first half of the solution is good Senecan Stoicism. Christian medievalism is just as manifest in the following moral tag:

Esteeme not worldly goodes, thinke there is a treasure
More worth than golde [or stone] a thousand times in valure
Reposed for all such as righteousnes ensue.¹⁶

The sharpest rationalization of tragedy in this first edition of the *Mirror* is to be found in the story of Jack Cade. Here the author enthusiastically upholds, not in moral tags but in consecutive stanzas, a philosophy which puts all tragedy into the hands of the man concerned. Fortune and pure chance go overboard, the individual steers his own craft toward ruin:

Shall I call it fortune or my froward folly,
That lifted mee vp and laide mee downe belowe?
Or was it courage that made mee so ioly,
Which of the starres and bodies grement growe?
What euer it were this one poynt sure I knowe,
Which shall be meete for euery man to marke:
Our lust and willes our euils chiefly warke.

It may bee well that planets doe encline,
And our complexions moue our mindes to ill,
But such is reason, that they bring to fine
No worke vnayded of our lust and will:
For heauen and earth are subiect both to skill:
The skill of God ruleth all, it is so strong,
Man may by skill guide things that to him long.

¹⁵ II, pp. 219-20.

¹⁶ From the story of Robert Tresilian, II, p. 21.

.....

Now if this hap whereby wee yeelde our minde
To lust and will, bee fortune as wee name her,
Than is shee iustly called false and blinde,
And no reproach can bee to much to blame her:
Yet is the shame our owne when so wee shame her,
For sure this hap if it bee rightly knowne,
Commeth of our selues, and so the blame our owne.¹⁷

The discussion in the end-link gives proper applause to the author and his Renaissance ideas of individual validity:

"By Saint *Mary*," sayd one, "if *Iacke* were as wel learned, as you haue made his oration, what so euer hee was by birth, I warrant him a gentleman by his learning. How notably and philosopher like hath he described fortune, and the causes of worldly cumbrance?"¹⁸

Certainly nothing like Jack Cade's "oration" is to be found in Seneca or Lydgate.

Another betrayal of philosophy at variance with the medieval is the heading given Skelton's verses on Edward IV, included in the *Mirror* though an earlier age produced them: "How King Edward the fourth through his surfeiting and vntemperate life, sodaynly dyed in the midst of prosperity, the nynth of Aprill, Anno 1483."¹⁹ There is literally nothing of such deserved reward in Skelton's poem, which is a medieval song calling all men to witness that flesh is grass, that we flourish and pass away. Its refrain "Et ecce nunc in pulvere dormio" has the burden of Villon's "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?" The attempt on the part of the later editor to discover sin and retribution in the story is wholly gratuitous.

Thus if Baldwin's 1559 edition of the *Mirror* is not consistently of new spirit, it has enough that is new to fix the attention of any historical critic. Such a line as

For they bee faultes that foyle men, not theyr fates²⁰

from the story of Owen Glendower looks as far forward as Shakespeare's

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.²¹

¹⁷ II, pp. 157 ff.

¹⁸ II, p. 165.

¹⁹ II, p. 244.

²⁰ II, p. 75.

²¹ *Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 139-40.

John Higgins, however, who in 1574 published sixteen legends of lives anterior to those in Baldwin's *Mirror* and traded upon the popularity of the older collection by calling them *The First Parte of the Mirour for Magistrates*, was reasonably consistent and unequivocal in his attachment to a philosophy that men come to grief according to their just deserts. Higgins has a secure faith in poetic justice, but he is little interested in the finer causes which produce the effect. He labels the moral carefully for each story.

In the introduction to his work Higgins discusses the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, the same four Senecan virtues which Rabelais makes Gargantua study with his tutor, but Higgins' conclusions regarding the results of their practice are far from Senecan. Seneca does not allow us to believe that virtues save men from calamity; they are to be practiced for sake of conscience, for personal satisfaction. Higgins with classical authority nominates Temperance the greatest of the four virtues and argues that one who observes it will find it impossible "euer to fall into the infortunate snares of calamity, or misfortune."²² Ambition, which is, of course, a vice because inimical to Temperance, is a prime cause of decay in men as well as in kingdoms. He who does not appreciate the importance attributed by Higgins and others of his age to Temperance as a virtue and Ambition as a vice is but poorly grounded for the historical interpretation of much Elizabethan dramatic tragedy. *Lochrine* and *Thomas Lord Cromwell* help us to know the attitude of an audience toward tragic ambition in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and even the more subtle play *Macbeth*.

Higgins has no trouble in keeping the black and white of morality from mingling. He can say, and after reading his tragedies we can well believe that he means it:

Wee either are rewarded as wee serue,
Or else are plagued, as our deedes deserue.²³

His extensions of the *Mirror* after 1574 are perhaps a little less aggressive in morality. Yet among the new stories which he published in 1587, the tragedy of Julius Caesar, which he

²² I, p. 5.

²³ From the story of Malin, whose sin was ambition, I, p. 96.

says he will tell although Lydgate has already dealt with that great prince, is emphatically made a just punishment for a violent life. Lydgate sees in Caesar only a great and valiant man subject to fickle Fortune like all men, but the fickleness of Fortune is for Higgins often little more than a rhetorical phrase.

Thomas Blenerhasset and Richard Niccols, who added to the *Mirror* in editions of 1578 and 1610, are personalities with views of their own but add little to the conception of individual responsibility for misfortune. Blenerhasset is more interested in poetic justice than Niccols and almost as much as Higgins.

The best later developments of this philosophy in non-dramatic tragedy may be found in such single stories told in the spirit of the *Mirror* as Samuel Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592) and Thomas Lodge's *Tragicall Complaynt of Elstred* (1593). Lodge's Elstred, who should of course be compared with Higgins' in the *Mirror*, heaps epithets upon Fortune, "nurse of fooles," "poyson of hope," "impugner of preventions," and in her merciless analysis of her own guilt concludes:

It was not thou, (tho worldly wits accuse thee)
That sette *Mount Gibel* of my plagues a burning:
It was not thou, my conscience doth excuse thee,
It was my sinne that wrought myne ouer-turning.
It was but iustice, from the heauens inflicted
On lustfull life, defamed and conuicted.²⁴

Still farther from the medieval rationalization of misfortune and far enough even from the simple poetic justice of Higgins is Daniel's *Rosamond*. This mistress of Henry II is made to dissect the causes of her tragedy and find an inner struggle and a gradual decay of character with the finest dramatic possibilities:

Treason was in my bones my selfe conspyring,
To sell my selfe to lust, my soule to sinne:
.....
Ah *Rosamond*, what doth thy flesh prepare,
Destruction to thy dayes, death to thy fame.
.....
Thus stood I ballanc'd equallie precize,
Till my fraile flesh did weigh me downe to sinne.²⁵

²⁴ *Complete Works* (Hunterian Club), 1883, II, p. 75.

²⁵ From the reprint of J. Payne Collier, 1870, no pagination.

The contention so often made that philosophy in the mouth of a character can only with uncertainty be attributed to the author loses much force when applied to non-dramatic tragedy. No careful reader, I think, would wish to class subtlety of characterization as one of the virtues shown by the authors of the *Mirror*.

I have used the word "new" in comparing this conception of individual responsibility with the medieval surrender to Fortune, but like so much thinking in the Renaissance it is of course largely a classic view of life returned into sharp focus by the rediscovery of adventurous living and tolerant learning. Cicero argued in much the same way, though more directly, against the fatalistic beliefs of Stoicism.²⁶ When Machiavelli urges that man can and should direct a large portion of his affairs, that fatalism ruins its believers, and concludes, "I consider that it is better to be adventurous than cautious, because fortune is a woman, and if you wish to keep her under it is necessary to ill-use her,"²⁷ he betrays affinity with the Renaissance that vitalized dignified classic thought with impetuous spirit. And Bacon, accused by many of Machiavellism, praised by many more for his science, is characteristic in his assertion, "But chiefly the mould of man's fortune is in his own hands."²⁸ I know of no philosophic statement which could be applied to the subtle development of character by a dramatist, whether Elizabethan or modern, better than this of Bacon: "The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars; not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate."²⁹

The spirit of Renaissance inductive reasoning which taught men to observe life and synthesize its many little verities into greater truths can thus show vitality in tragedy no less than in science. Bacon's idea that fortune is no longer fickle when its mass of effect is analyzed into the many small causes that make up man's fate, just as the light of the milky way can be explained

²⁶ *De Fato*.

²⁷ *Il Principe*, Cap. XXV.

²⁸ *Essays*, XL, "Of Fortune."

²⁹ *Ibid*.

by its conjoining stars, is one more declaration of independence from medieval philosophy. It is plainly of a piece with the newer reasoning in the *Mirror*.

Without an extensive comparison of non-dramatic with dramatic Elizabethan tragedy, I submit that the *Mirror for Magistrates* and its progeny lend support to those who see in the stage tragedy during Elizabeth's reign a gradual refinement in a tentative philosophy of misfortune different from the medieval. From simple poetic justice according to which a Hebraic God chastises all sinners with his rod we see the non-dramatic tragic versifiers proceeding with somewhat unsure steps toward a sense of cause and effect. They even become interested in showing how a character, because of a wayward will or because of a personality at war with itself, chooses steps which lead to destruction. The greater intensity of dramatic plot possible to the playwrights under the new way of thinking is self-evident. Certainly it is not my contention that the *Mirror for Magistrates* is consistent, or that the dramatists are consistent, in pursuit of a philosophic solution for life's misfortunes. Pure chance, undeserved punishment, and ironical destruction still have their place in Shakespeare and in the finest Elizabethan tragedies by other hands. Essentially poets, the dramatists nearest Shakespeare in genius were interested in thinking about life but uninterested in pushing philosophy so far as to make it abolish the mystery and the inexplicable fear to which man is heir. As poets they seem to have sensed consistent solution as an impossible task. Yet philosophic comment must have had to them and to their audiences something of the delight which dwells in exploration.

The evolution of ideas which has been traced in the *Mirror* took place at the same time that English drama was growing away from the too easy justice allotted to crime and lust in *Arden of Feversham* or *Lochrine* and toward the infinitely subtle marrying of character and the event in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Or, to look at Shakespeare's development alone, it is much the same progress which we discover when we compare the princely criminals Richard III and Macbeth. It may be said that during the interim Shakespeare's genius was maturing. But so was England's genius.

England, more keenly in some ways than other countries during the Renaissance, discovered the varied beauty of living in this world and through that discovery achieved great tragedy. The higher tragic sense was apparently impossible to Seneca because according to his philosophy worldly attainment and death were of minor importance. He imitated Greek story, whose tragic deaths had for him only a traditional significance which he imperfectly understood. In the same way medieval writers may be said to have compassed no great tragedy because this world and the sufferings which it inflicts upon mankind were despised by their theology, with its view always fixed upon a heaven as the true abode of life. Death or worldly defeat meant to them only an incident to be expected by any man at any time in an imperfect world. But with the Renaissance came again the sense of value in mortal life, which as its corollary is able to bring the sense of tragedy in death. Herein at least the Elizabethans were like the Greeks. Negation of mortal values would seem to starve tragedy; understanding love of life in the flesh would seem paradoxically to fertilize tragedy with all its spiritual significance.

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THE SOURCE OF DETLEV VON LILIENCRON'S
ABSCHIED

Ein Birkchen stand am Weizenfeld,
Gab Schatten kaum erst sechzehn Jahr.
Das hat den Bauer sehr erbost,
Dass die paar Fuss der Sonne bar.

Ich ging vorbei, der Bauer schlug,
Dem Stämmchen ward so wund und weh.
Es quält die Art, das Bäumchen ächzt
Und ruft mir zu ade, ade.

Die Krone schwankt, ein Vöglein kam,
Das seinen Frieden hatte dort;
Noch einmal sucht im Hin und Her
Das Krallchen Halt im grünen Port.

Das Bäumchen sinkt, der Vogel fliegt
Mit wirrem Zwitscherlaut ins Land.
Ich schämte mich vor Baum und Tier
Und schloss die Augen mit der Hand.

This charming little poem, which has justly found its way into many anthologies of modern German verse,¹ has all the freshness and spontaneity of a *Gelegenheitsgedicht* in the best sense of the term. Neither is the modern note wanting. That peasant, actuated by greed, which he probably calls "efficiency," is quite typical of the end of the nineteenth century and our own, which has done its best to drive from the countryside the idyllic peace and the simple beauties of nature, without substituting anything better.

Yet it may be doubted whether there is a complete absence of literary models in this as in many other products of Liliencron's muse, all the more so because the same situation recurs in fable literature, the ancient Æsop and his eighteenth century European derivatives. I refer to the well-known fable *De Agricola et Arbore*, which I quote in full:²

φυτόν ἦν εἰς γεωργοῦ χώραν, καρπὸν μὴ φέρον, ἀλλὰ μόνον στρουθῶν καὶ
τεττίγων κελαδούστων ἦν καταφυγή. Ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ὡς ἀκαρπον ἐκτέμνει

¹ Detlev von Liliencron, *Ausgewählte Gedichte* (Volksausgabe), Berlin u. Leipzig, 1909, p. 256.

² *Fabulae Aesopicae Collectae*, ed. C. Halm, Lipsiae, 1889, p. 52, No. 102.

ἤμελλε· καὶ δὴ τὸν πέλεκυν λαβὼν ἐπέφερε τὴν πληγὴν. Οἱ δὲ τέττιγες καὶ οἱ στρουθοὶ ἰπέτευον τὴν καταφυγὴν αὐτῶν μὴ ἐκκῶσαι, ἀλλ' εἶσαι, ὥστε ἄδειν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν γεωργὸν τέρπειν. Ὁ δὲ μηδὲν αὐτῶν φροντίσας, καὶ δευτέραν πληγὴν καὶ τρίτην ἐπέφερε. Ὡς δὲ ἐκοίλαρε τὸ δένδρον, σμῆνος μελισσῶν καὶ μέλι εὔρε. Γευσάμενος δὲ τὸν πέλεκυν ἐβόησε, καὶ τὸ φυτὸν ἐτίμα ὡς ἱερὸν, καὶ ἐπεμελείτο.

The resemblances and differences between the poem and the prose fable are evident. In both it is a question of a "useless" tree, the species being left vague in the Greek text, a birch in Liliencron. The tree stands on the edge of a field and serves as a place of refuge to birds and crickets in Æsop, to one bird only in the German poem. The animals pray to be left in peace as required by the character of the fable; the little bird in the poem flies away, uttering piteable cries at the destruction of its nest. In the fable, finally, the peasant finds a bees' nest and honey in the tree, before it is cut down, and decides to let it stand after all, calculating the gain he may secure by selling the honey. This part is not found in the poem, which ends with the destruction of the tree, the flight of the bird and the feeling of shame overcoming the wanderer at this sight.

Liliencron was not the first to utilise, directly or indirectly, the Æsopian fable. The eighteenth century, which cultivated the fable on account of its didactic and pedagogic value, saw a modernisation of *De Agricola et Arbore* by the Chevalier de Florian,³ who, however, followed the Greek text rather closely:

Le vieux Arbre et le Jardinier.

Un jardinier, dans son jardin,
 Avait un vieux arbre stérile;
 C'était un grand poirier qui jadis fut fertile;
 Mais il avait vieilli, tel est notre destin.
 Le jardinier ingrat veut l'abattre un matin;
 Le voilà qui prend sa cognée.
 Au premier coup l'arbre lui dit:
 Respecte mon grand âge, souviens-toi du fruit
 Que je t'ai donné chaque année.
 La mort va me saisir, je n'ai plus qu'un instant,
 N'assassine pas un mourant
 Qui fut ton bienfaiteur. Je te coupe avec peine,
 Répond le jardinier; mais j'ai besoin de bois.
 Alors, gazouillant à la fois,
 De rossignols une centaine

³ *Les Fables de Jean-Pierre-Claris de Florian*, Paris, s. d., p. 28, Livre II, fable 2.

S'écrie: Epargne-le, nous n'avons plus que lui:
 Lorsque ta femme vient s'asseoir sous son ombrage,
 Nous la réjouissons par notre doux ramage;
 Elle est seule souvent, nous charmons son ennui.
 Le jardinier les chasse et rit de leur requête;
 Il frappe un second coup. D'abeilles un essaim
 Sort aussitôt du tronc, en lui disant: Arrête,
 Ecoute-nous, homme inhumain,
 Si tu nous laisses cet asile,
 Chaque jour nous te donnerons
 Un miel délicieux dont tu peux à la ville
 Porter et vendre les rayons;
 Cela te touche-t-il? J'en pleure de tendresse,
 Répond l'avare jardinier:
 Eh! que ne dois-je pas à ce pauvre poirier
 Qui m'a nourri dans sa jeunesse?
 Ma femme quelquefois vient ouïr ces oiseaux;
 C'en est assez pour moi; qu'ils chantent en repos.
 Et vous qui daignerez augmenter mon aisance,
 Je veux pour vous de fleurs semer tout ce canton.
 Cela dit, il s'en va, sûr de sa récompense,
 Et laisse vivre le vieux tronc.

The most important deviation of the French version from the Greek original is in the *milieu*. The "useless" tree is now an old pear-tree and the peasant in consequence a gardener. The reproaches of ingratitude and want of respect for the old, levelled against the man, are likewise innovations. In regard to the didactic elements there is therefore a true *embarras de richesse* in the eighteenth century fable, much in contrast to the simplicity of the Greek original.

Florian's fable was in turn imitated by the Alsatian poet Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, who published his poem *Der Gärtner und der Birnbaum* in 1793.⁴ The text reads as follows:⁵

In Meister Veltens Garten war
 Ein alter Baum, sonst reich an Birnen,
 Jetzt aber siech und unfruchtbar.
 Ein Thor nur kann darüber zürnen:
 Ja wohl. Indess gab der Barbar
 Mit einer Axt in seinem Grimme
 Dem Birnbaum einen Hieb. Halt ein':
 So rief der Dryas dumpfe Stimme,

⁴ Aug. Wünsche, *Die Pflanzenfabel in der Weltliteratur*, Leipzig u. Wien, 1905, p. 123.

⁵ Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, *Ausgewählte poetische Werke*, Reclam., p. 177.

Lass der mein Alter heilig sein.
 So lange hab'ich dich genähret,
 Und nun . . . o warte, bis die Zeit
 Mein Bischen Leben gar zerstöret.
 Mich rühret, sprach der Mann, dein Leid;
 Allein ich brauche Holz. Jetzt machte
 Er sich zum zweiten Streich bereit.
 Was thust du? rief zu gleicher Zeit
 Ein Chor von Vögeln; sachte, sachte':
 In dieses Baumes Schatten setzt
 Dein Weib sich täglich und ergötzt
 Ihr Ohr an unserm Lied. Hier lachte
 Der wilde Gärtner; er vertrieb
 Das Chor und that den zweiten Hieb.
 Doch schnell erhob ein Schwarm von Bienen
 Sich aus dem hohlen Stamm hervor;
 Und sprach zum Gärtner: sei kein Thor;
 Der Baum soll dir noch Geld verdienen.
 Verschonst du ihn, so hausen wir
 In seinem Schoos und werden dir
 Manch schönes Tröpfchen Honig geben.
 Bewegt dich das? O! glaubet mir,
 Ich möchte weinen; er soll leben,
 Versetzt der Filz, der liebe Baum;
 Er, dessen Früchte meinem Gaum
 So manches süsse Labsal gaben;
 Er, dessen Aeste meinem Weib
 Bald Schatten, bald den Zeitvertreib
 Des Waldgesangs gewähret haben,
 Und dessen Stamm zur Residenz
 Die holdsten Bienen sich erlasen.
 Wohlan, ich will ihn jeden Lenz
 Mit einem frischen Blumenrasen
 Für eure Tafel rund umziehn;
 Verlasst euch drauf. Er ging. Im Gehen
 Schuf er ein Honigmagazin
 Im Kopfe. Kurz, der Baum blieb stehen.

A comparison of the French and the German fable with Liliencron's *Abschied* makes it clear that neither served as a literary model to the latter. As in the Æsopian fable the tree is a wild-growing plant, no fruit-tree, and the man cutting it down no gardener but a peasant who dislikes to see it grow near his field. The Greek fable, not its eighteenth century derivatives, must therefore be considered as the source of the German poem.

At the same time it is well worth noting that while under the hands of the modern poet the fable and its obtruding didacticism have disappeared, the simple and human appeal of his work is all the stronger. Though under varying form, the great of old still have their hold over man's mind and the classical heritage is far from exhausted even in this late time.

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ON THE HALL-MARSTON CONTROVERSY

In Bullen's introduction to his edition of Marston's works appears an inconspicuous footnote concerning the epigram which Joseph Hall is said to have pasted in all the copies of *Pigmalion* passing through the Cambridge shops. The note calls attention to a fact which Bullen alone seems to have observed:

In the epigram he refers to the nom de plume 'Kinsayder' which Marston had adopted, and we learn that it was derived from the 'kising' (cutting the tails?) of dogs. It is to be noticed that the name 'Kinsayder' does not occur in the *Pigmalion* volume. The dedicatory verses to 'The World's Mighty Monarch, Good Opinion,' are merely subscribed with the initials 'W.K.' We first find the full name 'W. Kinsayder' in the address 'To those that seem judicial perusers,' prefixed to *The Scourge of Villainy*.¹

It seems to me that this has a more important relation to the priority in the Marston-Hall quarrel than such scant notice would indicate. Let me recall the chronology of the publications involved, as indicated in Arber's Reprint of the Stationer's Register.

- 31 March, 1597—Entry of the first three books of *Virgidedemiarum*.
- 30 March, 1598—Entry of the last three books of *Virgidedemiarum*.
- 27 May, 1598—Entry of *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image and Certain Satires*. One of the appended satires was *Reactio* which struck at Hall's work of 1597. When *Pigmalion* was printed its dedication was signed with the initials "W. K." only, and in some of these copies Hall took the opportunity to insert his epigram.
- 8 September, 1598—Entry of *The Scourge of Villainy*. When this was printed, it was signed "W. Kinsayder." In this volume Marston quoted the epigram with the statement that it was "An Epigram which the Author Vergidedemiarum caused to be pasted to the latter page of every *Pigmalion* that came to the Stationers of Cam-

¹ A. H. Bullen, introduction to *The Works of John Marston*, pub. John Nimmo, 1887. Page XX.

bridge." In one copy, according to Bullen² there was a marginal note "Mark the witty allusion to my name."

Grosart's analysis, that Marston in *Reactio* attacked Hall on general grounds for the literary opinions expressed in Satire 2, Book I of *Vergidemiarum*, and was answered by sharp personal abuse from Hall in Book VI of *Vergidemiarum*, was open to the objection that Book VI of *Vergidemiarum* appeared two months before *Reactio*, which it was supposed to answer. Bullen's suggestion that Book VI was added subsequently by Hall is sufficiently refuted by the emphasis on the three books included in the entry in the Stationer's Register:

30 Mar. 1598: Robert Dexter Entred for his copie vnder the handes of Master Barlowe and Master Man. A booke called Virgidemiarum Three Bookes or seconde parte of the Satyres Conteyninge Three Bookes of bytinge Satyres.³

Both Schulze⁴ and Alden⁵ have identified the object of the satire in Book VI of *Virgidemiarum* with Nashe on the ground that Marston had not at that time written anything. However, Marston was, as far as we know, the only man who ever attacked Hall in writing at any time, so if Hall had seen *Reactio* before he wrote, he would have had a strong personal motive for directing his wit against Marston—a motive which he signally lacked regarding Nashe.

Here, it seems to me, is where the sorry epigram becomes of importance. *Pigmalion* and the accompanying satires are expressly mentioned by Marston as the "first bloomes of his poesie" and they are signed "W. K." As Bullen pointed out, the full pseudonym nowhere appears, and yet it is this publication in which Hall pasted the epigram punning on the name Kinsayder. Four months later this name is signed to the introductory address in *The Scourge of Villainy*. Unless Marston took his hint first from the epigram, and signed a name of which he had not previously thought (in which case the epigram would lose what little point it might possess) we are forced to the conclusion that Hall had seen the *nom de plume* in manu-

² Bullen, *The Works of John Marston* Vol. III, page 369, footnote.

³ Arber's Reprint of the Stationer's Register, III, page 82.

⁴ Konrad Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls* Berlin, 1901. Page 271 ff

⁵ R. M. Alden, *The Rise of formal Satire under classical Influence*. Philadelphia, 1899. Page 145.

script, either of *Pigmalion* from which it was later expunged, or of *The Scourge of Villainy*, which was not yet published.

If this has any weight at all, it is on the side of Grosart's explanation, for, if Hall could attack Marston through a name which had never appeared in print, he must have had the opportunity to peruse manuscripts, and he must have been without any scruples which could prevent him from attacking between the covers of a published volume some item still in manuscript. If he did it with the epigram, he could have done it with his satire.

This renders it plausible that Hall should attack Marston before the latter's publication, and, contrary to the interpretation of Schulze, it seems to me that he has done this by means of the first figure of Labeo appearing in Book VI of *Virgidemiarum*.

The poem opens with a reference to Labeo's angry attempt to refute a former satire of Hall's.

Labeo reserves a long nayle for the nonce,
To wound my Margēt through ten leaves at once,
Much worse then Aristarchus his blacke Pile,
That pierc'd olde Homers side;

Marston is the only writer whom we know to have aimed a direct attempt at Hall.

Again Hall regrets that poets should

In lawlesse rage vbrayd ech others vice,

and he mockingly represents one writer as vowing to forfeit his laurell bow

If that bold Satyre vnreuedged be
For this so saucy and foule iniurie:

These lines probably refer to quarrelsome writers in general, but it is pertinent to remember that Marston was the only one under whose hands Hall had suffered in this respect.

This couplet is followed immediately by

So Labeo weens it my eternall shame
To proue I neuer earnd a Poets name;

This is more personal, for throughout the first part of *Reactio* Marston repeatedly referred to Hall as a pedant in contrast to the poets he (Hall) had satirized.⁶

Schulze,⁷ who on account of Hall's priority of publication, wishes to find a substitute for Marston as the man flagellated in *Virgidemiarum*, Book VI, identifies Labeo with Nashe. The obvious answer to this is that Nashe had never attacked Hall in writing, and so had afforded no excuse for Hall's invective. Schulze forstalls this argument by saying that Hall was assuming the part of Gabriel Harvey who had been in a quarrel with Nashe, and whom Nashe had criticized harshly. But when Hall's attack on Marston is seen as chronologically possible, this forced explanation becomes unnecessary.

Schulze, in pursuing his theme, points out that in the same poem Nashe is also described under the name of Bulbus, and the juxtaposition of the two names, Bulbus and Labeo, is an added inducement for thinking that they both refer to the same man. It is true that Bulbus refers to Nashe, and it is also true that the confusion arising from employing two names for the same person would not deter Hall, to whom lucidity did not appeal as a literary virtue. In fact, the name Labeo itself is most certainly used with two different applications, first to an individual poet, and later, after line 234, as Schulze has shown, to a general type of Elizabethan writer. However, the names Bulbus and Labeo do not stand very close together in the poem, and though Labeo as an individual writer is mentioned both before and after the reference to Bulbus, there are enough subjects mentioned between them in each case to serve as transition from one individual to another.⁸ Nor is it possible

⁶ Some of the instances in *Reactio* are found in lines 9, 10; lines 71, 72; lines 99-102; line 155.

⁷ Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*.

⁸ The transition between the names will be readily seen from the following summary. The satire begins by mentioning "Labeo's" attempt to answer a former satire of Hall's. "Labeo's" anger is described by a number of classical similes. Hall then professes regret for having railed at a world so very pure. There follows an inclusive list of crimes from which this very pure world is free. Five of the twenty-three crimes mentioned are enlarged upon by example. Hall swings again into regret for having spoken harshly of this so-good world, especially as most writing is now done, not by the wise, as of old, but by the young and foolish. (1. 130 ff.) He asserts that these youngsters rush into print

to confine the poem to one subject of attack, when it contains such a divers fund of general satire.

Schulze refers specifically to lines 17-20 of *Virgidemiarum*;

But when he doth of my recanting heare,
 Away ye angry fires, and frostes of feare;
 Giue place vnto his hopefull tempered thought
 That yeelds to peace, ere euer peace be sought;

He asserts that they are inspired by the introduction to *Christes Tears Over Jerusalem* in which Nashe begs for peace with Harvey while Harvey is still angry. But this is based on a wrong interpretation of Hall's words, which according to Schulze would be paraphrased, "When Labeo hears of my recanting, may my anger give way before the temperate attitude of Labeo, who yields to peace before his adversary seeks it." A second examination of the lines will show another interpretation equally possible grammatically, and much more in tone with the context. Hall has been animadverting on the bad temper exhibited by Labeo (Marston) in objecting to his (Hall's) previous satire. Then he says, "But when he hears that I have recanted, may his anger subside, and give way before the temperate attitude of one (namely, Hall himself) who is willing to give peace before it is sought." Hall need not have gone to Nashe for this idea. It is probable on the face of it that he should have apostrophized his adversary's bad temper (not his own) especially since that adversary has been spoken of throughout as very angry.

Schulze also suggests that Hall was not the author of the epigram pasted in the copies of *Pigmalion*, since we have only Marston's word as proof of the authorship, and Marston already disliked Hall. But Hall was connected with Cambridge and it was the Cambridge copies that were thus decorated. Hall

on every insignificant subject (L. 150 ff.) "Balbus" will not write again until he needs money (l. 162 ff.) Hall repeats again regret at his satire, now because it may stir "Balbus" to write (l. 170 ff.) Why, he asks, need poets rate each other so, instead of curing each his own fault? (l. 174 ff.) Poets rush into a fray and swear to revenge offending satires on their honor as poets. "Labeo" had called shame on me (Hall) for not being a poet. I would not be a poet if I could.

This is not the end of the satire, but it is the last mention of Labeo as an individual. After this the name designates a type of writer.

had reason to be annoyed by the subject matter of the appended satire. Marston was not conspicuously untruthful, and assuredly he never showed himself reluctant to take on another adversary. Moreover, since Marston's word is all the evidence we have by which to judge the authorship of the epigram, the burden of proof rests with him who denies Marston's statement.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

VASSAR MEDIÆVAL STUDIES, by members of the Faculty of Vassar College. Edited by Christabel Forsythe Fiske, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1923. 24 cm., pp. xii, 493. Price, \$6.

This is a noteworthy and commendable enterprise. It shows what can be done by an earnest group of college teachers who, though doubtless burdened with a heavy schedule of routine duties, resolve not to let the classroom prevent utterly the work of research. For research is on the whole the best means of maintaining the attitude of mind which produces the best results in the classroom.

The volume includes sixteen papers on various topics connected with the life and culture of the Middle Ages, followed by a carefully selected bibliography.

The first paper, on Arthur in Avalon and the Banshee, is the work of the late Mrs. Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, whose early death has deprived the Celtic field of the labors of a devoted and well equipped scholar. In this paper she demonstrates that the fairy that bore Arthur to Avalon is the same thing as the banshee or fairy kinswoman of modern tradition. The evidence all tends to confirm a belief which is steadily gaining ground, that Arthur was no mortal but a Celtic god.

In the second paper Miss Martha Warren Beckwith brings together Polynesian Analogues to the Celtic Otherworld and Fairy Mistress Themes. The likenesses are unmistakable. The reader may be a little skeptical about one of her conclusions: "When all is said, however, to explain how Polynesian Otherworld and Fairy Mistress stories naturally took shape, there remains a trace of identity with the Celtic, hard to account for on any other basis than transmission from some common stock of ideas from which both Celt and Polynesian drew, either by inheritance or as a result of contact." We must remember that the human mind works in about the same way in many parts of the world remote from one another. But we must admit that we have not got to the bottom of many of these problems.

Professor Rose Jeffries Peebles discusses *The Dry Tree: Symbol of Death*. Her thesis is that the Dry Tree as a mystic symbol was taken by some unimaginative person as a literal tree to be hunted for. And of course it was found by many, at "the eastern extremity of the known world." Specifically, the oak of Mamre under which Abraham received the angels was often identified with the Dry Tree in Malory. The Dry Tree became the symbol of the naked and fruitless world

restored by the Grail. An earlier view regarded it as the tree that was struck dry when Adam sinned.

Miss Winifred Smith has sought Elements of Comedy in the English and Scottish Ballads. She has found them in the intellectual triumph which expresses itself in satire or personal ridicule or in victory in a wit combat or even a contest of physical strength or a practical joke; in the contrivances by which happiness and security are brought out of misery and danger, e. g., love tokens, disguises, and the like. "Comedy, whether in ballad or drama, deals not with the unsolved but with the solved problems of society and with the triumphs of individuals through wit."

The editor herself follows with an interesting paper on Homely Realism in Mediæval German Literature. She brings together much material to indicate the German fondness for familiar domestic scenes, which are drawn upon in all situations.

Professor James Fosdick Baldwin discusses Litigation in English Society. He traces in a highly useful way the rise of the lawyer class, and the development of bribery and of other means of achieving success in litigation. It was a long road that justice had to travel to secure even the imperfect machinery of the courts and legal processes of today.

Professor Marion P. Whitney handles the theme, Queen of Mediæval Virtues: Largesse. Her evidence goes to show that the medieval nobles were lavishly extravagant in their dispensing of gifts; yet they did not satisfy the demands of the troubadours and trouvères. "They probably agreed with their contemporary, Wace, in his belief that 'it was only in the time of Virgil and Horace, of Alexander and of Caesar,' that their idea of largesse was fully realized."

Professor Anna Theresa Kitchel, who discusses Chaucer and Machaut's *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*, thinks it possible that Chaucer may have gained from the *Dit* a setting utilized in *The Book of the Duchess*.

Professor Helen Estabrook Sandison prints an Anglo-Norman version of *En Mon Dedit a Moys de May*, the original of Hoccleve's *Balade to the Virgin and Christ*, with a suitable introduction, from St. John's, Cambridge, Ms. G. 5.

Professor Louise Fargo Brown's illuminating paper on *The Burning of Books* shows that while this means of persecution is invariably futile, it may well, nevertheless, retard the progress of truth. E. g., *Erigena* in the ninth century formulated the *Cogito, ergo sum* that was to make such a vast stir in the eighteenth.

Michael Akominatos (ca. 1140—ca. 1220) is the subject of a paper by Professor Ida Carleton Thallon. He was archbishop of Athens in 1204. His writings throw much light on the state of Hellenistic culture in the times of the Crusades.

Also, the measure of his knowledge is a fair test of the knowledge of the ancient writers possessed by the medieval humanist in general.

Miss Cornelia C. Coulter discusses *The Genealogy of the Gods*. The first printed edition of Boccaccio's work filled a folio volume of over 500 pages. Her highly interesting monograph demonstrates what a large number of sidelights Boccaccio throws on his age and himself in the course of his long exposition of the lineage of the gods.

Professor Ella Bourne discusses *Classical Elements in the Gesta Romanorum*. She finds that the name is amply justified, since of the 181 tales 75 are clearly classical in origin and 20 others contain elements which are pretty certainly classical. The chief classical authors forming sources of these tales are Seneca Rhetor, Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, Frontinus, and St. Augustine.

Miss Elizabeth Buchanan Cowley studies *An Italian Mathematical Manuscript*. It is a fourteenth century ms. marked X511 A1 3 in the library of Columbia University. It proves to be an algorism probably of the fourteenth century. Aside from certain fragments there are 141 chapters, without systematic grouping. As in some of the other papers, light is thrown not only on the state of arithmetical science in those days, but also on certain social customs and problems, e. g., the value of coins, interest rates, and the like. It illustrates, also, the fact that some of our modern mathematical recreations have had a long history; for here one finds two well known problems: (a) a countryman having a wolf, a goat, and a bundle of herbs wishes to cross a river, but in his small boat can carry only one of his possessions at one time; how can he cross so that the wolf shall not eat the goat nor the goat the herbs? (b) three men and their wives wish to cross a stream in a boat which will carry only two at a time; how shall they cross so that no man shall cross with another man's wife?

Oliver Samuel Tonks considers *The Realism of Gothic Sculpture*. The reader would have welcomed some illustrations; but doubtless considerations of expense made them impossible. In a masterly way Dr. Tonks traces the growth of the Gothic expression of interest and delight in the reproduction of nature, even in her homelier aspects, as when among the capitals of Notre-Dame-du-Pont in Clermont. Adam gets square with his temptress by kicking her in the ribs. Tonks finds Vilars de Honecort typical of the thirteenth century in his eagerness for direct association with an imitation of nature. As a result of such an attitude we may read in the sculpture of the times something with regard to the manners, artificial and over-refined, which were fashionable during the period. Gothic

sculpture was destined to run a brief course of three centuries and then to disappear.

The last paper, by Professor George Sherman Dickinson, is on Foretokens of the Tonal Principle. With a wealth of illustration he traces the growth of the conception of the accentuation of relationships of tones, chords, or keys to one another by referring them to a constant tone, chord, or key of centrality. We find the beginnings of this conception around the year 1500; the conception itself was soundly established as the structural foundation of modern music by the year 1650.

For this well edited and substantial volume the writers and the college are to be heartily congratulated.

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*ZUR ENTWICKELUNG DER FUTUR-UMSCHREIBUNG
WERDEN MIT DEM INFINITIV*, von Mathilde Kleiner.
University of California Press. Berkeley, California, 1925.

Die oben-erwähnte Untersuchung wurde "auf Veranlassung von Herrn Professor Hugo K. Schilling unternommen."

Was das rein Äusserliche anbetrifft, so beträgt der Text dieser Arbeit 92 Normal-Seiten. Ausserdem stehen vorne noch ein Inhaltsverzeichnis und eine Tabelle der Abkürzungen; und am Schlusse folgen drei Tabellen, die einen statistischen Überblick bieten über das Verhältnis im Gebrauch von *werden* mit dem *Partizip Präsens* und *werden* mit dem *Infinitiv*, je im 12., 13. und 14. Jhd., sodann eine Angabe der Texte, die bei der Arbeit untersucht wurden und schliesslich eine Zusammenstellung der Literatur über diesen Gegenstand.

Die Arbeit selber zerfällt in drei Teile.

Im ersten Teile wird, gewissermassen als Vorstudie, der Gebrauch von *werden* in den älteren germanischen Dialekten genau untersucht, und zwar sowohl im Passiv als auch im Aktiv. Die Ergebnisse dieses Abschnittes sind auf Seite 27 ff. zusammengefasst:

1. "Als Vollverb wie als Kopula erscheint *werden* auf dem ganzen germanischen Gebiete. Es dient in diesen Funktionen oft dazu, das Fut. des verb. subst. zu ersetzen. Eine Erweiterung seines Begriffes als Vollverb zur Bedeutung eines Verbs der Bewegung tritt ein, vornehmlich im Angelsächsischen.

2. Die Verwendung von *werden* mit dem Part. Prät. transitiver Verben zur Bildung des Passivs ist gleichfalls allen Dialekten gemein. Was das Präsens betrifft, ist sie im Gotischen durch noch vorhandene flektierte Formen, im Angelsächsischen durch die aus der Wurzel *bheu* stammenden Auxiliarformen eingeschränkt. Im Althochdeutschen lässt sich eine deutliche Entwicklung in der Bedeutung der präsentischen Formen von

werden mit Part. Prät. verfolgen; anfangs vertreten sie ausschliesslich das Fut., am Ende der Periode dienen sie zugleich als Präs. Pass.

3. Die Umschreibung aktiver Tempusformen durch *werden* mit dem Part. Prät. eines Intransitivs zeigen alle Dialekte mit Ausnahme des Gotischen. Dem Altnordischen sowie dem Angelsächsischen und Altsächsischen ist sie ganz geläufig, während sie im Althochdeutschen nur selten gebraucht wird und bald ausstirbt.

4. *werden* mit dem Part. Präs. fehlt nur im Altnordischen. Das Altsächsische bietet aber nur 2 Belege, in denen das Part. überdies eher nominale als verbale Bedeutung hat. Die anderen Dialekte weisen spärliche Beispiele auf. Im Althochdeutschen kommt das Präs. von *werden* mit Part. Präs. nur 5mal vor, 3mal in enger Anlehnung an lateinische Partizipien; andere Formen von *werden* mit Part. Präs. begegnen 11mal. In den meisten Fällen hat das Part. mehr oder weniger adjektivische, nicht rein verbale Bedeutung.

5. *werden* mit Inf. kommt im Altnordischen vor; ob es aber wie Falk und Torp annehmen, in präs. Form reine Futurumschreibung ist, steht noch nicht fest. Im Althochdeutschen ist diese Umschreibung nicht einwandfrei belegt, da der einzige einschlägige Fall eine andere Bedeutung zulässt; den übrigen Dialekten ist sie gänzlich fremd."

Jetzt drängt sich die Frage auf (S. 28): "Welche von den älteren Erscheinungsformen mag nun auf die Bildung von *werden* mit Inf. als hochdeutsche Futur-Umschreibung von Einfluss gewesen sein?"

Die Verfasserin entscheidet sich einzig und allein zu Gunsten der Umschreibung mit *werden* und dem Part. Präs. (S. 31): "Allen Erklärungsversuchen liegt die Erkenntnis zugrunde, dass *werden* mit Inf. keine ursprüngliche Konstruktion sein kann wie *werden* mit Part. Präs., sondern als lautliche oder analogische Sekundärbildung zu betrachten ist. Unter den älteren Konstruktionen von *werden* bietet aber die weiter oben gegebene Übersicht nur einen augenfälligen Anknüpfungspunkt für den Inf. nach *werden*: das Part. Präs. in gleicher Stellung. Beide Verbindungen sind im Althochdeutschen belegt, die mit dem Inf. aber nur einmal und nicht einwandfrei; die Entwicklung und Ausbreitung der letzteren fällt so gut wie ganz in die mittelhochdeutsche Zeit vom 12. zum 15. Jh."

Kurrelmeyers Arbeit "The Historical Development of the Forms of the Future Tense in Middle High German" wird als unzulänglich zurückgewiesen, da sich (S. 31) gegen seine Methode und seine Ergebnisse ernste Bedenken erheben lassen. (S. 32) "Es scheint deshalb geboten, den Gebrauch von *werden* mit dem Part. Präs. und dem Inf. in den verschiedenen mittelhochdeutschen Dialekten nochmals zu unter-

suchen mit Rücksicht auf die Form, Bedeutung und relative Häufigkeit beider Konstruktionen sowie auf die Wechselwirkungen, die sich zwischen beiden feststellen lassen. Im Folgenden soll dies für das Alemannische (einschliesslich des Schwäbischen) geschehen."

Im zweiten Teile der Arbeit werden dann die Literaturdenkmäler des Alemannischen (einschliesslich des Schwäbischen) im 12., 13., 14., und 15. Jh. untersucht.—A. Im 12. Jh. 1. Poetische Werke: Melinoh von Sevelingen, Heinrich der Gleissner, Hartmann von Aue, Ulrich von Zatzikhoven; 2. Prosawerke: Speculum ecclesiae, Althochdeutsche Predigten, Bruchstücke einer ahd. Übersetzung der 4 Evangelien. B. Im 13. Jh. 1. Poetische Werke: Gottfried von Strassburg, Ulrich von Tüheim, Konrad Fleck, Rudolf von Ems, Freidank, Mariengrüsse, Konrad von Würzburg, Hugo von Langenstein; 2. Prosawerke: David von Augsburg, Grieshabers Prediger, Schwabenspiegel, St. Georger Predigten, Passion des Matthäus, Predigt auf Johannes den Täufer, Predigtbruchstücke, Hugo von Constanz. C. Im 14. Jh. 1. Poetische Werke: Walther von Rheinau, Ulrich Boner, Der Maget Krone, Sibyllen Weissagung; 2. Prosawerke: Meister Eckhart, Nicolaus von Strassburg, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Seuse, Rulman Merswin, Legenda Aurea, Elsässische Predigten, Althochdeutsche Predigten, Predigtbruchstücke, Strassburger Handschrift. D. Im 15. Jh. 1. Poetische Werke: Hugo von Montfort, Die Reimchronik des Appenzellerkrieges, Des Teufels Netz, Meister Altwert, Neujahrsspiel, Der jüngste Tag, Matthias Gudelfinger, Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff; 2. Prosa Werke: Chronik der Stadt Strassburg, Predigtmärlein, Das goldene Spiel, Steinhöwels Aesop. Am Schlusse jedes Abschnittes folgt ein Überblick über die Verhältnisse des betreffenden Jahrhunderts.

Der dritte Teil bringt dann eine Zusammenstellung der Gesamtergebnisse der Untersuchung. Da oben schon die Resultate des ersten Teiles der Arbeit gegeben sind, sollen hier nur die folgen, die sich auf den zweiten Teil beziehen. (S. 90ff).

"6. *werden* mit Inf. als Futurumschreibung ist eine einzelsprachliche Neubildung im Hochdeutschen; ihre Entwicklung fällt in die mittelhochdeutsche Periode.

7. Das Alemannische des 12. Jh. bietet nur Belege für *werden* mit Part. Präs. Die Verbindung kommt 20mal vor, 7mal in präsentischer Form. Alle mit *werden* verbundenen Partizipien gehören imperfektiven Verben an.

werden mit Inf. ist nicht belegt.

8. Im 13. Jh. finden sich 275 Beispiele für *werden* mit Part. Präs., von denen 198 auf das Präs., 77 auf das Prät. entfallen. Die Partizipien gehören sowohl zu perfektiven als

zu imperfektiven Verben. Die Bedeutung der Umschreibung im Präs. ist fast durchweg futurisch.

werden mit Inf. ist 14mal belegt, davon 13mal in präsensentischer Form. Die Verbindung findet sich fast nur in ungenauen oder späten Handschriften. Das Verhältnis der beiden Umschreibungen zu einander ist also etwa 20:1.

Ein Abfall der Partizipialendung *-de* ist im Alemannischen des 13. Jh. nicht festzustellen. Dagegen ist die Vermischung der Form des Part. Präs. mit der Form des flektierten Inf. ganz augenfällig; sie macht sich vorzüglich in dem Eindringen der Endung *-ende* in den Dat. Inf. bemerkbar. Da der Dat. Inf. gelegentlich auch ohne Flexion gebraucht wurde, so mag die finitivform nach *werden* dadurch entstanden sein, dass analog auch beim Part. Präs. die Endung *-de* weggelassen wurde.

9. Im 14. Jh. bleibt *werden* mit Part. Präs. noch die geläufigere Verbindung; von 412 Belegen der Umschreibungen mit *werden* entfallen 341 auf diese Paraphrase, in denen *werden* 257mal im Präs., 84mal im Prät. steht. Für *werden* mit Inf. finden sich 71 Belege (inc. 22 zweifelhaften Alters), in denen *werden* nur 7mal im Prät. gebraucht ist. Das Verhältnis der beiden Umschreibungen verschiebt sich mithin zu etwa 5:1 (bezw. 7:1).

Die Vermischung der Form des Part. Präs. mit der des flektierten Dat. Inf. ist noch deutlicher als im vorhergehenden Jahrhundert. Analog dem Zunehmen der Infinitivform nach *werden* mehren sich die Fälle, in denen der Inf. unflektiert erscheint. Da sich gegen Ende der Periode auch Beispiele von nominalen Partizipien ohne die Endung *-de*, finden, so hat der Abfall der Endungen anscheinend eingesetzt.

10. Im 15. Jh. nimmt der Gebrauch von *werden* mit Inf. schnell zu. Die eigentliche Verdrängung von *werden* mit Part. Präs. durch diese Umschreibung fällt ungefähr in den Zeitraum von 1375-1450. Sie ist langsamer im Elsass als im östlichen Alemannien; der Vorgang ist mithin ein Vordringen von Osten nach Westen."

Worauf es bei der Untersuchung hauptsächlich abgesehen ist, ist zu beweisen, dass die Futur-Umschreibung mit *werden* und dem Inf. nicht entstanden ist:

1. durch Anlehnung an Verben, wie *beginnan* & (Wilmanns, Aron), die mit dem Inf. verbunden wurden, (S. 30 u. 92) noch
2. durch Abschleifung der Endung *-de* des Part. Präs., sodass die ursprüngliche Umschreibung *werden* mit dem Part. Präs. sich allmählig zu der von *werden* mit dem Inf. entwickelte, (S. 30) sondern
3. durch eine Vermischung des flektierten Inf. und des Part. Präs. Die Vermischung (S. 58) "besteht vorzüglich in dem Eindringen der Endung *-de(s)* in die obliquen Casus des Inf., die so das gleiche Aussehen bekamen wie

das Part. Präs. Dies berechtigt zu der Frage, ob nicht vielleicht auf dem Umweg über diese Formen der Inf. für das Part. nach werden eingetreten sei. Da die obliquen Casus des Inf. auch ohne Flektion, also in diesem Falle ohne die Endung *-de* gebraucht wurden, so kann analogisch das Part. Präs. gleichfalls dieses *-de* verloren haben. Die Endung *-ende(s)* des inflektierten Inf. mag sich ursprünglich rein laullich aus *-enne(s)* entwickelt haben; sobald sie aber häufiger auftrat, musste eine Unsicherheit in der Unterscheidung zwischen Inf. und Part. um sich greifen, die rückwirkend auch zum Gebrauch des Inf. statt des Part. nach werden führen konnte."

"Das Auftreten der Endung *-de* im Dat. des Inf. datiert nicht erst aus dem 13. Jh. sondern hat seinen Anfang schon im Althochdeutschen und ist vielleicht auch z. T. der Anlehnung an das lateinische Gerundium zuzuschreiben. Der Beginn des Vorganges fällt also nicht, wie Becht annimmt 'jedenfalls zusammen mit der Zeit, wo die Verkürzung der Partizipia in den Volksdialekten überhand zu nehmen anfing.' Im Gegenteil, im 13. Jh. tritt die Endung *-de* im flektierten Inf. sehr häufig auf, während von einer Verkürzung der Partizipia auf alemannischem Gebiete, abgesehen von den wenigen Fällen der Infinitivform nach *werden* und *sein*, Spuren nicht vorhanden sind. Das Alemannische zeigt im 13. Jh. überhaupt keine Neigung zum Fallenlassen eines auslautenden Dentals; das erweist das strenge Festhalten an dem *-t* der 3. Pers. Pl. Ind. (vgl. Weinhold, *Alem. Gram.* S. 339). Vielmehr entwickelt sich gerade damals das unorganische *-d* von jemand, niemand."

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass diese Untersuchung ein ganz neues Licht auf die Frage betreffs der Futur-Umschreibung wirft, und dass sie die Wissenschaft der Lösung des Problems einen Schritt näher gebracht hat. Nichtsdestoweniger dürfte man aber doch bei aller Anerkennung der vertretenen Ansicht Bedenken tragen, diese Umschreibung einzig und allein aus dieser Erscheinung erklären zu wollen.

Was zunächst den "Anknüpfungspunkt für den Inf. nach *werden*" als Futur-Umschreibung anbetrifft, so lässt sich nicht bestreiten, dass unter den älteren Erscheinungsformen hauptsächlich die Umschreibung mit *werden* und dem Part. Präs. in Betracht kommt. Dabei darf man aber einerseits nicht die Passiv-Umschreibungen mit *werden* und dem Part. Pass. ausschliessen, besonders in den Fällen, wo das Part. mit dem Inf. gleichlautend war, z. B. *wird geben* &; andererseits muss man auch den aktiven Umschreibungen mit *werden* und dem aktiven Part. Perf. Rechnung tragen, die besonders häufig im Altsächsischen bei perfektiven Verben vorkommen, und bei denen das Part. ebenfalls gleichlautete mit dem Inf. z. B. *wird kuman*; *wird tefallan* &. Diese dürften unter anderem

vielleicht vorbildlich gedient haben in 'den wenigen Fällen, in denen die Infinitivform mit *werden* und *sein* auftritt im 13. Jh., wo die Endung *-de* im flektierten Inf. sehr häufig vorkommt, und wo von einer Verkürzung der Partizipia auf alemanischem Gebiete Spuren nicht vorhanden sind' (S. 58-59).

Was ferner die Verwechslung des Part. nach *werden* mit dem unflektierten Inf. betrifft, so ist man gewiss zur Frage berechtigt, ob diese unflektierte Form des Inf. auch kräftig genug gewesen ist, um ausschlaggebend zu wirken auf das Part. Präs. Dass die unflektierte Form des Part. Präs. scheinbar Schritt hält mit dem unflektierten Inf., beweist an und für sich noch nicht, dass sie einzig und allein dieser Erscheinung zuzuschreiben ist. Denn einerseits kommt doch die unflektierte Form des Inf. im grossen ganzen, wie aus vorliegender Arbeit selber hervorgeht, verhältnismässig selten vor im Vergleich mit der flektierten Form. Bedenkt man anderseits noch, erstens dass die partizipiale Flektion sich durchweg, bis gegen Schluss des 14. Jh. intakt hält—nirgends macht die Verfasserin den Versuch, Formen wie S. 60, 46, 35 *wirst leistenne*, oder S. 63 *lebenne, erbaldenne sijn* && als lautliche Entwicklungen oder als volkstümliche Verwechslungen für *leistende, erbaldende, lebende* & zu erklären,¹ die vielleicht hätten beitragen können, um eine Unsicherheit in der Unterscheidung zwischen dem Part. Präs. und dem Inf. herbeizuführen, da hier das Part. in dieser Form mit der Gerundial-Form des Inf. im Dat. übereinstimmte—ja, dass die Flektion des Part. sogar durch den mit Gerundial-Flektion immer häufiger auftretenden Inf. unterstützt wurde, und schliesslich, dass die Infinitiv-Form nach *werden* schon sehr früh auftritt, so ist die Frage gewiss nicht müssig, ob nicht vielleicht auch andere Einflüsse mit im Spiele waren.

Die Antwort hierauf ist schon in der Untersuchung gegeben. S. 81, wo von dem Abfall der Endungen die Rede ist, heisst es: "Davon zeugen gegen Ende des Jh. (i. e. 14.) auch einzelne Beispiele von nominalen Part. Präs. ohne die Endung *-de*." Dieser Satz wird angeführt um zu beweisen, dass der unflektierte Inf. die Endungen der Partizipia zu verdrängen anfangt. Jedoch, da um diese Zeit nicht nur die Part. sondern auch die Adj. anfangen die Endung fallen zu lassen, so wäre man vielleicht eben so wohl zur Annahme berechtigt, dass durch den Umstand, dass die Part. und die Adj. die Endung fallen liessen, das Part. dem Inf. in der Form gleich wurde; also dass die Infinitivform des Part. zum Teil wenigstens hieraus zu erklären wäre. Man dürfte daher in Bezug auf die Flektion höchstens sagen, dass die Unsicherheit in der Unterscheidung zwischen Part. und Inf. zusammen mit dem Umstand, dass die Part. die Endung fallen liessen unter anderem bei-

getragen hätte, um die Umschreibung mit *werden* und dem Inf. zu begünstigen.

Was schliesslich die Anlehnung an solche Verben wie *ahdi beginnan*, *gestantan*, & anbetrifft, so würde es hier zu weit führen in Einzelheiten einzugehen. Warum aber in vorliegender Untersuchung die Möglichkeit einer solchen Anlehnung so entschieden abgelehnt wird, ist nicht klar, wird sie doch bei anderen Verben, die nur in der äusseren Konstruktion, nicht aber in der Bedeutung übereinstimmen, eingestanden-wo also die Wahrscheinlichkeit eigentlich ferner liegt. S. 53 steht in Bezug auf den Satz I, 108, 8 *un als er helia dem wissagen brot sant be dem rappen in der wuste als wir(t) er dich och beraten dines brotes*. "Die Infinitivform *beraten* mag aber durch Zeile 7 *mach och er dich beraten* beeinflusst sein." Ferner S. 62: III, 140, 55 *Ouch wirt und sol daz geschehen*. "Bech führt Zeitzer Progr. ein ähnliches Beispiel an, und betont S. 12, dass in Fällen, wo *wirt* neben *sol* steht, die Infinitivform nicht mehr als Part. empfunden sei. In obigem Falle, wo *sol* an zweiter Stelle steht, ist darüber wohl kein Zweifel." Betrachtet man nun aber folgende beide Sätze:

S. 76, I, 83, 3 *und begunden die ünden schlahende* und

S. 77, LXIV, 18 *wirt redenne*, so liegt doch nichts näher als anzunehmen, dass hier eine Verwechslung und deshalb eine Beeinflussung stattgefunden hat. Im ersten Satze schwebte dem Schriftsteller das Wort *werdan* vor, im zweiten die Verbindung *beginnt zu*.

Immerhin macht die ganze Untersuchung den Eindruck einer fleissigen, gründlichen und tüchtigen Arbeit, die die Futur-Umschreibung von einem neuen Gesichtspunkte aus beleuchtet und deshalb als dankbarer Beitrag zur Wissenschaft begrüsst werden darf.

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*V. Michels Mhd. Elemb. §212 Anns. 10- Bech: 2fd. Wf. 81 ft.

WILLIAM MASON, *A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURE*. By John W. Draper, Ph. D. New York: The New York University Press. Illustrated. 397 pp. \$6.50.

This study of the Reverend William Mason, friend and biographer of Thomas Gray and author of "The English Garden," might well serve as a model for later books of its kind. It is a thorough treatment of a difficult and worthy subject, close-packed with reading, simple in plan, pleasing in style, and sound in generalization. Qualities not often found together in contemporary scholarship, such as extremely

patient accuracy on the one hand and vigorous synthesis on the other, are here brought into harmony. One is in doubt whether to select for special praise the wide range of the author's research, the exactitude and pertinence of his more than two thousand notes, or the skill with which he builds his knowledge into a foundation for a very few primary theses. Considered as a biography of William Mason the book must be regarded as definitive, for every available fact of the slightest importance finds place here. Considered as a study of eighteenth-century culture in some of its more central phases, it is clarifying. As a piece of literary structure it is wholly admirable.

Professor Draper has been able to add considerably to our knowledge of Mason's life and to correct several mistakes of earlier biographers. What is more important, he has given us abundant reasons for adopting a more respectful attitude toward Mason than most scholars and critics have recently held. William Mason was, of course, essentially a little and a rather foolish man, interesting to us partly because he failed at more things than larger and wiser men undertake, but Professor Draper has written almost four hundred pages about him without diverging either into contempt or hero-worship. Mason, moreover, was an inveterate dabbler and dilettante: his biographer has followed him patiently into all his interests and hobbies—into his poetry, his essays, his criticism, satire, painting, music, politics, drama, gardening, architecture, biographical writing, clerical duties, and correspondence—and has reached clear conclusions about his performance in each. In studying a man so "typical" as Mason, there is danger of reading his times and social environment into the man, or the man into the times, but Professor Draper has done neither. He makes us see William Mason very clearly, and so helps us to a clearer vision of the century which produced and cherished him. The general theory upon which he has worked is given in his own words: "If we would know an age, we must study the commonplace even more than the exceptional. William Mason, as a thinker, as a dilettante in many arts, and as a man living among men, fairly represents the commonplace of his period and social class; and the present study of his accomplishments, literary, artistic, clerical, political, and personal, is intended as a limited contribution toward a future evaluation of the rank and file of eighteenth-century life and thought."

This book, then, is no mere *specimen eruditionis* of the sort put forth annually in our graduate schools, as thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa and of about the same intrinsic value. It has the accuracy and the respect for fact often found in doctoral dissertations but it differs sharply from most of them

in that the facts it contains in rich abundance are interpreted, and are valued chiefly for the interpretation to which they lead. Such tireless patience as Professor Draper has shown in amassing all the details which bear in any way upon his subject would scarcely be justified, indeed, with relation to William Mason alone, and even as it is the amplitude of his study sometimes misses diffuseness by a narrow margin. He is chiefly concerned, however, to show Mason as "a lively embodiment of the culture of his class and age," and so has thought no pains that he could bestow excessive. The result justifies the means, for the reader is given a vivid picture not only of a rather important man but of a very important time.

Professor Draper's attitude toward Mason the man is, upon the whole, respectful without being at all admiring. Only in one place does he seem to claim more for Mason than the facts seem to warrant, and that is in the passage, p. 265ff., in which he discusses Gray's attitude toward his friend. One finds it difficult to reconcile the assertion "There is no room for doubt that Gray held Mason in his very best opinion" with the quotation from Gray's letter of June 5, 1748 which appears on p. 35—unless, indeed, he remembers that that letter was written very early in the acquaintance of the two men. There are other remarks of similar purport about Mason in the letters of Gray, and there is also the testimony of Wesley's Journal to the same effect which Professor Draper quotes on p. 128. The truth would seem to be that Gray's several slighting remarks about the man whom he chose as his literary executor have done as much to lower the reputation of Mason as the latter's "Memoirs" did to heighten that of Gray. Be this as it may, Professor Draper shows no tendency elsewhere to overestimate his subject. For the more romantic, not to say sentimental, aspects of Mason's writing, particularly as shown in his poetry, the author has as little liking as any one. The critical point of view is not unlike that of Professor Irving Babbitt.

William Mason is brought before us as a snug and complacent little man living quite successfully and with many small honors in what was still a snug and complacent little society unaware of the cataracts toward which it was slowly drifting. Dutiful, energetic, and by no means without talents, he was incurably miscellaneous in his effort and tastes, unable to pull himself together. He played at a dozen diverse occupations, and at some of them rather well, but in everything that he did—with the just possible exception of his clerical work—he remembered the unwritten law that a gentleman must never seem to work really hard or to put forth all his power. With such friends about him as Gray and Walpole and Harcourt he was eager to be thought a thorough gentleman. Mason

was timidly romantic in most of his poetry, superficially neo-classical in his ideal of decorum, and in all things he was tepidly sentimental, brisk, bright, and a little hard to take seriously. In all this he was a mirror of his time. Professor Draper could not have chosen a better point of focus for his study of eighteenth-century culture than the faintly amusing figure of William Mason.

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GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN LITERATURWISSENSCHAFT BIS ZUM ENDE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS
 von Sigmund von Lempicki, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1920.

Lempicki setzt seiner Geschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft einen Spruch Goethes als Motto voran: "Die Geschichte der Wissenschaften ist eine grosse Fuge, in der die Stimmen der Völker nach und nach zum Vorschein kommen." (Goethe, Spr. in P. Nr. 67).

Nichts könnte das ausgezeichnete Werk, das aus der unbewussten Zusammenarbeit der europäischen Kulturnationen und ihrer sie vollendenden Krönung durch Herder die moderne Literaturwissenschaft entstehen lässt, treffender charakterisieren als dieser Sinnspruch. Wie die Literaturwissenschaft ihre heutige Ausbildung als Teil der Geisteswissenschaften nur in Deutschland fand, so konnte das vorliegende Werk nur in einer Nation geschrieben werden, die seit Jahrhunderten die alten und neueren Sprachen und Literaturen studiert und mit aufgeschlossenem Sinn auf sich hatte wirken lassen. Dass es, wie eine Weltliteratur, so auch in gewissem Sinne eine Weltwissenschaft gibt, die ihre Pflege bisher vorzüglich in Deutschland gefunden hat, muss gerade heute gesagt werden, wo verblendete Fanatiker der Hasses noch immer am Werke sind, national Zäune um den Wissenschaftsbetrieb zu ziehen.

In einer geistvollen Einleitung zu dem Buche, dem ein zweiter Band folgen soll, stellt der Verfasser zunächst Ziel und Aufgabe seiner Untersuchung fest und bestimmt zugleich die Grenzen, die zwischen Philologie und Literaturwissenschaft, sowie zwischen diesen und der literarischen Kritik sich auftun. Dabei ergeben sich ihm in der Betrachtung seines Gegenstandes für die Untersuchung vier Probleme, deren Erörterung uns den Gang und Inhalt des Werkes in grossen Zügen vorführt. Sie seien deshalb hier kurz skizziert.

Das erste und Hauptproblem ist die Entstehung und Konstituierung der Literaturforschung zu einer besonderen Wissenschaft nach den Gesichtspunkten des Gegenstandes und der Methode. Hier erscheint zusammengedrängt was später in

den einzelnen Abschnitten breit ausgeführt wird: wie der Begriff der Literaturgeschichte durch vielfache Wandlungen hindurch sich nach und nach ausbildet, und wie ihre Methode, zunächst abhängig von der damaligen Einsicht in das Wesen und die Entwicklung der grossen geschichtlichen Welt, sich dann an den Systemen der Philosophie orientiert und schliesslich die wichtigsten methodischen Wandlungen der Geisteswissenschaften im allgemeinen mitmacht. So erlebt die Methode der Literaturwissenschaft den Einfluss der aufsteigenden Naturwissenschaften in der Form der mechanischen Analogie im 17. Jahrhundert, die das Wesen historischer Erscheinungen aus ihren klimatischen Bedingungen zu erklären sucht. Bei Dubos, Montesquieu, Temple, Wotton und Bodmer zeigt sich ihre Wirkung. Später machte sich die dynamisch-organische Analogie Shaftsbury's, Goethes, Herders und der Romantik, und schliesslich die biologisch-evolutionistische Analogie geltend, die sich in der Blütezeit des Positivismus bei Taine, Scherer und der *théorie des genres* von Brunetière auswirkt.

Gerade diese Beziehung zu andern Wissenschaften bildet das zweite Problem, das zu untersuchen ist. Vor allem gilt es dem Verfasser, die wechselseitige Beziehung zur Literaturgeschichte und Poetik zu verfolgen. Da in der neueren Zeit, bes. im 18. Jahrhundert, ästhetische Kritik und dichterisches Schaffen vielfach Hand in Hand gehen, ja letzteres bei den bedeutendsten Dichtern ohne die erstere nicht denkbar ist, so lässt sich leicht einsehen, dass ein geschichtliches Verstehen und ein Massstab der Beurteilung ohne Kenntnis der jeweiligen Poetik unmöglich sind. Die Geschichte der Literaturwissenschaft hat daher zu schildern die Wandlungen, denen jene Massstäbe und Prinzipien, je nach dem allgemeinen Zeitcharakter und der Individualität des Historikers, unterliegen. Denn religiöse und politische Ansichten, ja die ganze Weltanschauung des Literarhistorikers hat stets nicht geringen Einfluss auf seine Betrachtung des historisch Überlieferten ausgeübt.

Das dritte wichtige Problem, das Lempicki sich zur Erörterung stellt, bezieht sich auf das Verhältnis der Literaturgeschichte zur Literatur, der wissenschaftlichen Betrachtung zum dichterischen Schaffen. Mit Recht hält er es für die Entstehung der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft als einen besonders segensreichen Zustand, dass die Interpreten zugleich schaffende Künstler sind. Keinen besseren Beweis gibt es hierfür als die weitgehenden literarhistorischen Interessen Goethes, der als erster die Literaturgeschichte seines Zeitalters im Rahmen seiner Selbstbiographie schrieb. Ferner weist der Verfasser darauf hin, dass das literarhistorische Interesse aus dem Interesse an der Gegenwart entsteht. So wächst aus der berühmtesten *'Querelle des Anciens et Modernes'* in Deutschland wie in

Italien die Beschäftigung mit der nationalen Vergangenheit, so entstand schon früher als Antwort auf die Vorwürfe italienischer Humanisten die erste deutsche Literaturgeschichte. Ebenso haben im 18. Jahrhundert die Angriffe des Jesuitenpeters Bouhours und später die des Preussenkönigs Friedrich des Grossen den literarischen Sinn gestärkt. Noch lebhafter als diese negativen Gefühle wirkt die Freude am Wert und der Fülle des Erreichten. Man will sich über das Neue und dessen Wert und Bedeutung klar werden, es historisch in den grossen Zusammenhang des Geschehens einreihen und so verstehen. Neben den Lobeserhebungen die man Opitz und seiner neuen Kunst darbringt, erscheinen die ersten Ansätze literarhistorischer Betrachtung. Später wird die ausserordentliche Erscheinung Klopstocks zum Ausgangspunkt literarhistorischer Untersuchung. Ganz ähnlich suchen dann Schiller, Humboldt und Schlegel, das einzige Genie Goethes historisch zu begreifen. So knüpft auch in der Folgezeit die geschichtliche Betrachtung an das bereits Geschaffene an und findet in dem Gegenwärtigen den Trieb zur Durchforschung des Vergangenen.

Anknüpfend an eine Bemerkung Goethes über das Individuum, das in der Geschichte einer gegebenen Wissenschaft auftritt, um "alles zu sammeln, zu sondern, zu redigieren, und zu vereinigen, wobei es wirklich ganz einerlei ist, ob die Zeitgenossen ein solches Bemühen begünstigen oder ihm widerstreben," sieht Lempicki eine solche Gestalt in Herder, dessen eingehende Betrachtung das vierte Problem seiner Untersuchung bildet. Es war ein äusserst glücklicher, von tiefer historischer Einsicht zeugender Gedanke, gerade den Mann in den Mittelpunkt der Betrachtung zu stellen, in den die voraufgehende Bewegung einmündet, und dessen grundlegende Arbeiten die fernere Entwicklung bis auf diesen Tag bestimmen.

Demgemäss ist dann auch der äussere Aufbau des Buches gestaltet, das der Verfasser in vier Perioden geteilt hat; die Periode der Ansätze und der Versuche der mittelalterlichen Literaturgeschichtschreibung bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts; die Periode der Voraussetzungen, die bis zu Herder reicht; die Periode der Begründung, umfassend die Kultur der Romantik, einschliesslich der historischen Schule und der Arbeiten Gethes und Schillers; die Periode des Ausbaues, wie er dank den grundlegenden Leistungen der germanischen Philologen in den grossen Synthesen von Gervinus bis Scherer möglich war

In dem vorliegenden Bande werden nur die beiden ersten Perioden behandelt und zwar mit einer so gründlich und umfassenden Gelehrsamkeit, dass Ausstellungen im Einzelnen eigentlich nur Nachträge sein können. So ist zu bedauern, dass der Verfasser das treffliche Buch von J. G. Robertson über die italienischen Ästhetiker des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihren

Einfluss auf die deutsche Literaturwissenschaft nicht mehr hat benutzen können. Die Forderung einer Literaturgeschichte zur Hebung des geistigen Lebens hat schon Muratori ausgesprochen.—Bei der Besprechung des Begriffes 'schöne Wissenschaften,' der sich bei dem Wolfianer Gottsched von selbst verstand, hätte darauf hingewiesen werden sollen, dass auch Haller noch von den "Wissenschaften, die auf dem Geschmack beruhen," spricht, ja selbst Lessing noch den Ausdruck 'die Wissenschaften zum Vergnügen' braucht.—Bei der Besprechung des entscheidenden Einflusses, den die pietistische Bibelexegese auf die Literaturwissenschaft und die 'Zeichenlehre' ausgeübt hat (S. 366), wäre der Hinweis am Platze gewesen, dass die Wurzeln dieser Hermeneutik, wie der Zeichenlehre, bei den Mystikern wie Weigel und Böhme zu suchen sind. Das wusste schon die Orthodoxie des 17. Jahrhunderts, die gegen die neue Bibelauslegung, in der sie mit Recht neuplatonische Einflüsse witterte, nicht genug protestieren konnte.

Möge der Verfasser uns recht bald den 2. Band seines so erfolgreich begonnenen Werkes schenken, dem dann gewiss auch ein Gesamtregister nicht fehlen wird.

JULIUS GOEBEL

ENGLISCHE STYLISTIK. Von Philipp Aronstein. Leipzig. Verlag von B. G. Teubner. 1924. 22.5 cm., pp. viii, 194. Price, M. 4.60.

For this carefully written and well printed work we have only words of praise. It is evidently the work of a savant, whose long familiarity with the languages of Western Europe has well qualified him to speak with confidence and with discrimination concerning the difficult and elusive thing we call style.

And what is style? The great Frenchman has answered, *Le style c'est l'homme*. In the sense in which this is ordinarily taken (style is the man), no more misleading statement ever flowed from the pen of a critic. For the individual never expresses his free and unconfined personality through language. He is conditioned by the character of his audience, whether one or many. He must aim either to please or to instruct; in the one case he is confined to the modes of giving pleasure which have been developed by the folk through countless generations; in the other case he must be at least intelligible and his thought must find expression through modes which do not draw attention away from the matter to the manner—that is, through conventional modes. If, then, one says, style is the community, style is Man conditioned by his immediate environment, it is true. In our zeal for the attainment of absolute individual freedom, we have probably come to think

of the individual as having obtained a greater measure of freedom than is actually the case. True, education brings a greater measure of freedom and a greater variety of individual expression than the supreme effort of ignorance can achieve; but this is after all only a relative matter. The most highly educated man in his relation with his fellow men is conditioned by what they can understand and what they like. He can say, with Tennyson's Ulysses, "I am a *part* of all that I have met"; more than this he cannot say.

It follows that the most fruitful study of style is the comparative study of national or regional modes of expression. In itself the form of statement "I have a house to build" would have no particular significance if only one or two persons ever made use of it; but when it becomes the accepted usage of a nation (as compared with "I must build a house," "It is a house that I must build"), then it becomes a matter of great importance. Still, the study of individual expression is not to be neglected; for it is from the inventions of the individual, accidental or labored, that we derive the happy phrase or idiom which may come to characterize national usage.

Dr. Aronstein has devoted his main energies to the study of English national style. His choice of authors is good; the list, though short, is fairly representative. The largest number of citations from British authors is from Dickens; Oscar Wilde and Shakespeare come next, followed by Arnold Bennett. American English is represented chiefly by Hawthorne, Holmes, and Henry James. Much use is made of Eleanor Grove's translation of Wilhelm Meister, Morrison's translation of Schiller's *Fall of the Netherlands*, Faber's translation of Hauff's *Tales*, Mary Howitt's translation of Hackländer's *Handel und Wandel*, and Delmer's translation of Frenssen's *Jörn Uhl*.

We append a few notes and corrections of printer's slips.

Page 14. It is perhaps a debatable question whether English is a colonial speech in the same sense as, e. g., Australian English, South African Dutch, or American English. That is, all three of these may be compared with a mother speech developed through many centuries of stable and settled life. The Angles and Saxons who brought English to Britain, on the other hand, were scarcely more unsettled than their kinsmen who remained on the Continent; the latter were apparently subjected to about as many disturbing influences as were the British Angles and Saxons and Jutes. If, then, in speaking of a colonial speech we imply a stable and well established mother speech with which we may compare it, then English is scarcely more of a colonial speech than was any other of the Germanic dialects in those early Christian centuries, when there was so

much moving about and so much contact of almost every Germanic dialect with other languages.¹

Page 16, line 2. For *abode* read *abide*.

P. 16, l. 8. *Wend* is still in use though somewhat archaic or poetic: "He *wended* his way across the meadow."

Page 21, l. 10 and p. 23, l. 9 f.b. Read *Galsworthy*.

P. 24, l. 24. *Topsy-turvy* is the commoner form and the only one cited in *NED*; but *tipsy-turvy* is occasionally heard; it is found in the *Ithaca, N. Y.*, dialect, for example.

P. 24, l. 25 f.b. This tendency is especially noticeable in the speech of the young; school and college slang is full of it. Other examples are "the *U*" for the University, "the *Libe*" for the Library, "*k.m.*" for kitchen mechanic, cook, "*Ph.D.*" (the letters pronounced) for doctor of philosophy.

P. 29, ll. 3 and 31. Read *Dr. Thorne*.

P. 30, l. 23. Read unprofitably.

P. 50, l. 16 f.b. Read they become.

P. 52, l. 21. In the explanation of this idiom, "I am given a watch," not enough, it seems to me, has been made of the fact that "give me a watch" is regarded by the folk-mind as a group verb, the passive form of which is awkwardly worked out as "to be given a watch." So "He takes no notice of me," passive, "I am taken no notice of," "to let bleed, to be let bleed," found as early at least as 1526, in *Pilgr. Perf.*, see *NED*, s.v. *blood*.

P. 74, l. 20. Read *Letters*.

P. 78, l. 3 f.b. *Conrad's* use of *would* is distinctly in contrast with what many hold to be the better, not to say the more correct usage, "I should have been able," etc. But *Conrad* learned his English at a time when there was more confusion with regard to the use of *should* and *would* in such cases. The tendency to use *will*, *would* in the first person of the future, though in my opinion highly deplorable, is apparently increasing. See *Geo. O. Curme*, "Has English a Future Tense?" *JEGP*, Oct. 1913, xii. 515-39. *Curme's* collection of material is valuable, but some of his inferences are scarcely tenable. For example, when he remarks (p. 539) that "the whole question is wonderfully simple to the child," he forgets that the child has in general merely learned what his elders have taught him, and that his elders have probably come to use "I will" as a future rather because they have heard it often than because they are trying thereby to express a nicer shade of meaning or to indicate the future more accurately than they could by using "I shall." Insofar as there is anything like a conscious reluctance to the use of "I shall" as a future and a preference for

¹ See *A. C. Haddon*, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1911, chap. iii.

"I will," it may be due to phonetic reasons. Compare the popular preference for don't (<doth not) to doesn't. The s in I shall go, does not, doesn't, requires distinctly more effort than it does to say I will go, I'll go, don't. Also, note the effect of the analogy of the future form will in the second and third persons singular and plural, that is, in four out of the six forms with which we are concerned.

P. 79, l. 4. For nos read not.

P. 85, l. 17. It seems of doubtful utility to erect a separate Potential Mood out of may and might, and the later grammarians have apparently almost without exception abandoned it. Really "I may go," meaning "I have the power to go." is no more potential than "I know how to go" or "I can go." We shall get on well enough if we say that may when used in the indicative mood has a variety of significations:

1. Are you going? I may (i.e. it is possible).

2. May I go with you? (I.e., do you grant me the power or ability which otherwise I do not possess?) Yes, you may (i.e. from my point of view you are at liberty to go or have the power to go).

In the subjunctive mood, may has developed out of a result use a purpose use:

"Say yes, that I may tell my mother." Originally "that I may tell" was a result of saying yes. Then it developed the idea of purpose.

P. 171, l. 11 f.b. For Bileam read Balaam.

In some cases syllables are wrongly divided (e.g., p. 117, l. 13 f.b., p. 162 l. 12 f.b., p. 191, col. 3, l. 12 f.b. And the index is not quite complete. But these trifles do not greatly affect the value of an intrinsically good book.

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MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE IN ENGLAND, A STUDY OF THE SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF THE NON-CYCLIC METRICAL ROMANCES. By Laura A. Hibbard. Oxford Press. New York and London: 1924. Pp. viii+342.

In drawing up a list elsewhere of things that ought to be done in the Middle English field, the present reviewer had occasion to observe that, "We need . . . short surveys of the host of articles which appear in the various fields, so that he who runs may read the latest about the origin of the Grail, the ballad theory, or Professor Foerster's struggle over Celtic origins." I feel like saying with reference to the book under consideration just now, "This is exactly what I had in mind." No one interested in Medieval romance could afford to be without Professor Bruce's great survey of scholarly opinion in

the Arthurian field; and it is no exaggeration to add that Miss Hibbard's study falls in a similar category of importance. In many fields to-day there are books and periodicals to digest the current news and to note the fluctuation in literary opinion, but the present volumes do something more than that. By an occasional addition to the argument here and there, by special interpretation, and by deciding the issue now and then, these authors contribute substantially to the advancement of knowledge, although, as Miss Weston's recent criticism of Professor Bruce's study shows, they are inevitably open to the charge of personal bias for this very reason. It is a question whether some of Miss Weston's own articles (those, for instance, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) are not open to the same charge.

The title of Miss Hibbard's book is misleading; for, as the subtitle indicates, only the non-cyclic romances in England have been included. Two of these, *Eger, Grime, and Graystele* and *Roswall and Lillian* did not fall within the scope of Wells's *Manual*, in which, incidentally, it was impossible to discuss the problems of the romances at anything like the same length as that of Miss Hibbard's treatment. On the other hand, the latter author has adhered faithfully to her plan, which means that she has excluded similar documents like *Kyng Alisaunder* (after all pretty much in the manner of *Richard Cœur de Lion*), *Sir Launfal*, and *Titus and Vespasian*. Some fault may be found with her classification into the three groups: the romances of Trial and Faith, those of Legendary English Heroes, and those of Love and Adventure. Whether or not this grouping is logical, it is of little service, and the romances hardly fall together in the same way in one's mind. Yet this division accounts for the fact that *Isumbras*, *Florence of Rome*, and *Emare*, are here separated from *Octavian*, *Eglamour*, and *Torrent*. Within the same group even *Ipomedon* and *Roswall and Lillian* are not put together. Yet the real value of the book lies in the richness of the subject-matter and in the author's own contributions. These are found not only in the more conspicuous citation of sources: as in the case of the story of Guy's meeting with his friend Tirri, and the indebtedness of *Athelston* to the legend of Queen Emma; but they also occur in the notes, which present widely scattered and exceedingly pertinent information on various topics,—for instance on the appearance of romance *motifs* in art, (interesting notes on different subjects are found on p. 138, n. 20; p. 143, n. 1; p. 145, n. 3; p. 152, notes 4-5; p. 237, n. 7, etc.) Fruitful lines of study in the general field are suggested by the author (e.g. pp. 210-211), who is herself obviously well oriented. The Index which she has provided would give anyone a fair start on a bibliography, on such topics as romances in art, French connections, Greek and Italian forms, the use of magic, etc.

In taking up each romance, the method of the book is to give a full account of the versions, including material about manuscripts, a review of various theories regarding the origin, and a-usefully select bibliography. Romantic *motifs* are traced discriminatingly in allied fields of literature, as one will find who examines the careful investigation of those which appear, for example, in *Sir Generides*. Occasionally a short piece of literary criticism, rather finely done, is introduced to indicate the significance of some particular romance, as in the case of *Sir Degrevant*:

"The author's description is as graphic in kind as is his power of characterization. Conventional as that is in some ways, it escapes again and again into piquancy. Degrevant may be love-vanquished at first sight of Melydore, but he keeps his wits and his vigor," etc. (p. 309).

If there is any serious fault to find, it is that the summaries of opinion are now and then cloudy when it is so especially important that they should be clear.

In this regard it is perhaps worth while to observe that Miss Hibbard does not seem to take easily to being systematic. To my mind the arrangement of the book indicates this fact, and so do a number of minor inaccuracies in citations, which it would be pedantic to notice except in this connection (such as the rather sketchy allusion to names—"C. Baldwin," "H. S. Leach," "W. Schofield," "K. G. Webster," "J. Tatlock," "*The Percy Folio Manuscript*" for "*Percy's Folio Manuscript*," the title of Gerould's article on the Eustace legend, of which much use is made, etc.) In this fault I heartily sympathize with the author; for I know with what extraordinary facility page references and titles change between the time of original composition and the last proof (and even afterward!). But such errors and the occasional shift in method may lead some scholars to wonder whether the general conclusions of the book have been arrived at with that exactness of procedure which is requisite. As far as I have been able to discover, the conclusions are, in general, sound, although I am inclined to pause after the survey of theories respecting the story of Horn, and to ask, "Is this really all that it comes to? Has research carried us no further than this?" With regard to Havelok, although I am aware that Dr. Sisam does not grant the arguments much validity, I confess that I am not satisfied that there is not something in Deutschbein's suggestions. The case seems to me a little stronger there. On the other hand, as Professor Bruce, in my opinion, does scant justice to A. C. L. Brown and Celtic origins in the Arthurian field, so the present scholar tends to obscure, I think, the valid material produced by Professor Gerould in arguing for a basis of *Athelston* in the story of Thomas Becket. The opposition may point out that

Athelston differs essentially from the story of Dame Emma in many points: one important feature of the romance is the irony of the break that comes among the four sworn brothers; in the story of Emma, the queen is the mother of Edward, she is accused of adultery, she alone is led through the fire, and the traitor is the Archbishop (while in the romance the Archbishop is the defendant, and he is really the hero of the story—see Hibbard, p. 144). Far from admitting that the “origin of the romance” is “in the famous Winchester legend of Queen Emma,” one might reasonably urge that, as *Ipomedon*, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* represent, in each case, a compound of two themes or episodes, in the same way this romance simply took over the story of the ordeal of the ploughshares for an important incident in the plot. All this does not deprive Miss Hibbard of full credit for the brilliance of her discovery. Exact balance in such matters is difficult to maintain, and on the whole I believe that she keeps an even course in steering among conflicting views.¹

Her account of the composite nature of the stories is usually quite clear. Objection may be found to the fact that, except in the Index, a type story is not followed through the romances where it appears. Thus the Constance plot is not always definitely marked. With all the summary of the versions given in the discussion of *Emare*, no mention is made of *Sir Eglamour* or *Torrent*; nor are we told whether the “Innocent Persecuted Wife” of *Octavian* (p. 270, which the Index fails to list) belongs to the same category. There are, moreover, unexplained similarities in *Florence of Rome* (e.g. the detail of the rejected suitor accusing the heroine of crime: see p. 25, n. 5; note also the use of the name Florence in *Octavian*,—a connecting detail in another group is the name Arduus in *Sir Triamour*, Artius and the incest theme in *Emare*, and *Artois* in *Sir Eglamour*.) From the discussion it is difficult, also, to get any understanding of the contacts between the story of Constance, that of Eustace (I regret that Miss Hibbard keeps the form Eustache—“Eustache story” is so hard to say!), and that of Crescentia.

But these observations must not seem to show us ungrateful for the indubitable merits of the book. What these are have already been indicated in part. Anyone who will undertake a bibliographical study of this kind, and who will have the patience to consider faithfully the suggestions and theories, tentative and otherwise, of hundreds of monographs for the purpose of giving them all a fair representation, deserves more than easy applause. It is doubtful whether such an enterprise forms a good subject (as originally in this case) for a doctoral dissertation; there is a special demand in the nature of its

¹ Cf. p. 77, where she barely gives due emphasis to Gerould's view as against Hippe's.

matter for a judicial mind, ripened by years of experience in the field. However that may be, Miss Hibbard, in my opinion, has been fairly successful in an amazingly difficult task, and her book must be consulted by those who in the future would hunt game from this particular covert. Of course, the business of running down a new historical allusion or of tracing *motifs* to a new source remains perpetually unfinished.

For other details I list below a few corrections or additions. Mistakes in such a book are unavoidable. P. 7, to the reference in Chambers add Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, 299 ff.; "Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, Index," is a careless reference—read p. 308 and "Saints'." What is the allusion in Gerould 384? The seven independent tales cited do not all contain the *motif* apparently of the choice presented by the Virgin (see Gerould's summary, p. 435). P. 10, the Gray's Inn fragment has been printed by Miss D'Evelyn, *Englische Studien*, LII, 72-76. P. 24, in the Offa stories the rudderless boat *motif* has somehow become attached to the second Offa. Chambers' *Beowulf, an Introduction*, contains an especially illuminating discussion of all this material, and should be cited. I shall not pause to discuss the modifications which, I think, should be introduced into Miss Hibbard's account in the light of what he has to say. P. 34, add to Suchier's list Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, IV, 500-521. P. 51, the metrical romance from Wynkyn de Worde was printed in 1798, and from this edition Hazlitt got his text. P. 55, why not cite Kittredge's "Who was Sir Thomas Malory?" "The Three Days' Battle" is not a happy substitute for the "Three Days' Tournament," by which the *motif* is more generally known (see Hibbard, p. 152, etc.) P. 74, one notes that in *Amadas* the white stranger is not identified as the dead knight until the end, but the reader, of course, knows that he is—and the subtlety is increased by the mere implication. P. 83, for the Anglo-Norman, see also Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, London, 1923, p. 46. Pp. 83 ff., on this romance it is to be remembered that Professor Brodeur of California has important suggestions to make with regard to influence from the story of the returned crusader, (cf. Hibbard, p. 93, n. 9). P. 111, n. 6, perhaps Hahn's famous study should be cited. P. 122, cite Schick's study, *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief*, Berlin, 1912, *Corpus Hamleticum*, 1. Abteilung. Pp. 136, 139, add Brodeur's studies of the grateful lion—in the Gayley volume, pp. 197 ff., and in the *PMLA*. XXXIX, pp. 485 ff.—these appeared too late for Miss Hibbard to include them. P. 160, for "Leach (p. 657)" read "Leach (p. 353)." P. 163, add Zupitza, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakspeare-Gesellschaft*, XXI, 69, Weimar, 1886. P. 180, n. 13, the desired reference is apparently pp. 240 ff., in the treatment of the *Chevalere Assigne*. P. 187, the allusion to the *Book of the Duchesse* seems hardly appropriate, inasmuch

as the Dreamer's knowledge of the death of Blanche begins when he first hears the Man in Black sing his "lay." When at last he feels it is time to speak, he is sufficiently articulate! P. 197, n. 4, in my own article cited here I did not mean to "discredit" "the idea of Celtic influence on these descriptions." On p. 642 in my paper I tried to make clear that originally non-Celtic material "may have passed into Celtic lore, and although not indigenous there, have received the cast of the Celtic fancy." P. 208, n. 17, the quotation from Cross is inaccurate. It should be: "generally regarded as distinctively characteristic of Germanic tradition, figured in Celtic popular literature," etc. P. 210, n. 22, add reference to *Mod. Philol.*, XVI, 307. P. 212, add to the bibliography Puckett, *Mod. Philol.*, XVI, 297. P. 215, n. 3, change the reference to Menner as follows: *PMLA*. XXXVII, pp. 503-526. P. 232, the reference to Bruce should be *MLN.*, XXXIII, 129 ff. P. 255, Brandl's comment on the dialect of the *Knight of Courtesy* seems to be that at least it is not Northern. Miss McCausland's study² shows that it is East Midland of the XV Century, and that in substance the poem is closer to the form represented by the *Chronique* than to that of the *Châtelain de Couci*. P. 257, Miss Hibbard's criticism here is not so good as usual. The romance is not to be judged in terms of greatness any more than a toy village, or Jack and Jill, or Punch and Judy. *Of course* it had to have its dragon story! One is touched with a vague feeling of perturbation when a person like Miss Rickert observes with regard to this trifle that it represents "an aspect of mediaeval psychology, being a singular combination of morbid hyper-analysis with sheer brutality." The other day strenuous objection was raised against teaching children the rime about the crooked man who went a crooked mile, on the ground that it gave a warped view of life. One is inclined to fall back on the naïve opinion of Gaston Paris that the romance is "charmant!" On the other hand I like Miss Hibbard's study of the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* (p. 264).

Other details may be added as follows: P. 258, cite Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 164, n. 2, for material on the eaten heart. Pp. 259-260, does Miss Hibbard incline more to Hauvette's view? Apparently she puts him after Matzke because she finds him more convincing. P. 272, Halliwell's edition was printed for the Percy Society, 1844. Pp. 274, 275, 276, n. 3, is this a bear that I see before me? Surely even a giant would not call a bear his little "hogelyn." Has the printer erred consistently with an *e* and an *o*? P. 308, worthy of special

² *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, IV, No. 1. It is unfortunate that Flasdieck, Miss McCausland's German reviewer, could not copy her name correctly, and that this error is taken over by Miss Paus in the *Annual Bibliography of the Modern Humanities Research Association*.

mention is the love-lyric in *Sir Degrevant*: "My love is leliche y-lyeght," etc. Finally it may be noticed that Miss Hibbard varies in the forms chosen for the titles, sometimes taking the modern as in the case of the *Knight of Courtesy* and *Richard*, and sometimes the old as in the case of the *Erle of Tolous* and *Robert of Cisyle*. What is the best usage in such matters, however, may not be the most logical.

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THE FINN EPISODE IN BEOWULF. An Essay in Interpretation, by R. A. Williams. Cambridge: 1924. Pp. xii + 171.

Mr. Williams tells us in his "Preface" that his "Essay originated in studies devoted to the history of the Nibelungen Saga." He adds, ". . . I was persuaded . . . that there was a strong resemblance between the *second* part of the Nibelungen Saga and the Finn Saga. . . . It seemed to me necessary to find some means of rendering the above-mentioned resemblance more definite and comprehensive than it appears in the transmitted texts. It suggested itself to me that this might possibly be accomplished by using the second part of the Nibelungen Saga in order to supplement the incomplete historical evidence for the Finn Saga. . . . This process enabled me . . . to supply hypothetically the main missing elements of content in the Finn Saga. I was then faced by the problem of reconciling this reconstruction with the text of the Episode in *Beowulf*. . . . It occurred to me that, the difficulties of the Episode being mainly those of ambiguity, there might be a possibility of solving them by means of the method I have outlined in the first chapter of the Essay. . . . The method proved more fruitful than I had ventured to expect, and to my great pleasure the results gained harmonized fully with my reconstruction." For a description of Mr. Williams' method I must refer the reader to Mr. Williams' book. I may however quote the following passage (pp. 5 f.): "The novelty of the present venture consists therefore mainly in the fact that the writer has, to the best of his ability, consistently and persistently subjected himself to the effort to distinguish clearly in the language of the text between that which is ambiguous and that which is not."

The author's method is indeed an admirable one, and for the most part he has applied it with a rigor and a thoroughness that move one to enthusiasm. He has given us by far our most exhaustive and scientific study of the Episode, and for this we owe him a great debt. If then I cannot accept his reconstruction, I can at least say that his Essay is important and illuminating, and will have to be considered very seriously by all students of

the Finn Saga. Limitations of space prevent me from presenting here my own interpretation of the Episode as a whole. I will therefore confine myself to certain specific points on which, in my view, the author has not thrown enough light. I hope in the near future to publish a more comprehensive article on the subject.

Mr. Williams agrees with Heusler that the Episode gives us a version marked by elegiac expansion. But one must go further. The episode contains a strong apologetic element (as I pointed out in my *Literary History of Hamlet*, I 21 ff.), so much so that it may be described as a combination of elegy and apology. The elegiac portion centers about Hildeburh, of course; the apology is for Hengest. I cannot develop this here, but I may point out as an example of the poet's method that only those terms of peace are mentioned which represent concessions by Finn to Hengest. It is this apologetic purpose which makes the English narrative so hard for us; it is too one-sided, too limited in its aim, to meet our crying need for an account of what happened. Mr. Williams lays too much stress on the compression to which the tale has been subjected, too little on the point of view from which it is told.

I cannot accept the author's translation of ll. 1082-1085a. We learn from what immediately precedes that Finn had lost heavily in the fight,

1082	þæt he ne mehte wig Hengeste ne þa wealafe þeodnes ðegne;	on þæm meðelstede wiht gefeohtan, wige forþringan
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"so that he could not at all, at that meeting-place, fight out the fight with Hengest, nor expel (from the hall) the remnant (of the Danes) by warfare with the king's thane (i.e., Hengest)." This is how I translate the passage, and I submit that my translation conforms to Mr. Williams' method much better than does his own! He shows in his Appendix IV that the troublesome *forþringan* properly means 'displace.' Let us then by all means use that meaning here, not any such meaning as 'wrest!' Moreover, ll. 1084-1085a can be understood only when we see that they express, in a somewhat different way, the same thought that has already been expressed in ll. 1082-1083. The parallelism is very marked; note in particular that *Hengeste* and *þeodnes ðegne* are identical in meaning and in construction. It follows that I must reject Mr. Williams' ingenious 'fatal heirloom' as a translation of *wealafe*. Mr. Carleton Brown (*MLN* XXXIV 181 ff.) led the way to a correct interpretation of this passage. He was in error, however, when he felt it needful to emend *ðegne* to *ðegna*; this emendation actually obscures the parallelism which is so clear in the text as it stands.

I agree with Mr. Williams that the first clause in the treaty (or the first concession that Hengest wrung from Finn) provided that the Danes should have a place wholly their own. But it is curious logic to infer from this concession that the Danes had no place in Finn's hall. They certainly became Finn's followers. The second clause in the treaty, then, provided that they should share Finn's hall and Finn's bounty on equal terms with the children of the Eotens (i. e., Finn's regular followers). The special place reserved for the Danes was the *oðer flet . . . healle* 'the visitor's floor (side) of the hall,' as Heusler has shown (*Anz. f. d. A.*, XLI, 32). The second clause gives the Danes a *privilege*. They could frequent Finn's hall as much as they pleased and could count on seats and gifts as good as those granted to Finn's old followers. Finn made still another concession, viz.,

1098 þæt he þa wealafe weotena dome
arum heolde,

"that he would rule the (Danish) remnant honorably, conforming to the judgment of the councillors." This may be taken as the third clause in the treaty. Here, too, *wealafe* means the Danish 'remnant,' not the 'heirloom of disaster.' Another clause provided that any Frisian who taunted the Danes for following their lord's slayer should be put to death. Hengest certainly got good terms!

Mr. Williams' discussion (p. 24) of the *Healf-Dena* of l. 1069 builds on Bugge. But in an article to appear shortly in the *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, I show that the word means simply 'Scyldings,' as indeed one might infer from the line in which it occurs. I suspect that the *Healfdenes* of l. 1064 originally read *Healf-Dena*; certainly this reading would clear up a real difficulty, a difficulty which Mr. Williams discounts without due warrant. The substitution of the singular for the plural is quite parallel to the development which this epithet had in Scandinavia.

Mr. Williams, like his predecessors, struggles manfully with the hapax legomenon *woroldrædenne*, but his solution seems to me no more plausible than the solutions which he rejects. He evidently is unacquainted with my explanation, which appears in my *Literary History of Hamlet* (I 22), and which, I think, offers a genuine solution. In the same work he would have found an interpretation of *Hunlafing* which he did not reckon with in his discussion of that name. That *Hunlafing* might mean 'the sword of Hunlaf' was clear to Olrik (*Heroic Legends of Denmark*, p. 145 bottom), but seems to have escaped both Mr. Chambers and Mr. Williams, even as a possibility. The former, indeed, tells us (*Beowulf, An Introduction*, p. 252), "We now know (and this I think should be regarded as outside the region of controversy) that the warrior who put the sword

into Hengest's bosom *was* Hunlafing." Yet we know nothing of the sort, and I think I have made out a case for Hnæf himself as the man who gave Hengest the sword. At all events so positive a statement is totally unwarranted by the evidence.

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*STUDIES IN THE GENESIS OF ROMANTIC THEORY
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*, by J. G. Robertson,
Cambridge, University Press, 1923.

Der verdiente Literaturhistoriker J. G. Robertson, Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der University of London, legt in dieser Studie einen Beitrag zur europäischen Geistesgeschichte vor, für den die Forschung ihm nicht genug zum Danke verpflichtet sein kann. In seinem Vorwort erzählt er, wie es ihn zuerst gereizt habe, dem Ursprunge der seltsamen Form Saspar (Shakespeare) bei Bodmer nachzugehen, und wie ihm, nachdem er die Form bei dem Italiener Conti gefunden hatte, die Frage aufgestiegen sei, ob die Schweizer Kritiker Bodmer und Breitinger ihre ästhetischen Theorien nicht vielleicht weit mehr italienischen, als englischen und französischen Quellen verdankten, ja ob die Kritik Englands und Frankreichs schliesslich nicht selbst aus den Italienern geschöpft hätte. Mit andern Worten: "Weil die Bewegung, die zur Entthronung des Verstandes als letztem Schiedsrichter in Sachen der dichterischen Produktivität geführt und der Phantasie diese Rolle zugesprochen hat—eine Bewegung, die in Deutschland die in Goethe und Schiller gipfelnde Entwicklung einleitete—Italien weit eher als uns (d. h. England) zuzuschreiben sei." Damit hat der Verfasser zugleich Aufgabe und Zweck seines Werkes bezeichnet, die er dann noch genauer dahin bestimmt, "zu zeigen, dass demselben Italien, das während des 16. Jahrhunderts die europäische Führerschaft auf dem Gebiete der literarischen Kritik hatte, dieselbe Pionierrolle wieder am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts zufiel, dass der Begriff der schöpferischen Phantasie, mit dessen Hilfe sich Europa von den Fesseln des Pseudoklassizismus befreite, tatsächlich in Italien entstand, um dann in England und Deutschland zur vollen Reife heranzuwachsen."

Seine These zu erweisen, analysiert und bespricht Robertson eingehend die ästhetischen Leistungen der vorzüglichsten italienischen Kritiker zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts, wie Gravina, Muratori, Martelli, Maffei, Calepio und Vico. Vorausgeschickt ist ein einleitendes Kapitel über den französisch-italienischen Streit um die Arcadier, in dem sich herausstellt, dass die Ausfälle des Jesuitenpaters Bouhours in seiner 'Manière de Bien Penser' und in seinen 'Entretiens' gegen die

italienischen Dichter ganz ähnliche Zurückweisungen erfuhren, wie gleichzeitig seine abfälligen Bemerkungen über den deutschen Geist sie in Deutschland fanden. Diese Zurechtweisung bedeutet im letzten Grunde einen Protest der Kulturvölker gegen die dreisten Anmassungen des französischen Geistes, nicht weniger als das Erwachen nationaler Selbständigkeit und nationalen Selbstgefühls zunächst im Denken und später im Dichten.

Es soll dem Verdienste des Verfassers und seiner Arbeit kein Abbruch getan werden, wenn ich erwähne, dass sein Thema eigentlich schon vor 40 Jahren eine ausgezeichnete Behandlung erfuhr und zwar in der von W. Dilthey angeregten Habilitationsschrift Heinrich von Steins: 'Die Entstehung der neueren Ästhetik,' Stuttgart 1886. Schon hier wurde, wenn auch nicht nach literarhistorischer Methode, so doch mit tiefer philosophischer Einsicht die Ästhetik der Engländer Shaftsbury und Addison, der Schweizer und Italiener (Gravina, Muratori, Conti) dargestellt und in der Entdeckung der schöpferischen Phantasie und der sie beflügelnden Empfindung die Überwindung der rationalistischen Ästhetik der Franzosen gesehen. Denn es war die entscheidende Tat der Schweizer, dass sie nicht nur die Phantasie wieder in ihr Recht einsetzten, sondern dass sie diese im Herzen, in der Empfindung und Leidenschaft wurzeln liessen. Galt es doch vor allem die Befreiung des Gefühls, um dem neuen deutschen Idealismus die Wege zu bereiten. Weder bei Addison, dessen 'imagination' noch keineswegs die schöpferische Einbildungskraft Bodmers ist, noch bei den Franzosen (ausser Dubos, dessen 'Reflections' Bodmer 1721 noch nicht kannte), noch bei den italienischen Ästhetikern, die damals Bodmern ebenfalls noch unbekannt waren, war dieses wichtige Element im schöpferischen Prozesse genügend beachtet worden, da sie alle noch mehr oder weniger unter dem Einflusse der französischen Verstandeskultur standen. Der Einfluss der Italiener auf die Schweizer Kritiker, den Robertson in seinem letzten Kapitel festzustellen sucht, muss daher von den 'Discursen der Mahlern' ferngehalten und auf ihre späteren ästhetischen Schriften beschränkt werden, wo er ja auch bereits von Stein und Braitmeier anerkannt ist.

Es ist interessant zu bemerken, dass schon in den 'Discursen der Mahlern' (3, 163) das 'Feld' des Dichters in die 'vorstellende Kraft,' das heisst also in die Imagination verlegt wird. Mag der Begriff der Kraft Bodmern auch aus Wolff zugeflossen sein, so steckt dahinter doch ein Gedanke, der ursprünglich Leibniz angehörte. Finden wir nun ferner, dass nicht nur Conti, sondern auch Muratori mit der Philosophie des grossen deutschen Denkers bekannt waren—Muratori trat zu Leibniz als Archivista in Modena in persönliche Beziehungen—dann erhebt sich die ragende Gestalt des gewaltigen

deutschen Bahnbrechers und Anregers auch hinter den Anfängen der modernen Ästhetik.

Die Bemerkung Robertsons in seinem trefflichen Kapitel Giambattista Vico, wonach dieser in Deutschland noch schlimmer vernachlässigt worden sei als in England und Frankreich, bedarf einer Berichtigung. Robertson scheint übersehen zu haben, dass kein Geringerer als W. Dilthey dem grossen Italiener schon im Jahre 1896 (Beiträge zum Studium der Individualität Ges. Schriften, V, 307ff.) eine feinsinnige Würdigung zu teil werden liess. Auch hat Ernst Troeltsch an mehreren Stellen seines tiefdringenden Buches 'Der Historismus und seine Probleme' (1922) auf Vico als Mitbegründer des modernen Historismus hingewiesen. Ich setze eine dieser Stellen hier her (S. 104, Anm.), die zugleich die deutsche Auffassung von Vico gegenüber Croce, der ihn der romantischen Philosophie und Hegel zu sehr annähern möchte, treffend charakterisiert. "Er (Vico) ist in Wahrheit eine Kombination von Antike, Bacon und Katholizismus, dessen Geschichtslosigkeit und Subjektivismus. Das die Geschichte erzeugende und verstehende Subjekt ist in Wahrheit die absolute Gottheit des Katholizismus und nicht eine Identität von göttlichem und menschlichem Subjekt; wie der menschliche Geist zu dieser Partizipation an der schaffenden, Geschichte und Erfahrung erzeugenden Vorsehung kommen kann: über diesen Hauptpunkt sagt er nichts. Es ist daher kein Zufall und kein blosses Ignorieren, dass die Romantik an seinem aus Empirismus und katholischem Dualismus gemischten System vorbeigeht. Erwähnt wird er von F. A. Wolf, V. über den Homer, Museum für Altertumswissenschaft I, 180, und von Orelli, der ihn mit Niebuhr vergleicht, Leipziger Lit.-Zeitg. 18, II, 1813, und schweizerisches Museum von Aarau, I, 1816. Savigny erwähnt ihn flüchtig, eingehend behandelt F. H. Jacobi seine Ähnlichkeit mit Kant."*

Zum Schluss sei noch die echt wissenschaftliche Freiheit von nationaler Beschränktheit anerkannt, die in Prof. Robertsons inhaltreichem Buche atmet, und die es dem Verfasser möglich macht, die Bedeutung seines Landsmannes Addison ebenso aufs rechte Mass zurück zu führen, wie die abschliessenden Leistungen der deutschen Ästhetik anzuerkennen. Und auf derselben wissenschaftlichen Wahrheitsliebe beruht auch Robertsons Abneigung gegen nichtssagende Schlagwörter. So warnt er: "We in England, remembering Addison, ought to be particularly wary of the use of the ill-defined term neo-classic,

*Zum Beweis für das Interesse, das man Vico heute in Deutschland entgegenbringt, sei auf die kürzlich erschienene Uebersetzung seines berühmten Werkes hingewiesen: Giambattista Vico, *Die neue Wissenschaft über die gemeinschaftliche Natur der Völker*. Uebersetzt und eingeleitet von Erich Auerbach, München, 1925.

which has wrought as much confusion in accurate thinking on critical theory as the word romanticism itself." Und ferner: "We love our antitheses: classicism-romanticism, idealism—realism, collectivism—individualism. But with fuller knowledge comes clearness that such antitheses are inherently unreal; the evolution of thought shows no such sharp contrasts, no such hard and fast lines. Nature makes no leaps; and the progress of human ideas, far from being a geometric progression, is an infinitely complicated organic growth, where one thought passes into its antithesis imperceptibly like a dissolving view."

Im Geiste dieser feinsinnigen Bemerkung ist das ganze treffliche Buch geschrieben.

JULIUS GOEBEL

AN ELEMENTARY HISTORICAL NEW ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Mary Wright; Oxford University Press. American Branch. New York, 1924.

It is now a good many years ago since the reviewer, then beginning his studies in Germanic philology, bewildered and half-dazed by the labyrinthine ways of the German "Anglisten," came upon a thickish book bound in corrugated red cloth. He began reading it, hopefully from the first moment, for the format and typography gave courage, and the neat, precise arrangement promised a lucidity that he had never met in the confusing patterns of historical grammars. The promise was not illusory; and Wright's *Old English Grammar* brought clarity and comprehension where before had been a delicious confusion. It seemed to him then the ideal of what an introductory manual ought to be—well printed on thick, comfortable paper, the mob of details reduced to meticulous order like guardsmen on parade; even the calculated repetition of certain formulae gave assurance that here chaos had been given tangible form, that darkness rested no longer on the face of the deep. Since then the Wrights have given us a long succession of historical grammars of the Germanic dialects, Gothic, Old High German, Middle High German, Middle English, all marked by the same simplicity and neatness and the lucidity that are the fruit of these. One may well admit now that the simplicity is sometimes specious and the neatness too mechanically perfect to give a just and accurate notion of a subject matter so refractory; but that does not dim the great service which the authors have rendered to students to whom Bülbring and Luick are still an impenetrable maze.

And now comes from the same indefatigable authors an historical grammar of modern English. It does not, perhaps, meet so urgent a need as their *Middle English Grammar* pub-

lished only a year ago, but it will be welcomed none the less as a useful compendium of a subject about which students, and even philologists of standing, are likely to know less than of older periods, and in which a vast amount of important work has been done in recent years. The new grammar conforms to the well-known scheme: a short introductory chapter on the standard language and its history, a somewhat longer one on orthography and pronunciation, and then the usual chapters on the vowels in accented syllables, the vowels in unaccented syllables, the consonants; then the morphology—nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. Into this simple framework has been packed, but always clearly and methodically, an immense quantity of interesting and significant details. These are, for the most part, not new—the writers expressly disavow any pretensions to originality,—but they have been marshalled with skill and adroitness. Besides, they stand out more vividly because of the two respects in which the treatment, particularly of the phonology, is original—the constant attention to the history of English spellings, and the rich material drawn from the dialects.

The authors have kindly words for English spelling: “The ordinary general reader is apt to speak derisively of our English spelling, as a thing born of ignorance, grown up haphazard, and existing by pure convention without any rhyme or reason for its being, or method in its madness. We have endeavored to show, as far as was possible within circumscribed limits, that our English orthography in itself contains much that is historically of great interest to the student of language, and even to the general reader, and that far from being devoid of law and order, it is considerably more systematic than would appear at first sight.” Now no one will quarrel with that. English orthography is a perfect museum to the antiquarian; and what is more, a wonderfully revealing picture of the development of our speech. That, however, is not the burden of the charge against it, which is, that it is the function of a system of spelling to represent the sounds of the language, not as they once were, but as they are now. Professor and Mrs. Wright are, of course, aware of that (see §8); and what they are really insisting upon is that English spelling, for all its apparent vagaries (e.g. §§ 8, 261), is a system, not merely a fortuitous concourse of absurdities. But it is well to emphasize that neither this fact, nor its undeniable historical interest, justifies modern English orthography. To the student, on the other hand, it is a most fascinating, and illuminating, field. It is worth while to point out some of the more important matters.

The evolution of final *-e*, for instance, from an inflectional ending to a device for marking the quantity of the stressed vowel chiefly, and for other purposes as well, is succinctly set forth in

§18. Here too is the explanation of *-le* as the symbol for syllabic [l], e.g. *cattle*, *fiddle*. The authors appraise as it deserves the humanistic mania that gave us the *b* in *debt*, the *p* in *receipt*, the *c* in *indict*, and, most absurd of all, the *s* in *island* (§55). The *l* in *could*, of course, has another provenience (§188). The falling together of M.E. [ā] and [ai] has brought about the spelling *gait*, which was necessarily rare till the seventeenth century. Much more significant than curiosities like these is the careful and lucid account of the development of the modern spellings (*o*, *oa*; and *oo*) for the sounds developed from M.E. [ō] and [ō̄] respectively; and similarly of *ea* and *ee* for the sounds developed from M.E. [ē] and [ē̄] (§§70, 74). Here one is impressed, perhaps more than anywhere else, by the fact that the scribes and early printers had a lively sense of the importance of a clear, unambiguous orthography, and that they strove manfully, and not without success, to achieve one. It was the grammarians and orthoëpists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with their classical breeding and notions of correctness, who were content to stop. We can mention only one other, comparatively late, spelling innovation which has set an interesting mark on the language. M.E. [ū], of course, was regularly spelled *ou*, *ow*, and this spelling was not changed when [ū] became [au] in the fifteenth century. But about the same time the [ū] from M.E. [ō̄] was also occasionally spelled with the old symbol for [ū], i. e. *ou*. In present English this old spelling survives only in *ouzel* and in the family name *Gould*.

A language in which the correspondence between sounds and spellings is so uncertain as it is in English must abound in spelling pronunciations, and every student of our language knows vaguely how plentiful they are; but we fancy that only the study of a work like that under review brings the full realization. They bob up on every page and they concern the most familiar words: the [ai] in *fertile*, *parasite*, *appetite*; the [i] in *Latin*, *coffin*; the [o] or [ou] in *potato*, *hero*, etc., and in *window*; the sounded [w] in *swollen*, *swoon*, *swum*, *swung*, etc. (§181 and in the second element of words like *housewife* (cf. *hussif*), *huzzif*, and *hussy*, §182); the restoration in educated speech of [ŋ] for [n] in unstressed final syllables, e.g. *evening*, *morning*, *living*. Particularly interesting to Americans is the pronunciation, general in this country and universal in the West, of *nephew* as [nefiu]. This is a spelling pronunciation of a pseudo-learned spelling (§219)! A similar development is found in the local pronunciation of St. Anthony Falls as [seint ænθɔni] Falls. On the other hand, it is certainly wrong to speak of *assume* (æsum) etc. (§185) as spelling pronunciations, for M.E. [-sɪ-] did not develop in the standard language into [-sj->-ʃ-] except before unstressed syllables. But the subject is inexhaustible; and we can give only a hint of its interest and its

importance. Naturally the book does not touch on the province in which spelling pronunciations are most striking, in this country at least, namely in place-names.

We should expect the author of the *English Dialect Grammar* and the *English Dialect Dictionary* to bring to bear on the phonology and morphology of Modern English the wealth of illuminating material that is to be found in the English dialects. As fully as space permitted this has been done; but the very abundance of examples makes citation difficult. Perhaps as revealing as any that could be chosen are the treatment of *break* and *great*, to which we would add *steak* (§72, n. 1); the common dialect pronunciation of the ending *-ly* as [laɪ], common, apparently, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and the amazing wealth presented by the dialects in forms of the personal pronouns (§317 ff.). As is well known, many English dialect forms are preserved in American English—they make up a fair share of our “Americanisms,”—and the American reader will more than once feel a glow of recognition as he comes upon them in this book. Thus American dialectal speech like English preserves the old initial [ɹ] in *engine*, i.e. [ɹndʒɪn]; [skwɔɹl] is happily still American, despite anglophils who would cram [skwɪrəl] down our throats; *chaw* [M.E. *chawen*] was almost the only form the writer heard in his boyhood; and in good use we still have the seventeenth and eighteenth century form [plæt] for *plot*, now obsolete in England. In America, however, M.E. [ɔ] before [r] as in *floor*, has generally become [ɔ:], as in standard English; although the dialectal [oə] is common in many sections. It may be mentioned finally that American has preserved the old preterite *swam* (§350) and the long vowel in *shone* [ʃon], English [ʃɔn] (§337).

It remains to comment briefly on a few matters of detail, having to do for the most part with the phonology, and we shall take them up in the order in which they present themselves in the text.

1. The authors of course have aimed at lucidity and simplicity; but at times they have simplified too much. More or less this is true of their whole treatment of what has come to be known as the vowel shift; but it is strikingly exemplified by their presentation of the change from M.E. [ē] to Mod. Eng. [i, ɪ] (§72). It seems reasonably sure that in some communities [ē] had become [i] as early as the sixteenth century, but that till some way down into the eighteenth century most speakers pronounced [ē]. And we agree with Professor Wyld “that what has happened is not that the vowel in *heat*, *seat* [M.E. *ē*], etc. has undergone a gradual process of phonetic change since the sixteenth century, but that one type of pronunciation has been superseded by another in the words of a whole group.” (*Studies in English Rhymes*, p. 52).

2. It is quite proper in a work of this sort to omit references; but since the authors have occasionally admitted one, we think that in discussing the curious present English pronunciation of *one* (§76, n. 1), they should have referred to Professor Wood's article, "Socalled Prothetic Y and W in English" (J.E.G.Ph., xiv, 38), in which he studies the phenomenon in some detail and accounts clearly for the [w]. It is a pity that this brilliant little article should be so generally overlooked.

3. We share Professor Malone's doubts about the explanation, as given here, of the [a] in *father* (94); but we are not sure that his own ingenious theory (Mod. Phil. 16, 11 ff.) helps us very much.

4. In late M.E. the combination [al] in stressed syllables, when final or when followed by another consonant became regularly [aul]. This new diphthong [au] then fell together with older M.E. [au] and became [ɔ:] except, apparently, before labials, where we now have [a], as in *calm*, *palm*, and, in England and parts of this country, in *calf*, etc. The origin of this [a] is a puzzle which is not solved by the categorical statement of the authors (§102, 4) that in the eighteenth century [ɔ:] became [a] before [f], [v], and [m]. How on that hypothesis would they account for the [æ] in *calf*, *half*, etc., which is common in English dialects and all but universal in America west of the Connecticut river? The right explanation for both English [a] and American [æ] is that they are descended from early Mod. Eng. forms without diphthongization. See on this point Wyld, *A Short History of English*, §260.

5. The pronunciation [dɪpθ:riə], [dɪpθɔŋ], [næpθə] for *diphtheria*, *diphthong*, and *naphtha*, are most simply explained as dissimulation.

6. The explanation of the [f] in many words which in Middle English had [X] in §272 is far from clear: "In late M.E. or early N.E. a labial glide was developed before the *x*, and then the labialized *x* became *f* in the sixteenth century." Certainly the labial glide must have developed *after* the [X], as an off-glide of a [X] pronounced with increasing rounding of the lips. The remainder of the section, concerning the distribution of [f] and (silent) [X] (spelled *gh*) in present English. is sound.

7. The morphology of modern English is a simpler matter than the phonology, though there is much that is obscure even here; so that the author of a text-book must pick and choose. On the whole we think the Wrights have chosen well. But is it not a little misleading to imply that the possessive *its* is frequent in Milton (§326). In his verse it is found exactly three times. Doubtless it is more common in the prose.

We cannot close this review without an expression of gratitude for the admirable index and of admiration for the amazingly

good proof-reading. We have found only two errors, both insignificant: *earlier* (p. 2, l. 23) should read *later*, and the period after *partner* (p. 74, l. 5) should be a semi-colon.

In this excellent book, however, we miss one thing—a short, carefully selected bibliography. We realize, of course, that this is an introductory manual for students and neither an original work nor a compendium for scholars. The omission of a bibliography is therefore intelligible, as it is in the earlier texts of the series. But this particular work is not exactly designed for beginners; and, in the second place, the best work in present English grammar is still for the most part so securely tucked away in learned journals that even a specialist may be forgiven for overlooking important contributions. Still, we would not quibble, since there is so much to be grateful for. Professor and Mrs. Wright have written an exceedingly useful book, and they have, as we should expect, done it well.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE KONUNGS SKUGGSJA (SPECULUM REGALE). According to the Chief Manuscript, AM 243 B a, Folio. By George T. Flom. *Part II: Pronouns, Numerals, and Particles, the Verbs and Their Conjugations.* Urbana 1924. (volume VIII, no. 4 of the University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature.)

Part I of this monumental undertaking was reviewed by me in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*¹ from which I may be permitted to quote the following:

"It is eminently fitting that an investigation of such severely restricted appeal should be printed (and well printed) in the Studies of one of our Institutions of higher learning. Upon such serial studies, and upon the various State Academies, devolve the functions of the many and various learned societies, royal and otherwise, of Europe whose Proceedings, Comptes Rendues, Sitzungsberichte, etc. have, during the last century, provided the chief repositories for the myriads of diligently accumulated facts and painstaking observations that furnish the solid, albeit, to the public, often inconspicuous, foundation of modern science. To them, more often than to the heavily burdened periodicals (which are more particularly given over to researches and conclusions drawn from these materials); and more often than to the textbooks (which frequently signify but a codification and formulation of ground won), we must go to find the objective collections of material which form as it were the 'documentary evidence' of the case.

"The present investigation aims to give a scientifically exact account of the linguistic forms of the most important single

¹1923, p. 175-177.

document of the Old Norwegian language. It is safe to say that no one in this country, and probably very few abroad, are as familiar with the subject as the author, whose monumental Facsimile Edition of the *Konungs Skuggsjá* was likewise financed by the University of Illinois. The work, when completed, will represent, virtually, a concordance of this source, with additional comments and conclusions on forms and meanings."

The part before us now evinces the same painstaking care and scientific devotion to facts that distinguished the former part. With a work of this nature it is not only the privilege, but also the duty, of co-workers in the field by a close study to acknowledge and appraise what has been accomplished, and to set forth their findings. The ensuing suggestions, criticisms, and corrections are contributed entirely in that spirit. It is but natural that there should be slips, misprints, omissions etc., considering the enormous mass of details handled: it is remarkable that there are so few.

First a general remark. In a study of this nature, the main interest will ever lie in the differences exhibited between the speech usage of the monument investigated and general Old Norse usage. Few facts signify except in comparison with others of the same category. Hence there might have been expected a greater emphasis on these points of difference; space for which could have been gained by the omission, or single mention, of forms where no divergence is to be noted. To mention but one example for many—surely it was superfluous to give all the occurrences of *þærs* (gen. sg. masc. neut. of *sá*) p. 166 which necessitates 8 closely printed lines. Again, I cannot see the need of citing *all* the meanings of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, which in nowise differ from the values in Old Norse literature in general. (e.g. sub *af*, *at*, *hiá* etc). Similarly it seems to me that the chapter on pronouns might have been greatly condensed without harm to completeness. Verbs like *hitta* p. 270, *hvíla* *ibid.*, *hatta* p. 271, *skipta* p. 274, *varðveita* p. 276, *spyrja* p. 279, *steðja* (*ibid.*), and many others exhibit no particular divergence in form or meaning, so why illustrate them with quotations and cite Norwegian parallels? Again, the phonological explanation of perfectly normal forms such as e.g. *eiga*, *vita* p. 293 seems to me unnecessary in a work of this nature. Frequently, there are unduly long quotations, e.g. sub *um morna*, p. 201 (where the last clause would have sufficed) chosen at random and instead of many. And many translations are given for passages offering no particular difficulty. As to an excursus like that on *lengi*? p. 201 measuring one page in

* With regard to this matter: after all is said, analogical formation on the pattern of *úti*, *inni* etc. seems the most plausible explanation of *lengi*: Pre-Scandinavian *lange* did not necessarily exist. —The use of the preposition *þaa*, *þá* with *lange* in the modern Scandinavian languages conceivably goes back to German 'auf lange.'

length, its inclusion seems to the writer irrelevant; which may be said also about the discussion of (*h*) *liða*, p. 250. The long excursus p. 182-188 dealing with a paleographic consideration of the value of the type *n*, while certainly bearing on pronominal and nominal declension, should manifestly have been printed separately.

On the other hand, divergences from the general usage, though noted, are frequently not sufficiently stressed and illustrated. Thus, a number of important verbs are not instanced, either as to form or meaning, e.g. *koma*, p. 254, *skera* *ibid.*, *finna*, p. 251. Yet particularly in idiomatic combinations with prepositions of these and similar verbs there resides much of the flavor of Old Norse diction. The weak verbs especially are dealt with in a stepmotherly fashion. Meanings such as 'to exclude' for *byrgja* (without preposition); 'to announce' for *benda*; 'to maintain, keep, protect' for *geta* (i.e. *gata*); 'to quote' for *herma*; 'to flay' for *rista*; 'to be repelled' for *styggiast*; 'to be engaged in' for *væla* (without *um*?); 'to become angry' for *ásast*; 'to be sated' for *seðja*; 'to make clear to one's self' for *liða*; 'to take fright' for *selmta* (for which no forms whatever are given p. 263), are sufficiently unusual to deserve full illustration and definite reference, neither of which is given. This, it must be confessed, is disappointing.

Typographically, this part is to my mind a distinct improvement over *Part I*. If inconsistencies and defects are noted this is but to be expected in a work of such difficulty undertaken single-handed. I note that the printing of the verb schemes would seem capable of improvement. The reflexive-medio-passive form should have been printed as such, not indicated by 'refl.'; which would have resulted in a gain of both clarity and space. By all means the present participle should come after the infinitive rather than after the past participle. The interpretation of passages is sometimes given in the footnotes which, in a work of this type, should be reserved for references, exceptions, notes etc. etc. Legitimate typographical devices designed to relieve the eye might have rendered the chapter on endings p. 295-318 considerably easier to read.

I set down the following major misprints noticed:

- 1) The reference to the original is omitted sub *þvt*, for the last and most important illustration. It should be 111, a9.
- 2) There should not be a separate heading *um nottena*, p. 237.
- 3) The meaning 'to separate' (for *skeðia*) p. 277 should be sub *skilia*.
- 4) *Sakaði*, p. 283, should be sub *saka* (not, *reika*).
- 5) *Skiopla*, p. 283, is out of place alphabetically.
- 6) The quotation p. 253 sub *vinna* is from Ross, not Aasen.
- 7) There should be no (double) separate heading sub *nema*, p. 243.

8) The last line of the paragraph sub *mæð*. p. 233 has dropped from the treatment of *mol*, *ibid*.

9) The graduate student guilty of such a pell-mell reference as the one on p. 275, lines 9-15, violating both the natural and the alphabetical order, would draw down on himself Professor Flom's stern rebuke!

10) I am at a loss to understand what "the bi-meaning of 'misfortune' comes forward" may mean, p. 250. Is it the Norwegian *bibetydningen af ulykke kommer frem*?

Of greatest interest to me, and probably also to the author, are the semasiological divergences of the *Konungs Skuggsjá* from general Old Norse diction. These are brought out with great skill and subtlety. Among a number, I noted in particular the treatment of *æins* p. 196 in a model paragraph, and the fully documented lexicological development from *jiri . . . sakar* to *sakar*, p. 226-227, where the accusative plural of the noun by itself has acquired the force of a preposition. Again, it would be strange indeed if a worker in closely allied fields were always in agreement with the opinions set down; especially when interpretations are bound to be subjective, at times. In the following I shall touch on a number of individual cases which have seemed to me to call for attention.

1) Many prepositional phrases ought hardly to have been classed as fixed adverbs. Thus *margum stoðum*, *sumum stoðum*, p. 197, *noccorum sinnum*, *brysva sinnum* etc. *ibid.*, *um haustum*, *um varum*. p. 198, *æinhverium stað* *ibid*.

2) It is not evident to me that *all* (<*allr*) p. 202, ever has the meaning of 'clear.' At least the examples adduced fail to show it.

3) *hit æfra*, p. 203 is regarded as adverbial and translated 'up, high up, above'; but certainly in the second example adduced (*þilia hit æfra með goðum æikiviði*) it means 'the upper part' and is hardly adverbial; notwithstanding the frequently adverbial sense of like expressions, such as *hit ytra*, *hit neðra* etc. from the original accusative with verbs of motion.

4) We are told that *undan*, p. 209, never means 'away from below,' but always 'away from beneath, away from.' Certainly a fine distinction—too fine for me to grasp! For that matter, the literal meaning may still be seen in phrases such as *hann spratt upp undan garðinum* 'from under the fence' (quoted from Zoëga).

5) To compare the Old Norse *afar* 'exceeding' with Anglo-saxon *ofer-*, English *over* p. 212 is, to say the least, very misleading, both because the sense is different and the etymology is a mistaken one. *Afar*, *af-* is not a comparison formation, as alleged, of *af* (with which it has nothing to do) but is a congener of Gothic *abrs* 'strong,' Anglo-saxon *afol* 'strength'; whereas Anglo-saxon *ofer* = Gothic *ubar*, Old Norse *yfir*, an old comparison; cf. *ýrþep*, *super* etc.

6) The etymology of *alldrægi* (O.N. *aldrigi*) most likely is *aldri+gi*, and not *aldri+ægi*, notwithstanding the spelling; cf. Falk und Torp sub *aldrig*.

7) The conclusions as to the value of *millum* etc, p. 225 are vitiated by the fact (well shown elsewhere, p. 188) that the scribe uses different forms successively.

8) *Oc veit engi maðr annat a hændr honum en tryggleic*, p. 230. The translation "no one knows anything against him, but loyalty" is both less elegant, and comes no nearer to the facts, than Larsen's rendering "no one knows that he has been anything but loyal."

9) It is true that *fyr, fyrir* p. 231, 235, governs the accusative in the meaning 'before' with verbs of motion. In all other senses, however, Old Norse usage wavers. (As a tell-tale, an accusative has crept into the author's dative category: *firi heimska menn*, p. 232). Pretty nearly the same holds with *í, ón, um*, and still other prepositions; so that, with the additional advantage of avoiding duplication, it would have been preferable to list all prepositions and their compounds alphabetically, noting the reaction of each.

10) Sub. *við* c. accus., p. 238, the important meaning of this preposition in *ganga við* 'to acknowledge' is omitted. It occurs 114 b10 and 116a16.

11) My speech sense objects to considering *nema* together with *því at eins* in the expression *nema því at eins*, p. 239, to form a compound conjunction. *því at eins* alone signifies 'only on that condition.' In the passage quoted the translation would be: 'excepting only on that condition.'

12) In listing the meanings of *heita* p. 261, the one 'to be called' should come first as by far the most common. Only *heita á* has the meaning of 'to invoke.'

13) *Stæra* refl., p. 266, does not mean 'to stir' but 'to increase' (as correctly rendered in the commentary p. 274.

14) *þyrpa* p. 267 should be given as a reflexive, as in the commentary p. 275. Likewise *svænga*, *ibid*.

15) *Vællia* (O. N. *velta*) is found both as a strong and a weak verb; but no citation of the weak form is given p. 268; which is to be regretted as it might give a clue to a possible factitive meaning of the form.

16) The puzzling double meaning of *drygia* noted p. 269 as instanced e.g. in *at hann drygi manliga natturu i dauða sinum* 'that he goes the way of human nature in his death' or, as we would say, 'that he pays his debt to (human) nature' and in *drygia stulð* 'to commit theft,' to become intelligible, should have been referred to the two values present already in Pregermanic *dreugan*: 'to perform' and 'to suffer, stand.'

17) The adjective *viðlandr* 'wide-landed, i.e. possessed of wide lands' is no more a past participle than, e.g. 'three-legged.'

The infinitive *viðlenda* is, of course, formed *ad hoc* from the adjective.

19) It is not justifiable to translate the verb *hvetia* in the unique expression *hvætr hvapta*, p. 278, by 'to puff out.' It means 'to sharpen,' and hence here 'to give edge, force to.'

20) *Skeðja*, p. 278, means only 'to harm,' hardly ever 'to scratch.' In the passage quoted the reading of the later Ms.: *at þu skerir jorðina* is by all means to be heeded.

21) *Bragða*, p. 280, should be translated 'to flicker, scintillate; from the basic notion of 'moving (fast).'

 It does not mean 'to flame.'

22) I am convinced that the whole discussion offered on *brúa* p. 286 is wide of the mark. The sentence runs as follows: *Nu þyrfti firi þær sakar hværr sœm æinn at með goðri skynsœmð oc ængri ahyggiu hæfði firi ser bruat hværiu hann æigi at svara.* To which is added this comment: "Literally: 'bridge,' 'make a bridge'; here figuratively: 'ponder,' 'make preparations.' Cf. the Sw. *fundera*, 'ponder' (<Latin *fundare*). Also cf. the Eng. use of 'bridge over' in the meaning 'adjust, meet.'" Hardly. The variant *bua* of MS. *a* ought to have warned against it. That scribe also boggled at such a use of *brúa* and tried to substitute a more common word. Without a doubt the original had *bruggat*, p.p. of *brugga* 'to brew'; also figuratively (just as in English, German, and the Scandinavian languages) 'to concoct.' Thus already in O.N. *brugga svik*.

An index is not furnished for this part but promised in connection with a third part dealing with the vocabulary of the *Speculum Regale* as a whole. It is to be hoped that this, really indispensable, feature will embrace also *Part I* and be worthy of the undertaking as a whole.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

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MARK TWAIN ALS LITERARISCHE PERSÖNLICHKEIT. By Friedrich Schönemann, Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen. Jena, 1925. 119 Pp.

Equipped with a knowledge of American cultural life which many Americans might envy, and with a profound sympathy for his subject, Friedrich Schönemann, the most important German student of Mark Twain, has published a brilliant and informative study of Mark Twain's literary personality. Following upon the books of Howells, Paine, Henderson, and Van Wyck Brooks, this critic is interested to reveal the richness and complexity of the great humorist. Having in hand Moore's article on "Mark Twain and Don Quixote" he is also interested to show that, contrary to popular opinion, Clemens was not an

untutored genius, but that he read widely and absorbed extensively the books he read.

The work is divided into six chapters. In the first the critic sets forth the present state of Twain criticism; here his most important contribution is to minimize, if not to deny, the sweeping theories of Van Wyck Brooks as to the effect of Puritanism on Clemens. In the second chapter, after indicating that Clemens was the son of the frontier, the critic is interested to show that he was not a mere commercial "funny man"; that, on the contrary, his later pessimism, his later literary development, is in germ in his frontier writings. Mark Twain is shown to be in the tradition of the world's great philosophical humorists. The third chapter is the history of the development of his personality; far from discovering an untutored genius, Schönemann reveals the books and the philosophy upon which Clemens was nourished. The fourth chapter is devoted to Mark Twain the romanticist; the critic studies the author's aversion to non-factual literature, his scorn of Scott, his irony, his fantasy, his swelling imagination, and reaches the sound conclusion that Twain at heart was an incorrigible romanticist. The fifth chapter develops Twain's philosophy of history and of humanity; and the last, the least satisfactory in the book, deals with him as essayist and story-teller.

The sole defects of the monograph seem to be two. There is the inevitable disadvantage in interpreting life in Missouri and the late western frontier to which a European is necessarily subject; and although Schönemann displays an amazing understanding of American ways, he has been betrayed here and there into certain misreadings of Twain and of the United States. More important is a tendency to mistake parallelism for indebtedness, or at least to leave this impression with the reader. Particularly Schönemann's desire to establish Twain's essays and sketches in the direct line of descent from the essay of Addison and Goldsmith is of doubtful value; journalistic conditions in California are sufficient to account for Clemens' adoption of the "form." Equally, in a laudable desire to correct the errors of the "original genius" interpretation, Schönemann has labored too obviously at his parallels between Twain and Dickens, Twain and Swift, Twain and certain other writers. Here alone, in the opinion of this reviewer, the critic does not grasp the way of Clemens' mind with his reading.

But when this is said, all is said; no summary or extract can do justice to the brilliance and breadth of this monograph. Saving for Paine's biography, no study of the great American has seized so powerfully upon the essential and many-sided nature of Mark Twain. All future interpretations are bound to be influenced by these essays.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

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**DEFOE'S ROBINSON CRUSOE. DIE GESCHICHTE
EINES WELTBUCHES**, by Professor Hermann Ullrich.
O. R. Reisland, Leipzig, 1924.

A quarter of a century ago Professor Ullrich published his bibliography *Robinson und Robinsonaden*, a work that has become 'invaluable for all scholars interested in the study of *Robinson Crusoe*. At that time he promised for the near future an accompanying volume containing a survey of the problem. Various reasons—last but not least the necessity of selling his library—have prevented Ullrich from fulfilling this promise and crowning his life-long labors with a monumental work. What he offers now is a volume of not more than 108 pages, wherein he treats the subject in all its essentials, though necessarily in a condensed manner.

In the biographical part Ullrich has been led astray by his attachment to the novel and its author. In his attempt to refute the opinions of Minto, Trent, and most other modern Defoe scholars, he draws a picture of an ideal Defoe, quoting the great writer's own statements as proof of his political integrity. Although we are still in the dark about much of Defoe's life, we know enough to be convinced that as a journalist he was unscrupulous, even for the days of Queen Anne and George I, and his activities as a political agent, however useful such services have been for governments and parties at all times, seem to us highly questionable. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that the author of *The True-born Englishman* and *The Family Instructor* ranks high as an educator of the common people. As a matter of fact, Defoe's labors to improve the social and moral mind of his country were the most important element in all his non-political writings, and Ullrich does right in not drawing a sharp line between Defoe the moralist and Defoe the romancer. *Robinson Crusoe* too is of highly educational value, and Ullrich treats the novel as an integral part of Defoe's development. The mistake of omitting the didactic elements only lessens the value of the novel, as Ullrich conclusively points out.

Ullrich supports and elaborates the hypothesis that *Robinson Crusoe* is an autobiographical novel reflecting allegorically the author's life. When his adversaries asserted that the Robinson Crusoe story was not true but fiction, Defoe pointed out that the adventures of the hero were identical with those of a well-known man in England. People naturally thought that Defoe referred to Alexander Selkirk. As a matter of fact this statement has often been cited as evidence that Selkirk's account was the real source of *Robinson Crusoe*. Ullrich thinks that Defoe referred to his own life, and compares the twenty-eight

years of Robinson Crusoe's life on the island to the twenty-eight years of Defoe's career as a public character.¹

Ullrich draws a parallel between *Robinson Crusoe* and the German *Simplicissimus*. The latter too is an autobiographical novel, reflecting the experiences of its author Grimmelshausen. But again Ullrich is carried away by his admiration of *Robinson Crusoe* when he says that Defoe's novel opened the long series of autobiographical novels in world literature. According to Ullrich himself this honor should belong to *Simplicissimus*.

Any debt of Defoe to his predecessors Ullrich denies: "Defoe's Werk ist in allem Wesentlichen aus innern Quellen und Anlässen entstanden." Neither the long series of desert island stories before Defoe, nor any other literary tradition has had any fundamental influence on the writing of *Robinson Crusoe*. Like Scott, Wilson, Aitken and others before him, Ullrich considers the traditional assumption that Selkirk's experiences furnished the motif of Defoe's story as a myth. We can not, however, agree with Ullrich when he asserts that the dishonest use of the supposed memoirs of the Scotch sailor would not have been in consonance with Defoe's character.

The desert island stories before 1719, from the adventures of the Greek Philoktetes to the Dutch Robinson, receive the most detailed treatment. While admitting that a discussion of these pre-Defoe robinsonades should form an essential part of the book, we do not think it necessary to devote long pages to *Pedro Serrano* and other stories just to show that of any influence of these works on Defoe there can be "schlechterdings keine Rede." On the other hand, Ullrich's information as to the discovery of a new pre-Defoe desert island story is of great value, and, I assume, entirely unknown to American scholars. According to Ullrich the manuscript of a story by a Peter Sparre was discovered in the Swedish state archives during the world war, and is said to have been published as well. Ullrich fails to point out the obvious similarity of Sparre's story to the *Isle of Pines*. Since the newly discovered story was written sometime after 1674, we must consider it an adaptation of H. Nevil's account until a republication permits a detailed comparison.

In Ullrich's discussion of Defoe's favorite readings we find the statement that the catalogue of Defoe's library has not yet

¹ The idea of considering *Robinson Crusoe* an autobiographical novel has been carried to the extreme by the recently published first French biography of Defoe (Paul Dottin, *Daniel De Foe et ses Romans*. 3 volumes. Paris 1924.) In imitation of the title-page of *Robinson Crusoe*, the first volume is called *La vie et les aventures étranges et surprenantes de Daniel De Foe, natif de Londres, auteur de "Robinson Crusoe,"* and the author does not hesitate to rely on *Robinson Crusoe* and Defoe's other novels whenever it is necessary to supply a gap in the life history of the great writer. This latest addition to the *Robinson Crusoe* literature is in some respects very helpful.

come to light. But a *Librorum ex Bibliothecesis Philippi Farewell D.D. et Danielis DeFoe, Gen., Catalogus* has always been in the British Museum. It was rediscovered by George A. Aitken, and partly published in the London *Athenaeum* of June 1st, 1895. This is apparently the only serious error in Ullrich's book.

The best and most useful parts of the work are the final chapters on the success and influence of the novel, on its translations, adaptations, and imitations. Here Ullrich speaks with absolute authority based on the knowledge of a greater number of robinsonades than any other scholar can claim to possess. In this connection Ullrich seeks to define the conception "robinsonade" by a detailed discussion, and concludes that we should understand by the term a "narration in which the leading or at least an important motif presents to us the experiences of one or several persons in insular seclusion,—i.e. separated from human society and its resources,—a seclusion that is not the result of sentimental renunciation of the world."

Ullrich's book is the first work to treat the Robinson Crusoe problem in all its aspects. A history of the book which—outside of the Bible—can claim to be a world book as no other, should be of interest to every educated person. And no scholar who undertakes to study the problem can afford to overlook this valuable contribution.

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FRITHIOF'S SAGA BY E. TEGNER. TRANSLATED IN THE ORIGINAL METRES by C. D. Locock, Author of "Thirty-two Passages from the Iliad," "Thirty-two Passages from the Odyssey," etc. Centenary Edition. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924. Printed in Great Britain.

This is the fourteenth poetic translation of *Frithiof's Saga* in English. "The fact that Tegnér's masterpiece (first published complete in 1825) has been rendered into English verse many times already is certainly no argument against the appearance of another version," says the translator in his forward. "The very multiplicity of translations may be regarded as at the same time a proof of the fascination of the original, and as a sign that each successive translator has considered the work of his predecessor capable of improvement. Certainly no satisfactory rendering has yet been printed. . . ."

That this last translation is a conscientious piece of work is undeniable. That it possesses certain advantages over its predecessors in the dignity of its diction is also true. Mr. Locock is, we assume, an Englishman, an expert in the interpretation of the ancient classics, who has now turned his attention to

Swedish poetry. He has since this volume was printed published a book of translations from Gustav Fröding. His version of *Frithiofs Saga* is a neat, small octavo volume of 140 pages, soberly and classically framed, as one might say, with no editorial additions except for a very brief introduction and a glossary. "I have usually followed the author line for line," he writes, "so that the metre is not broken up so much as I should have liked. In the blank verse passage I have not thought it necessary to give a line-for-line translation, and my version is, in fact, some thirty lines shorter than the Swedish." But no part of the content is actually omitted—it is a case of condensation—and Locock follows the verse-structure of the twenty-six different metres, including the feminine rhymes, with laborious faithfulness. His reproduction of the alliteration in *Rings drapa* has made good, natural English verse; but it is not so close to the Swedish, not so obvious to the reader, as is Shaw's rendering, for instance. This was intentional of course. His poetic vocabulary evinces, too, an untiring search for correct expressions; and the reviewer means "correct" with special emphasis, for the translation is literal, intellectual, academically and classically accurate rather than free, emotional and romantic. It reproduces perhaps too obviously the *word* rather than the *spirit*. It was inevitable maybe, as in so many translations, that the feeling and simplicity of the original should be sacrificed to the form. Mr. Locock has given his translation loftiness and beauty, but it is the beauty of polished marble, which will leave a reader acquainted with the original—for whom it is *not* intended of course—cold and indifferent.

In seeking to give his version the elevated tone of the Swedish poem, the translator—for the benefit of English readers—saw himself compelled to adopt a diction far less simple than was necessary in the original to produce the same or similar lofty impression. The reviewer is reminded of the confession made in 1833 by the Reverend William Strong, the first English translator of *Frithiofs Saga*. "In deference to the refinement of—fastidiousness? of English taste," said Strong in his foreword, he chose a diction "somewhat more ornate than the style of the original; yet without casting off entirely the vest of simplicity, which must ever be the language of the heart." Mr. Locock's translation is *ornate*, and is of the head rather than of the heart. Yet we are extremely grateful for this new interpretation. It is the metric beauty of Tegnér's poem which appeals most to the translator; also its "vivid picturesqueness and brilliance." The fact that he considers the "Teutonic" sentiment a blemish in *Frithiofs Saga*; that the iambic hexameter of the last canto is unsuitable to English tastes; and that the "Poem contains two or three obvious plagiarisms from Shakespeare, and perhaps another from Shelley," need not seriously concern us here. It is

not surprising that the most successful part of Locock's work is his translation of *Vikingabalk, The Viking's Code*, where the content demands a clear-cut statement of law and facts rather than sentiment.

Mr. Locock is not very charitable towards his forbears in the same field, and if we are not mistaken he is not always right in his assertions (in his Introduction) about his predecessors. Stephens's translation is termed "ludicrous," and no other translator, he avers, had noticed in the original any rhymes at the end of the blank verse passage" (Canto VIII, not VII as given in the introduction). How about Stephens, Baker, and Latham? Baker rhymes the last four lines, which is half as many as are rhymed in the Swedish; Latham rhymes the whole canto in couplets; and Stephens the last eight lines, according to the scheme a,b,b,a,c,d,c,d, which is exactly the formula used by Tegnér. Then Mr. Locock makes the rather astonishing claim that "no new printed version (in English) has appeared at all during the last half-century." The trade jacket on the volume makes capital of this claim, but says equivocally "English Translation instead of implying, as does the translator's own statement, that his is the only rendering "in English" during this period. We can not help wonder what Mr. Locock means by such an unqualified statement. He knows of Holcomb's translation, of 1877, but he either ignores or knows nothing about the versions by Sherman of the year following, or the more recent ones by Miller and Shaw. After all, the poetical renderings by Sherman and Shaw deserve *some* attention. But if by "English" Mr. Locock means "British," he is right, for the translation by his nearest predecessor in England, Leopold Hamel, was published in 1874, exactly fifty years before his own.

ADOLPH B. BENSON

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**DIE KULTURWERTE DER DEUTSCHEN LITERATUR
VON DER REFORMATION BIS ZUR AUFKLÄRUNG,**
von Kuno Francke, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung
1923.

Der vorliegende zweite Band von Franckes Kulturwerten ist, wie uns der verdiente Verfasser in seinem Vorwort berichtet, grösstenteils während der Kriegsjahre 1914-19 entstanden und hat hierdurch seinen ausgesprochenen Charakter erhalten.

"Er wäre," bekennt Francke, "nicht geworden was er ist—eine Darstellung der Neugeburt des deutschen Volkes aus innerem und äusseren Kampf, aus Elend und Schmach und drohendem Untergang—wenn die unerhörte Not, welche jeder Deutsche auf dem grossen Erdenrund in diesen Jahren durchlebt hat, mich nicht zu schärferer Erfassung der schöpferischen Macht des Leidens gezwungen hätte."

Mit Recht hat der Verfasser in dem Prozess nationaler Wiedergeburt den eigentlichen Wesenszug des behandelten Zeitraumes gesehen, und wir wissen ihm Dank dafür, dass er gerade als Deutsch-Amerikaner sein Volk auf die unvergänglichen Kulturgüter und deren unversiegbare Quelle tröstend hinwies und zwar in den Jahren, wo Hass und Scheelsucht diese Güter zu verneinen oder gar zu vernichten suchten. So lässt er denn in der Einleitung gleich in grossen Zügen die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur vom Zeitalter der Reformation bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts an uns vorüberziehen, die er dann im Werke selbst im Einzelnen schildert. Ob freilich die schöpferische Macht des Leidens die alleinige Quelle der nationalen Wiedergeburt gewesen sei, lässt sich wohl bezweifeln. Der von den Humanisten geweckte Stolz auf die herrliche germanische Urzeit, dem z. B. Opitz schon *vor* dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege in seinem 'Aristarchus' Ausdruck verlieh, die Liebe zur Muttersprache, die Millionen das Vaterland ersetzte und das von dünnelhaften Ausländern, wie Bouhours, gekränkte Selbstgefühl, hatten an der nationalen Wiedergeburt wohl nicht weniger Anteil als die angeborene sittliche und religiöse Tiefe des deutschen Gemütes. Die tief schürfenden Forschungen Konrad Burdachs haben uns gezeigt, wie die gewaltige Bewegung der Menschheitserneuerung ihren Ursprung in Italien hatte, wo die später in weltliche und kirchliche Erneuerung getrennte Reformbewegung aus gemeinsamer religiöser Wurzel entspross. Alle europäischen Kulturvölker haben dann an der Bewegung teilgenommen, Italiener, Spanier, Franzosen und Engländer, aber nur in Deutschland hat sie ihren tiefsten und vollendetsten Ausdruck gefunden. Denn hier war es hauptsächlich, wo die schöne Literatur Quelle und Träger dieser Bewegung ward. Darum ist denn auch die deutsche Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts ganz anders als die der übrigen Völker der Ausdruck der sich selbst aus sich erneuernden Seele des deutschen Volkes.

Vielleicht hätte Francke diesen Gesichtspunkt noch mehr betonen können als er getan hat, ebenso die Tatsache, dass die erstrebte Wiedergeburt nicht nur sittliche und allgemein menschliche, oder gar bloss ästhetische, sondern im tiefsten Grunde auch nationalpolitische Ziele hatte. Deutschland war als Nation im Untergang, ja hatte als solche aufgehört zu existieren. Da waren es denn die Sprache und die Literatur, die das Vaterland vertraten und die Nation zusammenhielten, die in ihren Teilen auseinanderstrebte. Die deutsche Literaturbetrachtung hatte sich in der Vorkriegszeit nur zu oft in leeres ästhetisches Gerede verirrt und darüber vergessen, welchen grossen Anteil an der politischen Neuschöpfung der Nation das bewusste Streben der Dichter hatte. Es ist daher zu begrüssen, dass Francke dem patriotischen Verdienste von Klopstock, dessen volles Verständnis erst in unseren Tagen wieder erwacht

ist, so schön gerecht wird. Dabei nimmt es sich freilich sonderbar aus, Klopstock, den Befreier des Gefühlslebens, den Verkünder der irrationalen Mächte im Seelenleben, den Vorläufer der Geniezeit und Überwinder des Rationalismus in dem Abschnitte 'Aufklärung' behandelt zu sehen. Aber so sehr auch der Kenner der neusten Literatur- und Geistesgeschichtsforschung manches bei Francke anders gefasst und begründet sehen möchte, so wird er dem Verfasser doch für sein gehaltvolles, mit warmem vaterländischen Gefühle geschriebenes Werk reichen Dank wissen und ihm weiteste Verbreitung auch in diesem Lande wünschen.

JULIUS GOEBEL

AMERICAN ADAPTATIONS OF FRENCH PLAYS ON THE NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA STAGES FROM 1790 TO 1833. By Harold William Schoenberger. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1924. pp. 1-99.

Mr. Schoenberger's thesis on "American Adaptations of French Plays on the New York and Philadelphia Stages from 1790 to 1833" is a workmanlike collection of the facts in its chosen and limited field. Mr. Schoenberger presents his material straightforwardly, using chronology as a basis of organization, not resorting to any rhetorical devices to avoid repetition and monotony, or to gain emphasis. The result is a reasoned catalogue useful for information and reference, a contribution by collection to our knowledge of a little-known period of American literary history. Probably its direct and unelaborated form is the most serviceable for its purpose. I do, however, feel that space is wasted by the printing in the body of the thesis of the list of characters in each adaptation, by the rather prolix plot summaries with their threadbare phrases, and by the second printing of the lists of characters in Appendix A. The comparison in that Appendix of the *dramatis personae* of the original French pieces with their American adaptations seems pointless, a catalogue not reasoned.

In this thesis the study is of a haphazard sporadic series of events. It happened that William Dunlap, adaptor of the reigning Kotzebue, turned for material for adaptation, as Kotzebue's appeal waned, to France. It happened that John Howard Payne, and after him Richard Penn Smith, turned also to the Parisian stage for their material for adaptation. No one of them had a developed theory of adaptation; no one of them turned to any French master; no one of them responded to a popular demand in America, to a compelling taste of the time. Their adaptations appeared at infrequent intervals with only moderate success. There seems little chance under the

circumstances to watch the process of adaptation of the dramatic literature of one race to the stage of another race, a process often full of singularly rich revelation of national characteristics. Yet I could wish that Mr. Schoenberger, in spite of the sparseness of his material, had pressed a little further the effort to make us see what happened here to typically French material in the hands of commonplace Anglo-Saxon adaptors. Are there, for instance, no generalizations to be drawn as to the fate of the long discourses and the moralizings of the French? Is there no information as to the difference between the reception of a play in which Dunlap "outdoes the original in moralizing" and that of one in which he "relieved the original of some of its sentimentality and its tedious moralizing?" Even if the only generalization possible is that there is no generalization, I should be interested in knowing that.

What Mr. Schoenberger does, rather than to say anything of the revelation of national characteristics in the process of adaptation, is to focus his attention on the melodrama, the type involved in fully one-half the specific adaptations considered by him. It was, he says, in that type that the French influence on the American stage of the time was most apparent. The melodrama, he feels, perpetuated here a false sentimentality and tolerated an insufficiency of psychological analysis. But it was not without the merits of some of its defects. In its blending of comedy with tragedy, and in its use of prose as a medium for dramatic expression, it played no insignificant part in preparing the way for the romantic drama. It broke with the classic tradition of the preceding century. These points of view govern Mr. Schoenberger's discussion of the melodramas concerned. He accepts Ginisty's formula of a type fully developed by the year 1800, and establishes, I think, his contention that this type did help in breaking down the tradition of the preceding century and in preparing, through its elaborate settings and its general freedom from restraint, for the romantic school which followed.

In the plots of the melodramas considered by Mr. Schoenberger, I notice details casually mentioned by him which suggest the appearance of property and the documents that go with a commercial civilization as an element in the drama of the early century. In one place, Jules has been the victim of a plot to deprive him of his estate. In another, Derville produces "the papers of reinstatement." In another, Georges becomes a forger. In another, Gustav has been involved so heavily in debt that he has been led to embezzle the funds of his employer. With these details go the presence on the stage of unguarded or unwatched valuables. Thus, Annette puts her money in the hollow trunk of an old tree, or Madame de Cerval promises to give D'Olsan 20,000 louis which she has locked in her desk, or Desormes has forgotten to lock the desk which contains a large

sum of bank notes. I remember noticing similar details in reading that appeared on the London stage about 1780. They are the small change of drama, but they have, perhaps, a slight significance. They are the forerunners, I suppose, of the mortgage on the old homestead. Perhaps Mr. Schoenberger might have found in such homely beginnings the basis for a conclusion concerning the emergence of modern commercial society in the drama, a conclusion to be added to those conclusions concerning the melodrama which are now the chief contribution of his study.

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A *GRAMMAR OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE, DESIGNED FOR A THOROUGH AND PRACTICAL STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE AS SPOKEN AND WRITTEN TODAY*, by George O. Curme. Revised and Enlarged. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1922. large 8vo. 623 pp.

When twenty years ago the first edition of Professor Curme's Grammar appeared, German philologists and grammarians were fairly amazed at the fact that a German grammar of such scientific and scholarly merit should have come from the pen of an American philologist. What will these same scholars say when they peruse the pages of the second, much revised and greatly enlarged edition? To the reviewer, however, it does not seem remarkable that a scholar with a mother tongue other than German, who, to be sure, received his training under the best of German scholars some time ago, should be capable of writing a work which attempts to analyze to its minutest details the German language. For does he not, because of his familiarity with another language, have a vantage ground, a greater objectiveness that may be wanting in the scholar who has no such twofold training?

Professor Curme's Grammar, as the title indicates, is "designed for a thorough and practical study of the German language as spoken and written today." Through many years of toil it has been the author's constant aim to present a faithful picture of the German language as used at present. Curme is not primarily a grammarian, at least not that type of grammarian, who, having some pet idea concerning the history or use of a certain phrase or idiom, is desirous of proving his theories in the face of undeniable facts, which he either ignores altogether or interprets to his liking. It need hardly be said that Professor Curme made use of all lexical and grammatical studies of the profession. He did not, however, incorporate anything in his work, the present-day use of which he could not

illustrate from modern literature. And by literature I mean not only polite literature and the writings of philosophers and historians, but also that great body of writings contained in the periodical press of our time, which is constantly influencing our speech.

This Grammar, as Prof. Curme remarks in his preface, is written from the standpoint of the English speaking student. The author translates all examples and illustrations in a masterly fashion and thereby gives proof of how closely the two languages are really related. Let the German scholars, of whom the great majority has, unfortunately, a much more thorough knowledge of French than of English, translate some of Curme's illustrations into French and behold how colorless, how lukewarm these translations render the strength and originality of the German expressions.

Ordinarily Professor Curme illustrates the grammatical principle under discussion with but one or two apt examples, which, in his desire to be terse, he has chosen from a great quantity recorded in the course of his almost incredibly extensive reading. When, however, the opinions of grammarians differ and further proof is necessary, he quotes at greater length, often going back to early Middle High German, and then, perhaps, citing Luther, who through his translation of the Bible has probably exerted an even greater influence upon Protestant Germany than the great classics; again, maybe, an author of the golden age of our literature, and finally—this was the author's ultimate aim—one or several writers of the post-classic and present period. When Professor Curme found that usage fluctuated, or when, after considering all the data available, he could arrive at no definite conclusion as to the present meaning of a term or phrase, he, great and unprejudiced scholar that he is, summed up the fruits of his searches without pretense of having settled the point under consideration.

It is, in fact, the present-day usage of the German language around which all discussions of lexical and syntactic phenomena revolve. This Grammar is a compendium of facts derived through a descriptive-analytic process. In this Professor Curme's treatment differs widely from that of most German grammarians, who have produced great historical works which are of practical value only to the trained philologist and linguist, for only he can make intelligent use of them. Whereas they take a turn of speech, let me say of the twelfth century, and trace its development through subsequent periods, Professor Curme takes an idiom of the language of today, and quotes older and obsolete expressions only when they help to make clear the meaning of the idiom under consideration.

In order to present a faithful picture of the German language as spoken today, Curme often introduces colloquial speech

and dialectic expressions, as here he found idioms which, though for a long time banished from book German, have, due to the efforts of our realists and naturalists, found their way into the better literature of today.

If we compare this work with the first edition, we readily discern the fruits of more than fifteen years of study and labor. It is indeed a new piece of work which Professor Curme has given to posterity in this book enlarged by almost one half its original content. This he has done not by adding new examples and illustrations but rather by adding new grammatical material. Often the author seems to have felt obliged to change statements of the first edition. Thus, for example, he now accepts the *Bühnenaussprache* rather than the speech of the cultured North German as the standard pronunciation. Never has the reviewer met with a statement of an author concerning his own work that he can more wholeheartedly endorse than when Professor Curme says in the preface to this edition: ". . . the views presented in the original edition have been greatly modified, for seventeen years of further intensive study have changed the author and his work considerably, at least he feels the new issue as quite a different book. May it be as stimulating and helpful to the reader as the experiences involved in its making have been to the author!"

During the last few years, while teaching a senior course in conversation and composition, the reviewer has had occasion to use this Grammar as a hand book and constantly refer his students to this or that part of the work, which, because of the two carefully worked out indexes and the *Übersichtlichkeit* of page and chapter, was an easy matter. Also while writing the notes to a text edition for the Oxford University Press, he found it necessary to enlighten himself and the student by referring to and quoting from this Grammar.

In conclusion the reviewer wishes to bid welcome even now to another work by this eminent scholar, which is soon to make its appearance, namely, a large Syntax of the English language.

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THE TEXT OF SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET. By B. A. P. van Dam, M.D. John Lane, The Bodley Head Limited. London: 1924. Pp. viii+380. 21 shillings net.

A few years ago Professor J. M. Manly, after remarking that textual criticism had only recently become scientific, pointed out the need of applying to the text of Shakespeare the critical methods now at last available (*Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, p. 354). Mr. van Dam's impressive volume gives us a critical text of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The editor has worked out a

scientific method which takes into account all the hazards of the journey from author's autograph to printed text in Elizabethan days, and his results, though at times radical, are usually convincing. He divides his work into nine chapters. In chapter I, he examines the first Q, and concludes that it "represents the drama as it was acted, taken down from the players' mouths." He rejects the hypothesis that it represents Shakespeare's first draft of the play. Chapter II is devoted to an attempt to determine the interpolations in quarto and folio. These interpolations are listed on pp. 105-109. In the next three chapters the relations between the second Q and the F are discussed, and the conclusion is reached that "the editor who wants to get as near as possible to the text of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has to take the Q as his starting-point, and he should deviate from this text only where a mistake may reasonably be supposed to occur." Chapter VI, on prosody, makes it clear that our artist was regular enough in his metrics, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Chapter VII takes up "the relation between rhyme, blank verse, broken verse and prose." Chapter VIII gives us the critical text itself; interpolations are included, but printed in special type. Finally, chapter IX deals with "other plays studied in the light of the knowledge obtained." One of the divisions of this chapter is amusingly entitled "Shakespeare's non-hand in *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*."

Particularly important are the editor's observations on prosody, unpalatable though they will be to sticklers for irregularity. The views of these sticklers are simply an inheritance, of course. Shakespeare was a diamond in the rough to 18th century critics; he was likewise a diamond in the rough to the romantic school that followed (a fact not known so well as it ought to be), the difference between the two schools lying in the fact that the romanticists glorified (or sublimated, if you will) the rough spots. Present-day critics for the most part either are romanticists still or have reverted to the 18th century attitude (differently though they attack the problem) in the name and under the aegis of history. But we have surely had enough of roughness, idealized or no. It is high time for the philologist to turn his attention to the polish that the diamond exhibits to the discerning eye. And Mr. van Dam's study of our artist's prosody is a good beginning.

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WILHELM DILTHEY AND THE SCIENCE OF LITERARY HISTORY

I remember most vividly the deep and liberating impression which Dilthey's *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* made upon me at the time of its first appearance in 1883.¹ Like many other young men of that period who, having grown up during the ascendancy of the natural sciences, I had intuitively revolted against the application of the methods of these sciences to the mental sciences, because these methods seemed to me totally inadequate to attain the aim for which they were invoked.

One must recall the sway which the natural sciences had assumed in philology, psychology, history, and even in philosophy, in order to appreciate the effect of the book which freed the mental sciences from this rule by proving them to be an entirely independent system of knowledge and by laying a new foundation of their methods upon the ground of man's inner experience and the facts of his consciousness. While our knowledge of the phenomena of nature has for its basis, after all, only perceptions or pictures of these phenomena, reflected in our consciousness, we possess reality as such only in the facts of our consciousness given in our inner experience. The analysis of these facts constitutes the very center of the mental and historical sciences, which form a system independent in itself. And more than this. While the theory of cognition of the English empiricists Locke and Hume, as well as that of Kant, had explained experience and knowledge as facts belonging to

¹ The original edition of the *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* has been out of print for many years. It is, however, reprinted now with valuable additions, which Dilthey intended to include in a long-planned second edition, in Volume I of his *Gesammelte Schriften*, Verlag von B. G. Teubner, Leipzig und Berlin, 1922 (2. Auflage 1923). This collection of the great philosopher's writings of which thus far five handsomely printed volumes have appeared will comprise, when completed, eight volumes and will contain all of his many treatises and essays hitherto scattered in periodicals and scientific publications more or less difficult of access. In view of the great financial depression in Germany both editors and publishers cannot be commended too highly for having undertaken this monumental publication, which discloses a mine of new ideas to the philosopher, the historian, and the student of literature alike.

mere thinking, Dilthey interprets the process of knowing as resulting from the totality of human nature, which consists not only of the intellect but of the feeling and the will as well. It is, in other words, the whole living man, the living entities of individuals out of whom the historical world is built up and who, therefore, form the object of the study of the mental sciences as opposed to the study of the phenomena of nature in the natural sciences.

What I tried to condense here into a few sentences Dilthey develops in detail in the first book of his *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften*. The second book is devoted to a critical discussion of the history of the various metaphysical systems in which, successively since the time of the oldest Greek philosophers, the foundation of the mental sciences had been seen. With unsurpassed historical insight into the growth of metaphysical thought, and with rare critical acumen, schooled in the study of Kant, Dilthey shows the rise, the temporary sway and ultimate decline of the various systems of metaphysics, and arrives at the conclusion that their final disintegration was brought about by the natural sciences, and later by the rise of the mental sciences.

If the foundation of these sciences, therefore, cannot be found in metaphysics, a basis other than that of mere intellectual speculation had to be discovered in order to arrive at a true philosophy of the mental sciences, and this basis, as has been pointed out already, Dilthey saw in the inner experience. To the development of this idea for the purpose of creating a true philosophy of the mental sciences Dilthey may be said to have devoted from that time on his lifework.

Long before the publication of his *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften* Dilthey had in a series of remarkable essays on poets, historians, and philosophers, as well as in his classical biography of Schleiermacher, made the inner experience the central idea in his portrayal of these personalities. Quite significantly he, therefore, called the collection of these early essays, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*. Among these essays the famous treatise on *Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie* is, in my opinion, especially valuable as it seems to point to the origin of Dilthey's conception of *Erlebnis*. He could not have found a better and more instructive example of what the inner

experience means in the creative process of poetry than Goethe and his utterances concerning the ultimate source of his poetic activity, and it seems to me quite probable that the idea of basing the structure of all mental sciences upon a similar psychological process may have dawned on Dilthey in connection with his early study of Goethe and his contemporaries. For, in the writings of the latter, especially in Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, in Schiller's aesthetic essays, in Goethe's scientific works, and in the literary and historical productions of the Romantic school he could observe a method of investigation which presupposed the unity and totality of human nature as opposed to the mere abstract rationality of the preceding period of enlightenment. In his biography of *Schleiermacher*, Dilthey discussed this new method of investigation which he calls the *geniale Anschauung* and which is essentially an intuitive understanding, as distinct from the deductive methods of philosophy. "So beschäftigte bereits Goethe," he says, "Natur und Recht jenes intuitiven Verständnisses welches auf anderem Gebiet Winckelmann und Herder zuerst zu einer Methode der Forschung auszubilden unternahmen und das von ihnen ab, in der ganzen Epoche die wir hier darstellen, die herrschende geistige Verfahrensart in Deutschland geblieben ist. Keine bisherige Wissenschaftslehre hat diese grosse Richtung menschlicher Forschung wirklich untersucht." It is, no doubt, the new ideal of man revealed in the genius, which Schiller had recognized to consist in the harmonious unity of the human faculties, and which differed totally from the human ideal of the age of reason, that determines the object as well as the method of Dilthey's investigations. As early as 1862, in a remarkable essay on Friedrich Christoph Schlosser, the historian, he intuitively recognizes in the Schlegel brothers the principle upon which he was to build his own philosophy of the mental sciences: "die Methoden der Nachconstruction geistiger Bewegungen aus der Totalität der menschlichen Natur." The conception of the mental sciences, expressed in this sentence would appeal to him all the more since during his student days he had come under the influence of such masters as Ranke, Boeckh, Ritter, and Jacob Grimm, all of whom represented, each in his field, the methods which he admired in the Schlegels, the continuators of Winckelmann's, Herder's and Goethe's *geniale Anschauung*.

It is from the hidden recess of the soul, where the totality of human nature reveals itself in the *Erlebnis*, that Dilthey undertakes the reconstruction of the intellectual movements. Recognizing the significance and importance of this concept he has repeatedly described and defined its nature. Thus he says in the treatise, 'Ideen über eine beschreibende und zergliedernde Psychologie':² "In dem Erlebnis wirken die Vorgänge des *ganzen* Gemütes zusammen. In ihm ist Zusammenhang gegeben, während die Sinne nur ein Mannigfaltiges von Einzelheiten darbieten. Der einzelne Vorgang ist von der ganzen Totalität des Seelenlebens im Erlebnis getragen, und der Zusammenhang, in welchem er in sich und mit dem Ganzen des Seelenlebens steht, gehört der unmittelbaren Erfahrung an. Dies bestimmt schon die Natur des Verstehens unserer selbst und anderer. Wir *erklären* durch rein intellektuelle Prozesse, aber wir *verstehen* durch das Zusammenwirken aller Gemütskräfte in der Auffassung."

The distinction which Dilthey here makes between 'erklären' and 'verstehen' is of the utmost importance for a full appreciation of his system of philosophy. If by explaining we understand the procedure according to the principle, *causa æquat effectum*, comprehending is not an intellectual process merely, but an intuitive reproduction by ourselves of the inner experience of others. "Die Natur," he says, "erklären wir, das Seelenleben verstehen wir." Hence the vital distinction which Dilthey makes between explanatory psychology, the "Seelenlehre ohne Seele," as he calls it, and the descriptive and analyzing psychology of which he may be said to be the founder. While the procedure of the former is that of the natural sciences, consisting of the psychic phenomena in their connection with physiological facts, and of the construction from the elements thus found in the analysis, the psychic phenomena, on the basis of certain hypotheses, the descriptive psychology interprets the unity and coherence of the inner life of the individual, the structure of the soul-life which is comparable to a continuous, uniform stream that can be analyzed and described, but not construed according to the law of cause and effect. Its very essence is the uniformity of its structure, the impulsive a-rationality of all life, the mysterious realm of the unconscious,

² See *Gesammelte Schriften*, v. 172.

and the teleological bent of life. By collecting and comparing the facts gained through self-observation we arrive at certain empirical generalizations, regularities, types and repetitions of psychological processes upon which Dilthey based his theory of psychological typology as a means for the understanding of the process of history.

The analysis of the structure of our soul-life shows a unity of three great Zusammenhänge: Intelligenz, das Trieb- und Gefühlsleben, die Willenshandlungen. Their sum, unity and energy, represent the acquired coherence of the soul. Again it is our own feeling, our inner experience which must guide us in the analysis of this acquired coherence in the soul. Since this acquired coherent unity of our soul, does, however, not appear in our consciousness as a whole, but always in parts, we must turn to the works of men of genius where we can study the energetic operation of distinct forms of mental activity. In language, myths, and religious rites, custom, law, social organizations are found the productions of the general spirit, or in Hegel's language, of the "objective spirit," in which the consciousness of the individual has attained an independent or objective existence and, therefore, can be analyzed and described.

It is impossible here to discuss in detail Dilthey's new psychological method of which David Hume and John St. Mill were in a certain sense historical forerunners, nor is it possible here to show how his new and profound conception of the historical process was based upon his psychological ideas. I hope, however, that even from my brief discussion it has become apparent what significance and importance Dilthey's two fundamental concepts: the *Erlebnis* and the *Verstehen*, have for the development of the science of literary history.

There is, within the realm of the mental sciences, no province in which Dilthey could have demonstrated better the validity of these concepts, than in the domain of poetry and literature. This he did in his famous treatise *Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters, Bausteine für eine Poetik*,³ published in the Festschrift commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Eduard Zeller's doctorate, in 1887. At a time when the so-called realistic school declared the mission of poetry to consist in

³ Reprinted in *Ges. Schriften*, VI, 103 ff.

viewing with the exactness of the scientific methods, when a young adept of this school, the "Jüngste Deutschland," wrote a pamphlet under the title, *Was kann die Dichtung für die moderne Welt noch bedeuten*; Dilthey's essay, which re-enthroned the deposed imagination, came as a godsend. Again, as in the essay "Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie" the concept *Erlebnis* is the basis upon which he builds his poetics as the true introduction into the history of literature. In a brief historical introduction which he enlarged a few years later in the essay *Die drei Epochen der modernen Aesthetik und ihre heutige Aufgabe*⁴ he reviews the æsthetic theories from Aristotle down to the German classical period, when poets, critics, and philosophers made the imagination the object of their deliberations. He sums up the results of their observations and discussions in the following paragraphs:

1. Poetry is not an imitation of a reality already existing, it is not the embodiment of truth or intellectual contents previously existing, but it is a creative force, the productions of which exceed reality and the content of abstract thinking. To poetry there is ascribed an independent faculty of viewing life and the world, and it is given a position equal to that of science and religion.

The first and most adequate description of the creative faculty is given by Schiller, according to whom beauty is living breathing form. This is produced whenever the imagination apprehends life in the form of an image, or symbol, or whenever this form is animated with life. It is the transformation of *Erlebnis* into form and of form into *Erlebnis*, indicated in Schiller's definition of beauty, which Dilthey subsequently undertakes to formulate and establish from the point of view of his psychology.

2. Kant's definition of taste as the faculty of judging an object by the disinterested pleasure or displeasure it arouses, disposed of the view that the beautiful was an embodiment of truth and emphasizes the fundamental importance of the feelings in the creative process. Again Dilthey considers it one of the tasks of poetics to supplement and establish more thoroughly the significance of the feelings in the activity of the imagination, in the metamorphosis which its pictures undergo, and, finally, in what is called composition proper.

⁴ *Ges. Schriften*, VI, 242 ff.

3. The relation which exists between exterior reality and the eye of the poet, who perceives beauty in this reality, may best be expressed by the statement that the creative activity of the poet enhances and intensifies qualities already contained in reality.

While the classical period thus arrived by observation and reflection at a deep insight into the creative process, it lacked the methods, since developed, to penetrate into the psychology of this process. Poetics, which had its starting point in the supposed model productions of the ancient classics and afterwards in some sort of metaphysical concept of beauty, must seek its point of departure in the soul of the poet. I need not repeat that this is the *Erlebnis*.

The basis of all poetry, he says, is *Erlebnis*, vivid experience, psychic elements of all kinds that stand in relation to such experience. All images of the exterior world may in consequence of this experience become material for the creative activity of the poet. A powerful soul-vitality, energy in experiencing the inner and the outer world, power of generalization and demonstration constitute the rich soil from which spring mental achievements of various kinds, and among them those of the poet. Or, as Goethe has it: "Darauf kommt Alles an; man muss etwas sein um etwas zu machen."

The creative activity in particular is based upon the energy of the poet's experiences. A dry notice of a murder in a newspaper, or the meager account of an old chronicle may thus become an inner experience of the poet. As our body finds it necessary to breathe, so our soul longs for the expansion of its existence in the vibrations of our feelings. "Das Lebensgefühl will austönen in Klang, Wort und Bild, die Anschauung befriedigt uns nur ganz, so fern sie mit solchem Gehalt des Lebens und den Schwingungen des Gefühls erfüllt ist, dies Ineinander, unser ursprüngliches, volles, ganzes Leben, Anschauung vom Gefühl verinnerlicht und gesättigt, Lebensgefühl ausstrahlend in der Helle des Bildes: das ist das inhaltliche, wesenhafte Merkmal aller Poesie."⁵

An inner experience which found expression in this way cannot be reduced to an abstract thought or to a logical formula, but it will cause us to ponder, to generalize, and to see it in

⁵ *Ges. Schriften*, VI, 130 ff.

its relations to the whole of human existence, and thus make us aware of its significance. The creative imagination of the poet which produces this effect is not the result of psychological processes taking place only in certain individuals, but it is due to the powerful organization of certain men, springing from the common intensity and continuance of definite primary processes in their soul.

It is to the careful psychological analysis and description of the creative faculty of the poet, of the imagination and of the feeling, the key to the explanation of the poet's creative activity, that the greater part of Dilthey's poetics is devoted. The discussion of the imagination had played a great rôle in Hegel's, Vischer's, and Carriere's aesthetics; but their comments only touch the surface in comparison with the searching analysis of Dilthey, enabling him to deduce principles of general validity which, independent of the change of times, govern the aesthetic impression as well as the creations of the poet.

For there exists, as Dilthey points out, an intimate relation between the creative process in the poet and the psychological process of enjoyment in the hearer or reader of poetry. What is produced by feeling arouses the feeling. The enjoyment of poetry is essentially an act of re-creating the creations of the poet. Even the rationalist Voltaire said that the true critic of poetry must have a strong feeling and be born with at least some sparks of the fire which filled the poet.

The analysis of this process of re-creating or of the impression which the poet produces, as well as the analysis of the psychology of the art of interpretation and of *Verstehen*, which he treats in his essay *Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik*⁶ serve to make Poetics an indispensable instrument in the hands of the historian of literature.

"Indem die Poetik die Eindrücke untersucht, genießt sie des Vorteils den Wechsel derselben willkürlich vom Wechsel der Objekte aus hervorzurufen und das Complexe des Vorgangs in seine Bestandteile zerlegen zu können. Indem sie vom Schaffen ausgeht, kann endlich die Fülle des literar. Stoffes verwertbar gemacht werden; jahraus jahrein arbeiten unzählige Philologen und Literaturhistoriker, die Poeten benützlich und verständlich zu machen, nun trete die Poetik hinzu nicht die Boi-

⁶ *Ges. Schriften*, V, 317.

leaus, welche sich die Dichtung unterwerfen will, sondern die neue, welche sie erklären möchte und in vergleichender Betrachtung, von den Urzellen der Poesie in den Äusserungen der Naturvölker ab, alle Erscheinungen umfasst! Dann wird in gesunder Wechselwirkung die literarhistorische Empirie und Vergleichung benutzt werden, die Natur des Schaffens zu erklären, seine unveränderlichen Normen zu entwerfen, die Geschichtlichkeit zu zeigen und solchergestalt die Vergangenheit zu begreifen und der Zukunft die Wege zu weisen. Die aus solcher Arbeitsvereinigung entsprungene Poetik wird der Literaturgeschichte die Mittel für eine viel feinere Charakteristik der Dichter schaffen. Möchte dann auch das Uebermass des persönlichen Klatsches wieder schwinden, in welchem zur Zeit die Literaturhistorie schwelgt.”⁷

It was not immediately that Dilthey's hopes found their fulfillment. At the time of the publication of his *Bausteine für eine Poetik*, the influence of Scherer, a brilliant scholar and a dazzling personality, who had attracted a group of loyal disciples, dominated the methods of literary criticism. Adverse to the aid of psychology and fashioned partly after the model of the methods prevailing in science, partly by ideas borrowed from the philosophy of positivism, the methods of Scherer and his school were essentially opposed to Dilthey's fundamental conception of literature as an integral part of the mental sciences. Nowhere does this contrast of views and methods appear more clearly than in Scherer's unfinished Poetics, a sort of summary of the principles which guided his own work as an historian and interpreter of literature. What he expressly aims at in his Poetics is the impartiality of the scientist in faithful observation, analysis, classification, comparison and mutual illumination. A comparison of Dilthey's masterly analysis of the creative faculty with Scherer's superficial discussion of the imagination is especially to the point in showing the utter failure of the scientific method when applied to a subject belonging to the realm of the mental sciences.

While Scherer himself, despite his decided leaning toward the natural sciences, kept in touch with the spirit and the traditions of Jacob Grimm's conception of Germanistics, and while he even based his famous history of German Literature

⁷ *Ges. Schriften*, VI, 195 ff.

upon the idea of a system of national ethics, inherent to the German national character and developed during the course of centuries, his followers, lacking the versatile spirit of the master, only too frequently applied his methods mechanically. The result was a state of affairs of which a critic some twelve years ago had to say the following: "What prevents our young students of talent from going into this field of study is the prospect of being prohibited by a pseudo-scientific prejudice from displaying a live interest in poetry while engaged in their scientific pursuits. Above all it is the lifeless mechanical methods now prevailing in our Germanistic departments which deter them, the cult of the card index and of statistics—the Wort- und Papierglaube. No better proof of this than the average doctor's dissertation, ninety per cent of which show by their very subjects, their style, their method of collecting material and their whole treatment, that they were possible only after the complete effacement of the author's personality."

In a paper on "The present crisis in the science of literary criticism," read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association, twelve years ago, I pointed out how this science, the custodian of the nation's most sacred treasures, which had developed since the time of Bacon in close connection with simultaneous currents of thought, had lost touch with the contemporary movements emphasizing the independence and importance of the mental sciences. What seemed to me needed above all was a reform of the method of interpretation for which Dilthey had set the example both in principle and practice.

It was at about the same time that Dilthey began gradually to come by his own in Germany. The struggle for the emancipation of the mental sciences from the sway of the natural sciences had commenced to bear fruit. With the beginning of the present century a revival of the interest in the great perennial problems of philosophy had taken place, resulting in the ardent desire for a new synthesis of philosophical thought. As early as 1867 in his *Antritts-Vorlesung* in Basel, again in his *Leben Schleiermacher's* 1870, and finally in his famous treatise *Das Wesen der Philosophie* 1907, and *Typen der Weltanschauung*, 1911, Dilthey had shown that it was one of the principal functions of poetry to be an organ for our understanding of life, that the poet is a seer who beholds the meaning of life. Hence, the re-

markable fact that the classical period of German Literature, extending from Klopstock's appearance to the death of Hegel, constitutes an epoch of inner coherence during which the great poets created a new ideal of life and a new view of the world which deeply affected the speculation of contemporary philosophy. Moreover, in his essays contained in the book *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, Dilthey had given classical examples of literary studies in comparison with which the customary individualistic—biographical or individualistic—psychological treatment of the problems of literature seemed totally inadequate and even superficial.

To follow Dilthey's example was not easy in view of his profound philosophical insight, his vast learning, and his artistic intuition and craftsmanship. Yet the impulse he gave to the science of literary criticism has become more and more apparent during the last decade and a half. Works such as Rudolph Unger's *Hamann*, Ernst Cassirer's *Freiheit und Form*, and *Idee und Gestalt*, Fritz Strich's *Klassik und Romantik*, Herbert Cysarz, *Erfahrung und Idee*, or Paul Kluckhohn's *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrh. und in der Romantik*, give evidence of the influence which Dilthey has exerted. Once more the old relationship between poetry and philosophy, dating back to their beginnings among the Greeks and other nations, and embodied ever since in every true poet, has been brought to light. Who would claim to understand the poetry of the eighteenth century without a knowledge of the philosophy of Leibniz, Wolff and later of Spinoza, upon the background of which rise the best poetic efforts of Haller, Brockes, Lessing, and Herder? Nor is it possible to appreciate the classical and romantic period without an insight into the co-operation of poets and thinkers in the establishment of the new ideal of humanity. Poetry, however, is not versified philosophy; it rather contains in its best productions, the poet's meditation on the significance of life, expressed in images and symbols, saturated with feeling. It is here where the poet's view of the world, his *Weltanschauung*, reveals itself, similar to and yet different from the religious and the philosophical view of the world. The history of literature which thus describes and analyzes the view of the world, either of the individual poet, or of whole literary periods, imperceptively becomes

Geistesgeschichte, not as a mere appendix to the history of philosophy, but as an independent field of research with vast possibilities.

The intense interest in the fundamental problems of philosophy which has developed in Germany since the war furnishes a strong impulse to studies investigating similar problems in the works of literature, reminding always of the vital difference between poetry and abstract philosophy.

The mental sciences which study the historical creations of man, such as literature, law and state, art and science, logic and ethics, cults and myths, culture and civilization, in short the world of the mind, in which dominate the concepts of purpose and value, must inevitably search for the final aim and cause of man's creative activity, or, in the words of Aristotle, the *ὑποκείμενον*, and thus arrive at the fundamental questions of metaphysics. While Dilthey, adhering to the positivistic influences of his youth, remained to his end rather skeptical with regard to the value of metaphysics, the attitude of the younger generation of thinkers in Germany is far more optimistic. Again it is the great poets who have, by the power of their intuition and their thinking in images and symbols, frequently anticipated the truth which philosophy is seeking. A history of literature which studies these poetic glimpses of metaphysical truth may help to re-establish the original bond between poetry and philosophy, and thus inaugurate a new epoch of idealism similar to the one at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when thinkers and poets united in forming and proclaiming a message to humanity such as it had not received before.

JULIUS GOEBEL

THE FINN EPISODE IN *BEOWULF*

The so-called "Finn Episode" in the English poem *Beowulf* has been the subject of so much study that one feels a certain diffidence when he essays to throw new light on it. But Professor R. A. Williams has recently shown,¹ and shown abundantly, that the possibilities of the "Episode" are by no means exhausted. His work, I may say, roused me to a renewed study of the English text, and since this study led me to conclusions markedly different from his, I have ventured to commit them to writing and now present them for what they are worth.

I will begin with a translation of the "Episode." My translation reads as follows (I have divided it, for convenience, into five sections):

1. *Hildeburh*. At the hands of Finn's men, when the sudden attack came upon them, Hnæf, the champion of the Half-Danes,² the champion of the Scyldings, was doomed to fall³ on the Frisian battle-field. Nor verily had Hildeburh need to praise the good faith of the Euts. Blameless, she was bereft of dear ones, of son and brother, at that shield-play; they rushed to their fate, wounded by the spear; that was a mournful lady. Not without reason did the daughter of Hoc bewail the stroke of fate, after morning came, when she under the clear sky could see the slaughter of her kinsmen, where she once had had the greatest joy in the world.

2. *Hengest*. Battle had taken all the thanes of Finn, except a few only, so that he could not, at that meeting-place, in any wise fight out the fight with Hengest, nor expel⁴ [from the hall] the [Danish] survivors by battle with the king's thane [i. e., Hengest]. But they [Frisians] offered them [Danes] terms: that they [Frisians] would clear completely for their [the Danes'] use the other floor of the hall and [its] high-seat, so that they [Danes] should have control of the half [of the hall] opposite the sons of the Euts;⁵ and at the dispensing of treasure the son of Folcwalda should daily honor the Danes, should present the following of Hengest with rings, with treasures of ornamented gold, just as much as he was accustomed to cheer the tribe of the Frisians in the beer-hall. Then on both sides they concluded a firm treaty of peace. Finn swore with

¹ R. A. Williams, *The Finn Episode in Beowulf*, Cambridge, 1924.

² In a separate article, to appear in the *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, I have shown that the *Healf-Dena* of v. 1069 means, not 'Half-Danes' but simply 'Danes.' I therefore treat it as an epithet precisely equivalent to the *Scyldinga* of the same verse.

³ For the idiom *feallan Finnes eaferum* see E. A. Kock, *Anglia*, XLII, 109, and cf. A. Green's long article in *P.M.L.A.* XXXI, 759 ff.

⁴ In my review of Williams (*J.E.G.Phil.*, XXV 115) I justify this rendering of *forþringan*.

⁵ See A. Heusler, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XLI, 32.

oaths to Hengest, strongly and without contention, that he [Finn] would rule the [Danish] survivors honorably, according to the judgement of wise men; that no man there [i. e., of his following], by words or deeds, should break the treaty; nor, through malice, should they [Frisians] ever mention it, although they [Danes], the lordless ones, were following the slayer of their king, since it was so meted out to them; if then any Frisian with audacious speech *were* to stir up memory of that feud, then the edge of the sword should atone for that.

3. *Hildeburh*. The funeral pile was made, and precious gold was drawn from the hoard. The best warrior of the battle-Scyldings [i. e., Hnæf] was ready to be placed on the pyre. At that funeral pile were exposed to view the blood-stained sark, the swine-helmet all golden, the iron-hard boar-helmet, every⁶ nobleman brought by wounds to death; all⁶ had fallen in the slaughter. Then Hildeburh bade that her own son be committed to the flames at Hnæf's funeral pile, that the bodies be burned and laid on the fire. On his [her son's] shoulder the poor lady was lamenting and mourning with songs [at the moment when she gave this command]. The warrior was lifted on the pyre. The greatest of death-fires curled to the clouds, roared before the barrow; heads melted, gashes and body-wounds burst, when the blood gushed forth. Fire, greediest of spirits, swallowed up all those of both peoples that battle had taken off; their glory was departed.

4. *Hengest*. The [Danish] warriors, bereft of friends, went to acquaint themselves with the dwellings, to see the land of the Frisians, the houses and the chief town. Hengest then lived on with Finn, the bloody winter through, most miserably. He longed for home, wondered whether he could drive his ring-prowed ship upon the waters. The sea tossed with the storm, fought with the wind: winter locked the waves with icy bonds, until the new year came to the dwelling-places (as it does still: those wondrously bright weathers that always keep their times); then was the winter gone, fair was the bosom of the earth. The exile, the stranger, was eager to leave [Finn's] court: he thought not so much of the voyage as of revenge: whether he might bring on a battle, in which he would be mindful of the children of the Euts, since⁷ he did not prevent⁸

⁶ Here, by litotes, *manig* means 'every' and *sume* 'all.' cf. v. 2940.

⁷ Professor Klaeber takes this *swa* to be an adverb, with the meaning 'thus.' Reluctant as I am to dispute the interpretation of so great an authority, I may venture to point out that the use of an adverbial *swa* to introduce a negative clause is excessively rare. Only in connection with verbs of thinking have I found any instances of such a use. Ordinarily in negative clauses an adverbial *swa*, if used, comes toward the end rather than at the beginning, as in *Beowulf*, 1471b, 1709b, 2091b; see also *Andreas*, 1393b. On the other hand, the conjunction *swa* is freely used at the beginning of negative clauses: see *Beowulf* 2184, 2332b, 2585b. V. 2184, indeed, offers a close parallel with v. 1142: in both cases the negative clause takes up a whole verse, and in both cases it begins with *swa*. Cf. *Andreas* 493 and 986. Everyone will agree that in v. 2184 the *swa* means 'since, inasmuch as.' I take this to be its proper meaning in v. 1142 as well.

⁸ In v. 429 the *forwyrnan* clearly means "prevent," and the corresponding *wearn geleon* of v. 366 properly means "hinder," whence, by litotes, "prevent." The meaning "refuse," often assigned to *forwyrnan*, is inaccurate, in my judgement.

his lord⁹ when he [Hnæf] laid in his [Hengest's] lap Hunlafing, the battle-bleamer, the best of bills;¹⁰ its edges were known to the Euts.

5. *Conclusion.* Likewise a cruel death by the sword afterwards befel the bold-hearted Finn, at his own house. When Guðlaf and Oslaf, after the sea-journey, had told of the grim attack, had told of their sorrows, and had blamed him [Finn] for a deal of woes, the restless spirit [of the Danes] could not restrain itself in the breast. Then the hall was reddened with the life-blood of the foes, also Finn was slain, the king was slain in the midst of his bodyguard, and the

⁹ In my *Literary History of Hamlet* (I, 22), I first suggested that the *woroldradenne* of v. 1142 be read as *woroldradende* and translated 'lord.' Formally this emendation is strictly parallel to Kemble's generally accepted emendation to *seleradende* of the *seleradenne* of v. 51. The meaning of the word, in its emended state, is clear enough. *Rædend* means 'ruler,' and with *worold-* prefixed it means 'worldly ruler,' that is, 'king,' by way of contrast to *rodera rædend* 'heavenly ruler,' that is, 'God' (v. 1555a). Cf. *worold-cyning*, used with reference to Scandinavian royalty in vv. 1684 and 3180, and contrast *wuldurcyning* 'king of glory,' a kenning for 'God' used in v. 2795. But if we try to explain the word, and the passage, without emendation, we are at once plunged into the greatest difficulties. No such word appears anywhere else in English, and no parallels to it have been found which are of any use in clarifying its meaning: the other *worold-* compounds shed darkness rather than light on the matter. Professor Klaeber, in his note (*Beowulf*, p. 169 f.) on the mysterious ἀραξ λεγόμενον, says, "*woroldraden* has been variously interpreted as law, way, rule, or custom, of the world, implying such diverse ideas as death, fate, revenge, duty, sanctity of oath." A few translations of the verse may be cited, to show the troubles of the translators:

Schuchardt: er stellte sich freudig der weltbestimmung

Huchon: aussi lui ne recula-t-il pas devant la destinée

Hall: he did not run counter to the way of the world

Ayres: he did not thus prove recreant to his duty

Schücking: ohne dass er das weltgesetz versagte

Williams: he did not reject the universal obligation

Klaeber: he did not refuse the condition

Child: he escaped not the law of this world.

Such translations leave the reader more befogged than ever; each attempt at interpretation must itself be interpreted. But how simple, easy and natural it all becomes, if we read *woroldradende* and translate, 'he did not prevent the king,' (when the king gave him the sword Hunlafing). The passage then means simply that Hengest accepted from Hnæf the present of a sword. No metaphysical reference to universals need be postulated; on the contrary, we have a picture as concrete and clear-cut as anyone could wish.

¹⁰ I take *Hunlafing* as a sword-name, 'the name of the sword that originally belonged to Hunlaf.' Here I follow Axel Olrik (*Heroic Legends of Denmark*, p. 145 f.), whose weighty opinion has been curiously ignored by Beowulfian scholars. These usually take the name for a patronymic. But we have absolutely no evidence that the hero Hunlaf had a son, whereas we are absolutely certain that he had a sword!

queen was taken. The bowmen of the Scyldings bore to the ships all the household goods of the great king, all that they could find of jewels and curious gems in Finn's house. They bore away the royal lady on the seapath to the Danes, they led her to her people.

So reads the "Episode." If now we ask ourselves, what was the English poet trying to do when he composed these verses, we can say at once that he was not trying to tell a story. He obviously had no time for that; he had the story of Beowulf to tell. And, besides, no story-telling was needful. In those days every Englishman knew the Finn saga, knew it as well as the Greeks knew the story of Troy. The poet wanted to bring the Finn story to the fore in the minds of his hearers. He wanted, moreover, to emphasize certain aspects of it. He turned his attention to the second task, confident that the first would then take care of itself. And it did, in those days. But we, alas, have gone after false gods. Long ago we forgot the great old stories of the English heroic age. Long ago we threw away our heritage. And now, when we read, we cannot understand.

Yet all is not lost, and much that seems lost can be recovered. Let us first look at our "Episode" in the large, and see what we can make of it. It falls clearly into five sections, as follows:

- section 1: vv. 1068-1080a (Hildeburh)
- section 2: vv. 1080b-1106 (Hengest)
- section 3: vv. 1107-1124 (Hildeburh)
- section 4: vv. 1125-1145 (Hengest)
- section 5: vv. 1146-1159a (conclusion)

Sections 1 and 3 are devoted to Hildeburh; sections 2 and 4, to Hengest. Section 5 furnishes the conclusion of the tale. The whole reminds one of the slow movement of a symphony. The poet uses two themes only, both tragic. First he states the one, then the other. He next elaborates the first, then the second. Finally he combines his two themes into a higher unity, tragic still but tranquil. His art is complex, subtle, sophisticated. It deserves detailed study. We may begin with the sections devoted to Hildeburh.

Section 1 opens with a very brief statement of the situation. We learn at once that Hnæf has fallen at the hands of Finn's men. This means little to the uninitiated, of course. The English hearers, however, who knew the story already, needed no further introduction. The first words of the poet told them

what to expect, keyed them up to the tragic pitch. The poet plunged them, indeed, into the middle of the tragedy, without stopping to prepare the way. Why was he so abrupt? We find out in the very next verse. His theme is not the tragedy of Hnæf, much less the tragedy of Finn, real tragedies though these both were. He purposes to give us the tragedy of Hildeburh. And first of all he paints in for us a background of treachery. "Verily Hildeburh had no need to praise the good faith of the Euts." One stroke sufficed for the Englishmen of old, who knew the story, and one stroke is enough for the poet, whose economy is as good art as it is poor history. That background of treachery, so clearly painted for our ancestors, is for us a blank wall. We know nothing of the circumstances, because the poet has told us nothing of them. We know only that Euts and Frisians are equivalent terms, for our poet, and from that we may infer that the treachery was on the Frisian side. More we cannot say. But to us just as to the hearers of the English poet the innocent figure of Hildeburh stands out in clear relief against that dark background. Opposed to that treachery so significant to our forefathers, so mysterious to us, the poet sets his heroine, the embodiment of innocence and helplessness. "Blameless, she was bereft of her dear ones, of son and brother, at that shield-play." We see now what the poet is about. He is drawing for us a pathetic figure, a woman, innocent but helpless in the hands of an evil destiny. The poet protests for us. What had she done to bring upon herself such terrible suffering? And he answers, she was wholly without guilt. He thus contrasts, as strongly as he can, the background of treachery with the innocent figure who stands out in relief against it. And then he goes on, with the utmost simplicity and effectiveness, "They rushed to their fate, wounded by the spear; that was a mournful lady."

The poet has stated his theme. It is a woman's tragedy. We find the same theme in Greece, of course, but the "Trojan Women" is more modern than the English epic. There is a rebellious streak in Euripides, but Hildeburh takes what fate brings her. Hers is a passive part. Her tragedy is that of the innocent and helpless, who move us even to tears by virtue of their weakness. And the poet for conclusion adds a picture of extraordinary pathos: "not without reason did the daughter of Hoc bewail the stroke of fate, after morning came, when she

under the clear sky could see the slaughter of her kinsmen, where she once had had the greatest joy in the world."

Here section 1 ends. In the next section another theme is used, and we hear no more of Hildeburh until we reach section 3, which reverts to the original theme. The second treatment of the theme of Hildeburh may with propriety be called a variation on the original. Or, perhaps, we may say that section 1 gives us a general statement of the theme, while section 3 gives us an elaboration of it. We are brought to the funeral pile of Hnæf. Again we begin with a brief statement of the situation. "The funeral pile was made, and precious gold was drawn from the hoard. Hnæf was ready to be placed on the pyre." Then comes a list, designed to heighten the pathos of the situation. "At that funeral pile were exposed to view the blood-stained sark, the swine-helmet all golden, the iron-hard boar-helmet, [the body of] every nobleman brought by wounds to death." And then, after this pathetic detail, the poet adds, "all had fallen in the slaughter." Thus, for a moment, he takes us behind and beyond the personal tragedy of Hildeburh, and gives us for her lament a tragic background indeed—piles of dead bodies, waiting to be burned, and a hint of the desperate fighting that had laid them there. But it is time to introduce the chief mourner. "The poor lady was lamenting and mourning with songs" on her dead son's shoulder. She now breaks off, in the midst of her lamentation, to bid "that her son be committed to the flames at Hnæf's funeral pile, that the bodies be laid on the fire and burned." Her orders are carried out. Her son's body is lifted and put on the pyre. The other bodies are likewise made ready for the flames. And now comes a descriptive passage worthy of Dante himself: "The greatest of death-fires curled to the clouds, roared before the barrow; heads melted, gashes and body-wounds burst, when the blood gushed forth. Fire, greediest of spirits, swallowed up all those of both peoples that battle had taken off; their glory was departed." If one wishes to be critical, he may say that here the poet has let the funeral run away with him; the grim and tremendous spectacle has pushed the chief mourner aside. But that would be hypercriticism.

We have seen that in sections 1 and 3 of the "Episode" Hildeburh is the central figure. Let us now turn to section 2. This section, like those that we have already examined, begins

with a brief statement of the situation. "Battle had taken all the thanes of Finn, except a few only, so that he could not, at that meeting-place, in any wise fight out the fight with Hengest nor expel the [Danish] remnant by battle with the king's thane [i. e., Hengest]." Evidently, after the death of Hnæf, Hengest had taken command of the Danes, and the fight between him and Finn had ended in a stalemate. We know also, though the poet does not tell us specifically, that Hengest and his Danes were in possession of Finn's hall. The situation is clear. Finn was unable to drive the Danes out of his hall; in order to get possession of it he was compelled to come to some sort of terms with them. The Danes, on their side, were in a desperate plight: they were in the enemy's country, penned up in a hall, with no possibility of escape. Negotiations therefore began; the initiative came from Finn. The English poet gives us a long account of the terms of peace; in fact, the bulk of section 2 is taken up with these terms. What were they? Six are mentioned:

- (a) The Danes are to be given half the hall for their exclusive use.
- (b) They are to share equally with the Frisians in the gifts which Finn distributes.
- (c) Finn swears, in his own behalf, to rule them "according to the judgement of wise men," i. e., according to law and custom.
- (d) Finn swears, in behalf of his followers, that no man there, by word or deed, shall break the treaty.
- (e) Finn promises, more specifically, that his men will never taunt the Danes with the fact that they are now following the slayer of Hnæf, their former lord.
- (f) Finn further promises that if any man of his *should* be guilty of trouble-making, the man will be put to death.

It will be noted that all these clauses represent concessions or promises on the part of Finn. Nothing is said about any obligations assumed by the Danes, and on the face of it, Hengest certainly drove a good bargain. It remains perfectly clear, however, that the Danes entered the service of Finn, and, since this involved their taking him as their lord, he might well have let it go at that. From v. 1095 it is apparent that the Danes swore allegiance to Finn, and it is hard to see what he could have gained by exacting anything more of them. They, on the other hand, obviously had to have special terms, if they were to consider peace at all. For by giving up their stronghold

and entering the service of Finn they were putting themselves in his power. They were compelled to rely, for their future safety, on Finn's promises, and they would have been foolish indeed had they not seen to it that these promises were so specific and so inclusive as to provide for every exigency.

Hengest and his Danes, then, took Finn for their new lord. Section 2 of the "Episode" is built up around that central fact. And the decision of Hengest to accept Finn's proposals was to be tragic in its consequences. Let us not fall into an easy error, however, and consider the tragedy to be that of Finn. The Frisian king made a mistake, it is true, when he offered terms to the Danes, a mistake which was to cost him his life. But Finn is not the center of interest for the poet; if anything, he is rather the villain of the piece. The poet actually goes out of his way to avoid attributing to him generosity or statesmanship: Finn is represented as entering into negotiations with Hengest out of dire military necessity—an explanation which one can hardly credit to the full, since the statement that he had lost all but a few of his thanes is obviously an exaggeration for the sake of increasing the prestige of Hengest and the little Danish band. Moreover, from the poet's account of the attitude of Hengest, and of Guðlaf and Oslaf, toward Finn, later on in the "Episode," one may conclude that the saga painted the Frisian king in colors not too favorable. No, the tragedy is not the tragedy of Finn. It is the tragedy of Hengest. For in Hengest we have a hero who enters the service of the slayer of his lord. His conduct can be defended, of course. But no one would say that it was the heroic thing to do. And yet Hengest is indubitably intended by the poet to be a heroic and sympathetic figure. One is reminded of Starkaðr, a hero far greater than Hengest but a hero who fell to depths lower than Hengest ever dreamed of, for he slew *his* lord, and that most foully. The parallel extends yet further; Starkaðr repented of his deed, and made such amends as he could; similarly, Hengest repented of his decision, and sought an opportunity to renew the struggle with Finn, as we shall see when we come to section 4 of the "Episode."

How are we to view Hengest's conduct? His is a man's tragedy, I think, parallel to the woman's tragedy of Hildeburh. Both are to be regarded as victims of fate and circumstance.

Had they defied life, instead of accepting its terms, we could have admired them. As it is, we are called on to pity them and to suffer with them. The poet asks us to sympathize with weakness, whether physical, as in the woman's case, or moral, as in the man's. And naturally we can do this the better, the less we are able to blame the characters. Here the case of Hildeburh is easy to handle. She is without guilt, and there is nothing she could well have done to avert the catastrophe. Our sympathy for her flows naturally and freely. But in the case of Hengest something more is needed. Hence the poet gives us an apology. The valor and competence of Hengest as a military leader are emphasized at the expense of Finn, who, according to the poet, lost nearly all his thanes(!) in the fight with Hengest and could not in any wise(!) fight out that fight. The Danes are referred to by the pathetic term *wealaf* 'miserable remnant.' Finn, not Hengest, is represented as taking the initiative in the negotiations. The highly favorable terms that Hengest succeeded in getting are given in great detail. The unsavory oath of allegiance to Finn is not directly mentioned, although of course it is implied in the second and third clauses of the treaty. And the unheroic submission of the Danes is directly apologized for in the significant words: þa him swa geþearfod wæs.

The apologetic strain appears even more prominently in section 4 of the "Episode," a section likewise devoted to Hengest. The section starts, as usual, with a brief statement of the situation. After peace had been made and the bodies of the dead disposed of, "the warriors, bereft of friends, went to explore the dwellings, to see the land of the Frisians, the houses and the chief town." In other words, the Danes, no longer cooped up in the hall, took advantage of their new freedom to wander about a little, as anyone would under the circumstances. Evidently they felt safe in so doing; they were under Finn's special protection, by the terms of the treaty. Indeed, when Finn took them into his service, he could have done so only in the hope and expectation that they would eventually become loyal retainers. He doubtless relied largely on the fact that their action in swearing allegiance to him would cut them off completely from their countrymen in Denmark, who would with justice repudiate them as traitors. And since it was quite in accordance with Germanic custom for warriors, and particularly

for outlaws, to take service with a foreign prince, Finn's solution had in it possibilities, at least, of permanence. But let us return to our text. The English poet is primarily interested, not in the Danes but in their leader. After telling us briefly, then, how the Danes in general amused themselves during that dreary winter, he devotes himself to Hengest in particular. "Hengest thereupon lived on with Finn, the bloody winter through, most miserably: he longed for home, wondered whether he could drive his ring-prowed ship upon the waters." The poet pictures Hengest as sunk in gloom and despondency. His low spirits take the pathetic form of homesickness. So great is his misery that he even toys with the desperate scheme of fleeing to his ship and putting to sea, braving the storms of winter. Anything to get away, that seems to have been his feeling, though of course he did not yield to it. The English poet gives us no explanation for Hengest's state of mind. Doubtless he felt that no explanation was needed. And surely even the modern reader, defective as his knowledge of the story is, cannot fail to see that Hengest's conscience was troubling him. Remorse was at the bottom of his homesickness. He had not been true to his lord unto death, as a good retainer ought to be. He had saved his skin by entering the service of his lord's slayer. The thought of that gnawed at his heart continually, and made him miserable. And with him in his misery we are called on to sympathize. For the English poet puts the emphasis, not on Hengest's sin, but on his repentance.

The poet continues by giving us a little picture of that sea that Hengest almost dared to brave: "The sea tossed with the storm, fought with the wind; winter locked the waves with icy bonds." This passage serves several purposes. It gives to nature an aspect gloomy enough, stormy enough, to match the gloom and storm in Hengest's heart. As the sea fought with the wind, so Hengest fought with his conscience; winter locked the waves with icy bonds, and winter chained Hengest to Finn with chains that he could not break. But over and above such parallelism of mood we catch the apologetic note. How could Hengest take any kind of action while winter lasted? He was utterly in the power of Finn, without hope or means of escape. And his helplessness adds to the apology a dash of pathos to reinforce the pathos of his homesickness.

Yet at last there comes a change. "The new year came to the dwelling-places." Not our new year, needless to say, but spring. "Then was the winter gone, fair was the bosom of the earth." And with the spring comes a new mood to Hengest. He is no longer sunk in gloom and despondency. His mind is active, alert, vigilant; he is resolved and full of hope. What are his plans? First of all, to leave Finn's court and take ship, presumably to seek reinforcements in Denmark. And yet this voyage was only a means, not an end; his mind dwelt on the return to Frisia, the fight, the taking of vengeance. The poet is careful to disabuse us of the idea that homesickness troubled Hengest still. He was planning to go home, it is true, but only in order to get more men to fight Finn with. He was now in heroic mood; his skin-saving days were over.

How does the English poet put all this? He says, "The exile, the stranger was eager to leave the court: he thought not so much of the voyage as of revenge—whether he might bring on a battle, in which we would be mindful of the children of the Euts, since he did not prevent his king when he laid in his lap Hunlafing, the battle-gleamer, the best of bills." Here, at last, the poet gives us a glimpse into the depths of the tragedy of Hengest. Not only was Hengest bound to avenge his lord by virtue of that obligation of fidelity which he shared with the other members of Hnæf's comitatus, not only did this obligation lie on him, the leader of the Danish remnant, more heavily than on the other survivors, but he had formally and publicly been chosen as the avenger of the dead king. We may legitimately picture the scene to which the poet here alludes: the dying Hnæf with all solemnity gives his own sword to Hengest, the famous sword Hunlafing, which in the battle then still raging against the Frisians had done good service. Hnæf lays his sword in Hengest's lap, and Hengest does not prevent him from so doing, i. e., Hengest accepts the gift and with it accepts the task of avenging the death of its former owner. And yet, what has Hengest done? Instead of avenging the death of Hnæf, he has sworn allegiance to Hnæf's slayer. No wonder he was sunk in gloom throughout that miserable winter. No wonder, when spring came, he was eager to escape from that court in which every object, every face reminded him continually of his dishonor, though none dared speak. The English poet

brings out clearly and definitely the relation between Hengest's state of mind and the gift of the sword. *Inasmuch* as he had accepted the king's gift, he was eager to bring on a battle in which he would be mindful of the children of the Euts, i. e., in which he would make a great slaughter of the Frisians. The acceptance of the sword Hunlafing had laid upon him an obligation which could be wiped out only in blood.

Did Hengest avenge the death of Hnæf? Did he bring on the battle that he was so eager to bring on? Or was fate against him to the end, as it had been against him from the beginning? We do not know; the poet tells us nothing. In the last section of the "Episode" we learn that the Danes slew Finn and carried Hildeburh off to Denmark, but if Hengest played any part in these events we are given no indication of it; the Danish leaders mentioned are Guðlaf and Oslaf. The silence of the English poet may mean much or little; certainly we must be extremely cautious in drawing inferences from it. We may be able to get at the matter, however, by choosing another angle of approach. We have already observed the parallelism between Hildeburh and Hengest, and we have concluded that this is not accidental, but deliberate on the part of the poet. Now the tragedy of Hildeburh, as we have it in the sections devoted to her, is unrelieved. She is a victim of circumstance, from beginning to end. If the poet conceived of Hengest's career as something comparable to Hildeburh's in tragedy and in pathetic appeal, then fate must have remained adverse to Hengest throughout. This reasoning leads us to the conclusion that Hengest, however eager, was unable to fulfil his obligation of taking vengeance. Moreover, the last passage of section 4 of the "Episode" points in the same direction. We are told, not that Hengest left Finn's court, but that he was *eager* to leave; not that he brought on a battle, but that he had it in *mind* to bring one on; not that he took vengeance, but that he *thought* of taking it. This is surely apologetic material: the poet lays so much stress on his hero's good intentions that we must suspect the hero of failing to carry them out. And on the assumption that our suspicions are correct we can explain very satisfactorily the artistic intention of the poet in our passage. What effect was he striving for? Let us see.

In studying the "Finn Episode" we must continually bear in mind that the poet is not telling a story, except incidentally. His audience knew the story already, and when it served his artistic purpose he would without hesitation leave it to the audience to fill in the gaps and make the connections. Here he was striving for pathos, and the device for securing it which he used is that called dramatic irony. Let us assume that the audience knew the story, knew that Hengest never left Finn's court, never brought on a battle, never took vengeance. Now the artist tells how Hengest longed to leave court, how he worked out schemes for bringing on a battle, how he thought continually of the vengeance he was to take. What reaction would the audience have, when they heard the tale? The pathos of it would move them. They would grieve for Hengest, struggling in the net of circumstance, unaware, poor man, that his struggles were doomed to fruitlessness. The picture of Hildeburh at the funeral pile, watching as the bodies of her son and her brother are fed to the flames, is a tragic picture. No less tragic is the picture of Hengest at the court of Finn, struggling in vain to retrieve his lost honor.

Section 5, the concluding section of the "Episode," begins, as we have learned to expect, with a short introductory statement. We learn at once that Finn eventually was killed in battle with the Danes, in his own hall. The adverb *eft* 'afterwards' of v. 1146 definitely indicates that there was a gap between the events described in the first four sections and the final wreaking of vengeance. This gap was filled (1) by the escape of Guðlaf and Oslaf and their voyage home to Denmark; (2) by their report to their fellow-Danes; (3) by the agitation among the Danes; (4) by the voyage to Frisia of a Danish fleet, and its attack on Finn at his hall. The relevant passage reads thus: "When Guðlaf and Oslaf, after the voyage, had told of the grim attack, had told of their sorrows, and had blamed him [Finn] for a deal of woes, the restless spirit [of the Danes] could not restrain itself in the breast." We know already that Hengest had been eager to escape from the court of Finn. From the passage just quoted, however, it is clear that not Hengest, but Guðlaf and Oslaf, actually effected an escape, and took the voyage home which (according to v. 1139) Hengest had in contemplation. Their purpose in making their escape

is likewise evident. As soon as they got home to Denmark they made a full report of what had been happening in Frisia, and roused their fellow-countrymen to a fury of indignation against Finn: as our poet puts it, "the restless spirit could not restrain itself in the breast." An expeditionary force was at once prepared and sent out, and Finn's hall was attacked. "Then," says the poet, "the hall was reddened with the life-blood of the foes [of the Danes], also Finn was slain, the king was slain in the midst of his bodyguard, and the queen was taken." The Danes now plundered the hall, and returned to Denmark, carrying Hildeburh with them. And thus ends the "Episode."

What was the poet's purpose in composing this the final section of his "Episode?" His theme here is the fall of Finn, but the tale is obviously not told for its own sake, else we should surely have it in a more elaborated form. The poet is now giving us, I think, a resolution of the tragic complications which he developed so elaborately and so skilfully in the preceding sections. The tragedy of Hengest is resolved by the death of Finn; vengeance is taken, at last. And Finn's death likewise makes it possible to bring Hildeburh home to her own people, whose sympathy and understanding may be counted on to resolve her tragedy for her, in the course of time. The death of Finn, then, softens the tragic situation for both Hildeburh and Hengest, and knits together the two tragic themes into a final theme still tragic but not without elements of satisfaction and tranquillity. The feud is over and the Danes are triumphant and at peace. The Frisians are crushed, it is true, but this only pleases the poet and his hearers. We might call section 5, then, the happy ending. But such a name would lay too much stress on the brighter side of things. The tragic note is not on the surface at the end, but it is there. The figure of Hildeburh remains pitiful enough—does she not lose her husband and her royal dignity?—while Hengest casts a pathetic shadow over the vengeance scene by virtue of his very absence. He, the avenger duly appointed, must yield place to others, and though the death of Finn frees him from an intolerable situation, the memory of his weakness and his passivity will rankle in his heart to his dying day. The "Episode" thus comes to an end too grey for any other happiness than that of purgation by pity and terror.

What became of the Danish *wealaf*? Did the survivors of calamity flee with Guðlaf and Oslaf, leaving Hengest alone in the hands of Finn? And where was Hengest when Finn's hall was stormed by the avenging Danes? These are important questions, but the English poet gives us no answer to them. In my *Literary History of Hamlet*¹¹ I have offered a reconstruction of the course of events, but it is frankly conjectural and in any case I need not repeat it here. The important thing to note is the poet's choice of material. He mentions only what he wants to emphasize. As I have said before, he is not telling a story; he is using a story that everybody knows, and in his use of it he is governed, not by the necessity of giving information, but by the necessity of dwelling on those elements of the tale which are important for his artistic purpose. He wishes to make an ending as happy as may be. Hence he tells of the vengeance wreaked on Finn, and of the restoration of Hildeburh to her own people. His failure to speak of Hengest may lead us to conclude that the less said of him the better. Whether that be true or not, we may, I think, with profit follow the poet's example in the matter.

One question more remains, and that perhaps the most important question of all. Why does the poet treat as he does this great story of the English heroic age? To us it seems strange indeed that he should devote himself entirely to a poetical exposition of the *state of mind* of two characters in a story of adventure and heroic achievement. Yet his interest obviously lies, not in the deeds of heroism, but in the *feelings* of Hengest and Hildeburh. And he seems to be attracted to these particular characters of the story because they were victims, because they had suffered, not because of their heroism. Hengest, indeed, was more than a sufferer; he was a sinner. The poet warms to him, I take it, because he repents of his sin, even though he is unable to make amends. The difference in tone and in interest between the "Episode" and the "Fragment" is remarkable. The Englishman who composed the "Fragment" was not much interested in sin and suffering, so far as we can see. He was interested in the story, and particularly in the details of the battle itself. What he gives us is primarily a narrative; what the *Beowulf* poet gives us is a lamentation (for Hildeburh)

¹¹ I, 22 f.

and an apology (for Hengest). The two themes are treated separately at first, but are finally brought together. And the poet is justified in using them thus, since for him they make the same emotional appeal: he sees both characters in terms of tragedy, or, better, in terms of pathos. His heart goes out to them both in their misery and despair and false hope and loneliness and final resignation. Here, if I mistake not, are the marks of a Christian poet. Here we have the old pagan stories seen anew in terms of the religion of the man of sorrows. The Christianity of our poet is deep enough and broad enough to enable him to reinterpret material which one might think would be proof against all attempts to Christianize it. Yet the poet does no violence to his story. He simply seizes upon elements which were already there and emphasizes them. There were things in the Finn saga which a humane and Christian spirit could play upon and set in a new light; the grim simplicity and the stark ruthlessness of the heroic code of honor could be enriched and softened with Christian pity and forgiveness, and new alloys could be got from the old metal. Nor is the English poet's treatment of the story of Finn fundamentally different from his treatment of the story of Beowulf. Bjarki, the Scandian counterpart of the hero of the English epic, was a warrior of the old pagan type, fierce, ruthless, terrible in peace and war. One recalls how in his last battle he hurls defiance into the teeth of Óðinn himself, and dies as hard as he has lived. Contrast the Beowulf of the English poet: gentle, courteous, dignified, a queller of monsters rather than of men, a hero whose first adventure is an errand of mercy and pity, and whose last deed is the sacrifice of his own life for the lives of his people.¹²

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¹² Naturally this study owes much to the work of various predecessors. I may mention in particular the monumental labors of Chambers and Klaeber and the illuminating studies of Ayres and Lawrence.

LONGFELLOW'S GOLDEN LEGEND AND THE ARMER HEINRICH THEME IN MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

I

Even a most cursory examination of Hauptmann's *Der arme Heinrich* convinces the reader who is familiar with Longfellow's *Golden Legend* that these two poems have in common a number of features which do not occur, and are not even suggested, in Hartmann von der Aue's *Der arme Heinrich*, the ultimate source of both.

It will be the purpose of this study to call attention to such similarities and to attempt to decide whether Longfellow has, directly or indirectly, made a contribution to the poetic treatment of the *Armer Heinrich* theme in German literature, not only by way of influencing Hauptmann's drama and other literary versions of this subject, but by also being the cause of the revival of interest in this theme in Germany.

Considering first the *dramatis personae* it is found that, whereas Hartmann designates only "der Herre Heinrich von der Ouwe" by a definite name and refers to the other characters by using such generic appellations as "diu maget," "der meiger," "diu meigerin," etc., the *Golden Legend* and Hauptmann's drama give these characters specific names, one pair of which must be noticed. Der meiger is called by Longfellow *Gottlieb*, by Hauptmann, *Pachter Gottfried*. There can be little doubt that Longfellow's name is the ultimate source for Hauptmann's *Gottfried*, for in Elsie von Hohenhausen's translation of the *Golden Legend*¹ the peasant father is called *Gottfried*. Further the American introduces into his poem, as a bosom friend of the afflicted prince, *Walter of the Vogelweid*. In Hauptmann's drama Hartmann von der Aue plays an important rôle as Heinrich's bosom friend. In the *Golden Legend* we meet a *Parish Priest*, in the drama a *Pater Benedikt*. No word of the poet-friend or of a parish priest occurs in the Middle High German epic.

¹ Leipzig, 1880; 2. Auflage, 1882. See Dr. Hermann Tardel, *Der arme Heinrich in der neueren Dichtung*, Berlin, 1905, p. 48, note 1.

It is but natural that both modern poets in reshaping the mediaeval material for a modern audience should have changed somewhat the character of the girl, the heroine, but here again similarities which seem scarcely accidental exist between the two versions of the story. In the mediaeval poem the girl is at first said to be "ein kint von ahte iären."² The prince lives on the peasant's estate three years before he discloses the nature of his disease and makes known its only possible cure.³ Hence the girl is eleven years old when she and the prince depart for Salerno. Even at this tender age she speaks of marrying in two or three years.⁴ Granting that the time which elapses between the departure for Salerno and her marriage with the prince is two or three years, even that age (thirteen or fourteen years) is too young for the "heroine" of a modern drama to enter into the state of matrimony. Hence it is almost necessary for the modern poets to make their girl older. It may therefore be considered inevitable that both poets should happen upon approximately the same age for their girl character. Longfellow makes his Elsie fifteen,⁵ Hauptmann's Ottegebe is fourteen,⁶ a "bleichsüchtiges Kind an der Grenze der Jungfräulichkeit."⁷ But let us become better acquainted with this maiden, Elsie-Ottegebe. Ursula says of her daughter:⁸

She is a strange and wayward child,
That Elsie of ours.

My heart is heavy with fear and doubt

She is so strange,—so strange,—so strange!

Gottfried, the father, calls Ottegebe⁹

ein seltsamliches Ding, das ihrer Mutter
und mir schlaflose Nächte schon gemacht.

² l. 301 f.

³ l. 351.

⁴ l. 748 f.

⁵ *The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, in six volumes, The Riverside Press, Cambridge; Vol. 5, p. 172.

⁶ Tardel, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁷ *Gerhart Hauptmann, Gesammelte Werke, Volksausgabe in sechs Bänden*, Berlin, 1912, 3. Bd., p. 268.

⁸ Longfellow, p. 171 f.

⁹ Hauptmann, p. 276.

Ursula says further of her daughter:⁸

And there has been of late such a change!
And thoughts and fancies weird and wild
Seem of late to have taken hold
Of her heart, that was once so docile and mild!

Brigitte, the mother, echoes about her daughter:¹⁰

Verwandelt ist das Kind:
ein seltsam fremder Geist hält sie gefangen
auch hier, daheim bei uns, in letzter Zeit—
doch nicht der fromme Geist, von dem Ihr redet.

Finally, it is interesting to note the following motive introduced, at least in part, in portraying the character of Elsie-Ottegebe. Elsie *praying*:¹¹

My Redeemer and my Lord,
That hereafter I may meet thee,
Watching, waiting, hoping, yearning,
With my lamp well trimmed and burning!

Irmingard (to Elsie):¹²

Here we stand as the Virgins Seven,
For our celestial bridegroom yearning;
Our hearts as lamps forever burning,
With steady and unwavering flame.

Benedikt (to Brigitte about Ottegebe):¹³

und harrt, der klugen Jungfrau gleich, ein Lämpchen
mit Oel sorgsam gefüllt stets zur Hand,
seiner als wie der Zu-Kunft unsres Heilands!

Ottegebe (to Benedikt):¹⁴

das rief das sagte: Wachtet, Euer Herr
ist nahe! — Da bekränzt ich meine Lampe,
tät Oel darein und ging hinaus
und harrte auf der Schwelle vor der Tür.

¹⁰ p. 287.

¹¹ p. 172.

¹² p. 252.

¹³ p. 333.

¹⁴ p. 338.

The traits of character just indicated and the reference to the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins do not go back to Hartmann's poem.

In reshaping the character of the prince the modern authors have diverged from the portrayal found in Hartmann's work and, in some incidences, the degree and the direction of the divergence is the same. They both cast around the prince a sort of mystic, Faustian air by making of him a man who wakes o' nights, reads much in books, and probes into mystic learning. Hubert (to Walter):¹⁵

In the Round Tower, night after night,
He sat and bleared his eyes with books;
Until one morning we found him there
Stretched on the floor, as if in a swoon
He had fallen from his chair.

Gottfried (to Hartmann):¹⁶

Er liest in Büchern,
wacht viel des Nachts und schläft dafür am Tage.

Henry himself tells Lucifer:¹⁷

I am a reader of your books,
A lover of that mystic lore!

Even the doctors of Salern
Send me back word they can discern
No cure for a malady like this,
Save one which in its nature is
Impossible, and cannot bel 18

Heinrich himself tells Benedikt:¹⁹

Ausserdem:
aus Zeiten, wo ich noch in Büchern irrte
und meiner Seele stumme Weisheit nicht
besass, wie jetzt, weiss ich, dass jene Kur
nichts ist als Narretei.

¹⁵ p. 155.

¹⁶ p. 297.

¹⁷ p. 148.

¹⁸ p. 146.

¹⁹ p. 326.

Both moderns add banishment, in which the Church or officials of the Church play a great rôle, to the afflictions of the diseased prince. Both dwell at length on the ceremonies attendant upon the formality of banishment and often describe these rites very similarly. The last-named feature may, of course, be due to a common source employed by both poets to inform themselves concerning the rites practiced in expelling a leper.²⁰ But why did both happen to emphasize this phase of the prince's misfortune, a feature which, in all probability, never once entered into Hartmann's mind?

In the drama it is said of the prince:²¹

Unser Herr
 ist kaiserlich
 und also bei Sankt Petri Schlüsselhalter
 nicht wohl beliebt.

Heinich himself says:²²

Sie sagen wohl:
 weil ich im Bann sei, als des Kaisers Freund,
 so wäre Gottes Fluch auf mich gefallen?

In Longfellow it is most evident that the dignitaries of the Church had taken pleasure in banishing Henry.²³

The priests came flocking in, like rooks,
 With all their croziers and their crooks,
 in Saint Rochus
 They made him stand, and wait his doom;
 And, as if he were condemned to the tomb,
 Began to mutter their hocus-pocus.
 First, the Mass for the Dead they chanted,
 Then three times laid upon his head
 A shovelful of churchyard clay,
 Saying to him, as he stood undaunted,
 "This is the sign that thou art dead.
 So in thy heart be penitent!"
 And forth from the chapel door he went
 Into disgrace and banishment,

²⁰ Cf. e. g. *Hartmann von der Aue, Der arme Heinrich*, hersg. und erklärt durch die Brüder Grimm, Berlin, 1815. Cf. also Wilhelm Wackernagels edition of the same poem, Basel, 1855; second edition, 1885.

²¹ p. 270 f.

²² p. 301.

²³ p. 155 f.

Clothed in a cloak of hodden gray,
 And bearing a wallet and a bell,
 Whose sound should be a perpetual knell
 To keep all travellers away.

Then was the family tomb unsealed,
 And broken helmet, sword and shield,
 Buried together, in common wreck,
 As is the custom, when the last
 Of any princely house has passed,
 And thrice, as with a trumpet-blast,
 A herald shouted down the stair
 The words of warning and despair,—
 "O Hoheneck! O Hoheneck!"

Compare with this Hauptmann's lines, where Hartmann says to Heinrich:²⁴

denn ein Verscholl'ner ist er fast.
 und sein Vetter Conrad
 tut, als stünde Heinrichs Name längst
 im Kreuzgang, neben Grave Wilhelms Gruft.

And then Ottacker to Heinrich:²⁵

Verschollen seid Ihr.—Euch erklärt für tot
 die Welt und Euer Blutsverwandter, Conrad.

Brigitte to Benedikt:²⁶

Es heisst sogar,
 sie haben ihn zu Konstanz mit Gepränge
 bereits in seiner Väter Gruft versenkt.

Further along in the drama occurs the stage-direction:²⁷

Hernach tritt, scheu wie ein Verbrecher, unkenntlich in Kapuze und Kutte
 verummt, Heinrich ein. Er trägt Klapper, Stange und Beutelchen daran.

Heinrich himself says:²⁸

Ich bin begraben
 zu Konstanz, jüngst, in meiner Väter Gruft.

 Ist es Traum,

²⁴ p. 298.

²⁵ p. 314.

²⁶ p. 332.

²⁷ p. 341.

²⁸ p. 345.

dass ich begraben ward mit Glockenläuten
und selbst dabei stund, als sie meinen Sarg
mit den Insignien der Fürstenmacht
vorübertrugen?

Both Longfellow and Hauptmann report that the prince had been desirous of marrying a lady of high degree before he was stricken with disease. There is absolutely no suggestion of this in the mediaeval poem. In the *Golden Legend* a nun narrates:²⁹

I am the lady Irmingard,
Born of a noble race and name!

He (her father) exclaimed: "No wandering bard
Shall win thy hand, O Irmingard!
For which Prince Henry of Hoheneck
By messenger and letter sues."
Gently, but firmly, I replied:
"Henry of Hoheneck I discard!
Never the hand of Irmingard
Shall lie in his as the hand of a bride!"

In the drama the prince's unfortunate love affair is referred to thus:³⁰

Brigitte:

mich wundert's, dass er jetzt um diese Zeit—
weil es doch hiess, er werde Hochzeit halten!—
zu uns kommt, in das weltentlegene Moos.

Gottfried:

Die Grossen haben sonderbare Launen.
Was geht's uns an!

Then Ottegebe relates a story, supposedly merely a fiction without reference to the present situation, but which by *in-nuendo* refers to the prince.³¹

Es war einmal ein Graf,
Mutter!—Der tanzte mit des Kaisers Tochter
im Saal.—Sie war schon heimlich seine Braut!—
Da rief des Kaisers Leibarzt ihn ganz leise

²⁹ p. 247 f.

³⁰ p. 270.

³¹ p. 290 f.

bei Namen und hiess den Jüngling mit ihm gehen:
 selbender stiegen sie in ein Gezimmer.—
 Dort sprach der Arzt . . . sprach: Zeig' mir deine Hand!
 Und als der Herr und Fürst die Hand ihm zeigte,
 wies ihm der Meister ein vertieftes Mal
 in seiner weissen Haut und sagte—das:
 Herr, deine schwerste Stunde ist gekommen,
 sei standhaft! Du bist unrein.

Brigitte interrupts:

Was für ein Märchen
 erzählst du? Träumst du?

Finally, Hartmann reveals what Heinrich's love has been.
 Speaking of the Kaiser he says to Heinrich:³²

Hat seine Mildigkeit Euch nicht
 den schönsten Lohn erlesen allbereits:
 ein staufisch Fürstenkind? Nun sagt mir doch:
 warum, in Gottesnamen, flüchtet Ihr
 in diese Oedenei . . . ?

Unlike the Heinrich of the mediaeval poem Longfellow's
 Henry and Hauptmann's Heinrich rescue Elsie-Ottegebe from
 the operating room of the physician in Salerno by the use of
 main force. Longfellow: (stage-direction)³³

Struggles at the door, but cannot open it.

Henry:

Unbar the door!

It shall not be too late!

They burst the door open and rush in.

Hauptmann:³⁴

Heinrich:

Ich sah nichts! Einer Türe Splitter flogen,
 Blut troff von meinen beiden Fäusten, und
 ich schritt—mir schien es—mitten durch die Wand!—

It is natural enough that all forms of the poem end with a
 wedding, but it is worthy of note that in the final scene of the

³² p. 304.

³³ p. 281.

³⁴ p. 364.

Legend and of the drama alone the pealing of bells is heard. In the *Legend* they are curfew bells; in the drama wedding bells. Stage-direction:³⁵

The sound of bells heard in the distance.

Henry:

We are alone. The wedding guests
Ride down the hill,
.
.
. the bells of Geisenheim
Ring out the curfew of the sun.

Stage-direction:³⁶

Pater Benedikt wechselt die Ringe. Dabei beginnen die Glocken leise zu tönen.

The introduction of the priest episode into the story is something entirely new. This we find in both Longfellow and Hauptmann. Not only do both poets give the priest a rôle in the drama, but each poem contains a scene laid in a church. Longfellow:³⁷

A Village Church.

Hauptmann:³⁸

Das Innere der Waldkapelle Benedikts.

Each of these church scenes takes place subsequent to the girl's expression of her resolution to die for the prince. Each scene opens with the priest and a woman alone in the church. In Hauptmann they are Brigitte and Benedikt. In Longfellow the woman is not necessarily the mother of the girl. She is referred to only as *Woman*, but the following lines spoken by Lucifer, who enters after the priest's exit and assumes the rôle of the latter in order to hear the prince's confession, indicate that the mother has also been to the priest.³⁹

³⁵ p. 286 ff.
³⁶ p. 373.
³⁷ p. 178.
³⁸ p. 331.
³⁹ p. 183.

In the twilight he will not see
The difference between his priest and me!
In the same net was the mother caught!

In each drama the prince enters later into this scene after the departure of the woman.⁴⁰ In the *Golden Legend* Henry comes to the priest to obtain the Church's permission to accept Elsie's offer to sacrifice herself for him and to restore him to health by doing so. This permission the confessor, in reality Lucifer, grants.⁴¹

So the Church sanctions the sacrifice:

.
Accept the comfort and the calm
She (Elsie) offers, as a gift divine;
Let her fall down and anoint thy feet
With the ointment costly and most sweet
Of her young blood, and thou shalt live.

In Hauptmann's drama *Heinrich* comes likewise seeking restoration to health. He desires to live.⁴²

Ich will genesen, Mönch! ich will genesen!
Mach' mich gesund!
.
und ich bin nichts—doch ich will leben!! leben!!!

He asks for Ottegebe:⁴³

Wo ist das Kind?

She appears⁴⁴ and leads Heinrich off to Salerno. Hence he receives as a result of the visit to the chapel, not the permission to accept the means of cure, but the very means of the cure itself.

Another minor detail of similarity, the fact that Longfellow refers to scourging as a penance to be done by a monk⁴⁵ and that Hauptmann speaks of Ottegebe herself wielding the scourge,⁴⁶ might easily have found its way independently into

⁴⁰ Longfellow, p. 183; Hauptmann, p. 341.

⁴¹ p. 186.

⁴² p. 344.

⁴³ p. 346 ff.

⁴⁴ p. 350.

⁴⁵ p. 245.

⁴⁶ p. 335.

any two poems dealing with mediaeval monastic life. The resemblance of thought expressed by the priests in the lines

Nor, without thy (God's) support, can bear
The burden of so great a care.⁴⁷

and

Und ich, von meiner Sünden Ueberlast
sonst fast erdrückt, kann mich vom Boden heben.⁴⁸

can without doubt be attributed to the universality of priestly parlance.

The doctor at Salerno is in Hartmann's poem nothing other than a learned surgeon and a good man. The doctor in the two poems under consideration is either an out-and-out devil (in Longfellow he is actually Lucifer himself)⁴⁹ or is suspiciously near to being one. Witness the following from the German drama.

Benedikt to Ottegebe:⁵⁰

Und der Salerner Arzt:
er steht vielleicht mit Satanas im Bunde
und ist ein Seelenfänger, ein Pirat
des Höllenmeeres!

Benedikt to Ottegebe:⁵¹

Der Arzt, der Meister, mag ein Teufel sein.

The fact has already been mentioned that each author gives to his hero a poet-companion. Although Longfellow's Walter of the Vogelweid had attempted to elope with Irmgard⁵² at the very time Henry was suing for her hand, the prince and the poet are nevertheless still bosom friends. Prince Henry and Walter meet:⁵³

Walter, *embracing him*.

Come closer, closer to my side!

⁴⁷ p. 178.

⁴⁸ p. 287

⁴⁹ p. 278 ff.

⁵⁰ p. 341.

⁵¹ p. 367.

⁵² p. 247 f.

⁵³ p. 195.

In the very last scene of the *Legend* the Prince tells Elsie:⁵⁴

But then another hand than thine
Was gently held and clasped in mine;
Another head upon my breast
Was laid, as thine is now, at rest.

.
A minstrel's, not a maiden's hand, etc.

Heinrich's poet-companion, Hartmann von der Aue, had also formerly figured in the prince's love affairs, but probably only in the rôle of a messenger.

Heinrich:⁵⁵

Wähntest du vielleicht,
du solltest neue Lied' von mir empfangen
und etwa meiner Sehnsucht Bote sein
zu einer reinen Frauen? Nein, mein Freund!
Fürwahr, ich litt von Minne oftmals Not!
Nun aber nicht mehr!

Hauptmann's prince and his poet-friend also embrace upon meeting.⁵⁶

Heinrich und Hartmann liegen einander stumm in den Armen.
.
Erneuen die Umarmung.

In Hartmann's poem there is no poet-friend introduced and no embracing.

If it should be objected that any or all of the above-mentioned similarities are merely coincidences attendant upon the treatment of the same subject, the like argument can hardly be advanced against the following point which is entirely extraneous to the original *Armer Heinrich* story.

In Longfellow's work the scene after the introduction of the prince's poet-friend into the play is between Prince Henry, seated, with a book, reading, and Elsie.⁵⁷ The prince reads the story of the Monk Felix, who strolled one morning into a forest.

He heard
The sudden singing of a bird,
A snow-white bird, that from a cloud

⁵⁴ p. 289.

⁵⁵ p. 301.

⁵⁶ p. 361.

⁵⁷ p. 158 ff.

Dropped down,

.
 He listened to the song,
 And hardly breathed or stirred,
 Until he saw, as in a vision,
 The land Elysian,
 And in the heavenly city heard
 Angelic feet
 Fall on the golden flagging of the street.

.
 Listening all the time
 To the melodious singing
 Of a beautiful white bird,
 Until I heard
 The bells of the convent ringing
 Noon from their noisy towers.

What had seemed to Felix moments only had been in reality a hundred years.⁵⁸

In the German drama Heinrich's poet-friend, Hartmann, immediately after his introduction into the scene, tells of the difficulties he had had to surmount in order to reach Gottfried's house in the wintry weather. In the course of the narration he turns "Freundlich gegen Ottegebe"⁵⁹ and relates:

Und sind die kleinen Vöglein auch verstummt:
 es zwitschert unterm Rosseshuf der Schnee
 bei jedem Tritt, so dass ich lausch' und spitze
 und horch und mich versinn und fast verliere,
 wie Petrus Forschgrund, als ihm das Vöglein
 des Paradieses sang und tausend Jahre
 gleich einer flüchtigen Stunde ihm verrannen. ⁶⁰

In all the versions of the poem the girl is young. Hartmann's composition gives the reader no reason to believe that her father is an old man. In Hauptmann's drama Ottegebe is the only daughter,⁶¹ and apparently the only child, of her parents, since no others appear or are referred to in the play. In Longfellow's

⁵⁸ p. 161 f.

⁵⁹ p. 294.

⁶⁰ It is of course possible that both poets happened upon this episode independently when reading in Mailath's *Alteutsche Gedichte* to acquaint themselves with the original *Armer Heinrich* poem which is also contained in that volume. Cf. Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, p. 442 and Tardel, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶¹ p. 295.

poem she is the oldest child. It therefore seems peculiar that both poems make the father of this child a very old man, in the English poem, "an old man of threescore";⁶² in the drama, Heinrich calls him "Graukopf und Dummkopf."⁶³

Longfellow's legend contains in it a reference to the sacrificial rites connected with the erection of a new edifice and made to purchase from the evil spirits or the manes of the place the successful completion of the structure. He relates that the devil promised to let a bridge stand on condition "that the first living thing which crossed should be surrendered into his hand," and that: "At length, the bridge being completed, the Abbot threw across a loaf of bread, which a hungry dog sprang after," and thus became the sacrifice.⁶⁴ The same fundamental thought of the "corner-stone" sacrifice seems to be the basis for the following lines of Hauptmann.

Denk: ich sei nichts wert:⁶⁵
kein Baustein deines blutgetünchten Bau's!
Auf blutigem Grunde und mit blutigem Mörtel
gebunden, dehnt er qualvoll sich empor
voll grausigen Lebens, das mich schaudern macht.

It is also worth noting in passing that near the end of each piece reference is made to an article of ornament dating from the time of Charlemagne. The prince says to Elsie:⁶⁶

Many years ago
Those same soft bells at eventide
Rang in the ears of Charlemagne,
. seated by Fastrada's side
.
Thou knowest the story of her ring.

Hartmann to Benedikt:⁶⁷

und holt
das schwere, goldene Messgeschirr herauf
aus Kaiser Karlos Zeit.

⁶² p. 286.
⁶³ p. 323.
⁶⁴ p. 258.
⁶⁵ p. 342.
⁶⁶ p. 287.
⁶⁷ p. 356.

And finally, to leave no point neglected, the occurrence of references to bees on the farm where the prince lived in exile must not be disregarded. In the English poem when the forester comes towards Gottlieb's house⁶⁸ "he stops at the beehives, now he sees

The garden gate:—he is going past!
Can he be afraid of the bees?

In the German poem there are numerous and constant references to the presence of bees on Gottfried's farm.—"Frischen Honig,⁶⁹ Ganz frischen Honig,"⁶⁹

Die Mutter trifft sie, wie sie Waben schneidet
und selbst den Imker macht am Bienenstock,⁶⁹ etc., etc.

It is quite possible that any one of these similarities might have found its way independently and accidentally into these two treatments of the same theme. It is even possible that several, or all, of them could have arisen thus, but the abundance of such points creates the suspicion of a more than accidental relation between the compositions. The nature of these similarities seems also to argue in favor of a like conclusion. Not only general features, which it might be contended arise naturally out of a modernization of a mediaeval subject, such as the changing of the age of the girl, the making a somewhat morbid and pathological character of her, the shifting of emphasis in the portrayal of the character of the prince, the invention of his excommunication by the Church, the mention of his previous, unsuccessful love affair, his rescuing of the girl from the doctor at Salerno by the use of physical force, the imputing of a diabolical nature to the surgeon—not only such rather general traits are found in both poems, but such similarities of detail in matters entirely extraneous to the general subject, e. g., the name of the father of the girl and the reference to the wandering monk, Felix—Peter Forschgrund, and his white bird. All these considerations taken together make one believe that the German author had consulted the work of his American predecessor before undertaking his own composition and convince one that the *Golden Legend* has left its marks on *Der arme Heinrich. Eine deutsche Sage in fünf Akten.*

⁶⁸ p. 283.

⁶⁹ pp. 269, 277, 283.

II

In his study *Der arme Heinrich in der neueren Dichtung*, Dr. Hermann Tardel finds that Longfellow was the first modern to make the theme of Hartmann's epic the object of an independent poetic treatment.⁷⁰ Tardel continues: "Erst in den siebziger Jahren beginnt in Deutschland das Interesse an dem Stoff wieder zu erwachen, in den neunziger Jahren mehrten sich die Umdichtungen und im Jahre 1902 erreicht die Entwicklung des Stoffes in Gerhart Hauptmanns Drama ihren Höhepunkt." Nevertheless, Dr. Tardel seems to have noticed no possible connection between the American composition and the revival of interest in this theme in Germany. Although he continually points out the similarities existing between different German versions of the story in modern poetic composition, he seems to have practically disregarded Longfellow in making these comparisons, for only once does he call attention to a resemblance in detail in Hauptmann's drama to a point in the *Golden Legend*, that being the Gottfried-Gottlieb parallel mentioned above.⁷¹ It is interesting to notice that Tardel, as well as other German critics, calls attention to elements in Hauptmann's play which resemble points found in earlier German treatments of the theme, and evidently fails to know, or to realize, that these "new" elements in both Hauptmann and in his German models had been introduced into the development of the theme by Longfellow, from which source both Hauptmann and his German sources have apparently drawn.

The *Golden Legend* appeared in 1851. Before this date there had appeared in Germany, aside from mere mechanical versions of Hartmann's epic, such as translations and adaptations, but one other treatment of the *Armer Heinrich* theme, viz., a one-act *Schauspiel* by K. Ludwig Kannengiesser in 1836. This play was probably not widely circulated and entirely without influence on subsequent treatments of the theme, for Tardel, in making his study, was unable to obtain access to a copy of it.⁷² But between the date of the publication of the first translation

⁷⁰ Berlin, 1905, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Supra.*, p. 173, and Tardel, p. 48.

⁷² Tardel, p. 7.

of Longfellow's *Golden Legend* in Germany in 1860⁷³ and the date of Hauptmann's drama Tardel discovers seven dramas, one novel, and one opera text based on the *Armer Heinrich* theme.

The very first year after the publication of the Keck translation witnessed the appearance of an anonymous drama *Der arme Heinrich*,⁷⁴ whose authoress Tardel calls "eine von ihrem Talent bescheiden denkende Dichterin, die wie Longfellow den Sieg der reinen, frommen, opferfreudigen Liebe über die Macht der Selbstsucht versinnbildlichen will." This drama is, of course, inaccessible in this country, but from Tardel we learn that the girl in the drama is "ein blasses Blümchen von sechzehn Lenzen" (Longfellow's Elsie is fifteen), and that a Pater Aegidius appears as a character in the play. (Cf. Longfellow's *Parish Priest*.)

The four-act drama, *Heinrich von der Aue*, of the Austrian poet, Josef Weilen, dates from 1874. Tardel calls the *Klausner Hieronymus* of this drama "bereits eine Vorstufe zu Hauptmanns Pater Benedikt,"⁷⁵ and forgets to suggest that Hieronymus might himself well be *eine Nachstufe* to Longfellow's *Parish Priest*. This probability is strengthened when we notice that the peasant's daughter, "diu maget" of Hartmann's poem, the *Elsie* of Longfellow's legend, becomes in Weilen's drama *Elsbeth*.

The third German drama on this subject, Betty Fischer's *Verwundet und geheilt*, dates from the year after the appearance of the second German translation of the *Golden Legend*, i. e., from 1881.⁷⁶ Here we get much nearer to Longfellow. The peasant's daughter, who is not more than eleven years old in the mediaeval epic, (the fifteen year old Elsie of the American poem) is here "die als fünfzehnjähriges Kind gedachte Else."⁷⁷

⁷³ Tardel, p. 14, gives as the first translation that of Karl Heinrich Keck (1860) "Eine andere Uebertragung rührt von Elsie Freifrau von Hohenhausen (2. Aufl. 1882) her." The Keck translation bears on its title page: "Wien, 1859." The first edition of the Hohenhausen translation was : Leipzig, 1880. See A. I. Roehm, *Bibliographie u. Kritik d. deutschen Uebersetzungen aus der amer. Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1910. Roehm also cites a third translation by P. Kaegler, Hendelsche Bibl., Halle.

⁷⁴ Tardel, p. 21 f.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

I quote further from Tardel: "Heinrich glaubt sich von Hildegard, der Tochter des Herzogs Berthold von Zähringen, betrogen, weil diese nach einem Heinrich nur sehr zögernd gegebenen Jawort ihre Liebe plötzlich seinem Freunde und Dienstmannen Gottfried zuwendet." Does this not come dangerously close to the situation in the *Golden Legend*⁷⁸ where "the Lady Irmingard, born of a noble race and name," tells how she had spurned Prince Henry's suit, defied her father, and actually attempted to elope with "Walter of the Vogelweid," whom we have met in Longfellow's poem as a bosom friend of Prince Henry?⁷⁹

In the *Armer Heinrich* of Hans Pöhl (1887) there seems to be less of the Longfellow element. The ceremonies of the out-casting of the leper do resemble those depicted by the American poet, but, as I have already suggested in the case of the Hauptmann-Longfellow resemblance in this respect, the similarity may be, and probably is, due to a common source. Tardel says concerning the description of these rites in Pöhl's play:⁸⁰ "Dann wird Heinrich unter Verwertung mittelalterlicher Sitten, wie sie in den Einleitungen Grimms und Wackernagels geschildert sind, aus der menschlichen Gemeinschaft ausgestossen, indem er, mit einem schwarzen Schleier umhüllt, vom Priester wie ein Toter mit Erde bestreut und aus der Burg ausgewiesen wird."⁸¹

From Tardel's description of Carl Schulte's *Armer Heinrich* (1894)⁸² I can detect no point of similarity between this work and the *Golden Legend*. The same is true of the drama of the like name by Hermann Hanau (1900), except for the unimportant fact that in Hanau's drama there is a scene in a church where a priest hears confession and the additional fact that the peasant's daughter bears the name Gertrud,⁸³ the name of Elsie's sister in the *Golden Legend*.⁸⁴

In her *Armer Heinrich* drama (1900) Käthe Becker introduces the Gräfin Mechtild who rejects Heinrich when she

⁷⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 179 f.

⁷⁹ Longfellow, pp. 154 ff. and pp. 192 ff., and *supra*, p. 183 f.

⁸⁰ Tardel, p. 25.

⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 177 f.

⁸² Tardel, p. 26 f.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸⁴ Longfellow, p. 174.

learns from her former lover, "dem Grafen Walter," the nature of the prince's ailment. This reminds us again, at least mildly, of the rejection by Irmingard of Prince Henry's suit because of her love for the poet Walter.⁸⁵

In James Grun's libretto to Max Pfitzner's music drama *Der arme Heinrich* (1895), there are two elements which are found also, fully or in part, in Grun's predecessor, Longfellow, and in his follower, Hauptmann. In the music drama, as in the two other poems, the prince violently breaks open the door of the physician's house in Salerno and rescues the girl. In the music drama the physician is a monk and the scene where the sacrifice is to take place is in a convent. Thus do we see again, although in modified form, the priest and chapel episodes which are not found in Hartmann, but which are present in so many post-Longfellow versions of the story.

Evidently following the lead of Tardel, both Adolf Bartels and Ernst Lemke⁸⁶ make mention of Hauptmann's borrowings from Ricarda Huch's prose treatment of the *Armer Heinrich* theme in her collection of stories called *Fra Celeste* (1899). But, like Tardel, both these critics fail to see that some of the very features which they point out as common to the Hauptmann and Huch compositions are really inventions of Longfellow and are first found in the *Golden Legend*. Bartels, speaking of Huch's novelle, remarks: "Da ist die Waldkapelle des Bruders Benedikt, der bei Ricarda Huch Bruder Baldrian heisst,"⁸⁷ but says no word of Longfellow. In Ricarda Huch's story Heinrich is on his way to marry the proud and beautiful Irminreich when he sees the leper from whom he contracts his disease.⁸⁸ In the *Golden Legend* the beautiful Lady Irmingard spurns Prince Henry's suit. In Hartmann's epic there is no suggestion of a *Geliebte* or a *Braut*, *Irmingard* or *Irminreich*.

Thus have we reviewed all the compositions dealing with the *Armer Heinrich* theme which lie between the *Golden Legend* and Hauptmann's drama, and have found that most of them exhibit traits which suggest a familiarity on the part of their authors with Longfellow's poem. In the case of Hauptmann's

⁸⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 183f.

⁸⁶ *Gerhart Hauptmann*, Hannover-Leipzig, 1923; p. 284.

⁸⁷ *Gerhart Hauptmann*, 2. vermehrte Auflage, Berlin, 1906; p. 254.

⁸⁸ Tardel, p. 38.

work we have pointed out the similarities at greater length. We are willing to agree with the German critics that Hauptmann's *Armer Heinrich* indicates that its author has borrowed from his German predecessors. It is, however, our purpose to supplement their statements by asserting that some of these features which Hauptmann is supposed to have borrowed from his fellow countrymen have their ultimate source in Longfellow's poem. It makes little difference whether they or he went directly to the *Golden Legend*, but judging from the great number of echoes from Longfellow contained in his drama, we are inclined to conclude that Hauptmann was directly familiar with at least a translation of the American poem. With Adolf Bartels we agree when he says in a similar connection:⁹⁹ "Man täuscht sich ja manchmal, wenn man einzelne Züge bei einem Dichter von einem anderen ableitet; so viele, wie hier gemeinschaftlich sind, beweisen aber wohl eine bestimmte Abhängigkeit."

In conclusion we would call attention once more to the following facts. Before the publication of the first translation of Longfellow's poem in Germany independent poetic treatment of Hartmann's epic theme was practically non-existent. The treatments of this subject become fairly frequent immediately after the appearance of the said translation. Practically all treatments exhibit features which were not found in Hartmann's poem, but which owe their origin to Longfellow. All of this induces us to venture the opinion that Longfellow's *Golden Legend* was not without its influence in the revival of interest in the *Armer Heinrich* theme in modern German literature.

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⁹⁹ Op. cit., p. 255.

FALSTAFF REDUX

"He had a remarkably strong instinct of preservation; but then, many soldiers have that."—WILLIAM MCFEE, *Command*, p. 5.

"... if there weren't hundreds of Falstoffs in every generation, to be ensamples of his ungodly life, he'd be as dead as a doornail tomorrow. . . . A mere Elizabethan scribbler comes along with a gift of expression and an observant eye, lifts the bloated old tippler clean out of life, and swims down the ages, as the greatest genius the world has ever seen. Whereas, surely . . . it's Falstaff is the genius, and William Shakespeare merely a talented reporter."

—WALTER DE LA MARE, *The Return*, p. 209.

So much has been written about Falstaff that at first sight it might seem that more is not needed. In recent criticism, however, certain tendencies have arisen which make it probable that his real significance may be obscured. Current interest in the sources of dramatic literature and in Elizabethan stagecraft has aroused discussion. Again, the appearance of a new science, psychology, has caused students to view afresh Shakespeare and his contemporaries. As a result, the essential Falstaff has tended to disappear amid side issues.

The principle which needs to be reasserted is that we must test his truth to life. Such a test is an old one for the estimation of characters in literature; it has been applied consciously from the time of Ben Jonson; despite the difference in methods of approach and of execution, it underlies the critical opinions of Dryden, Johnson, Wordsworth. It is applied to *The Owl and the Nightingale*, the *Canterbury Tales*, the *Second Shepherd's Play*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, the women in the romances of Scott. Though not the sole basis for judgment, it is central for our appreciation of certain elements in art. We do not misconceive the purpose of art or confuse genres if in viewing Falstaff, we have much the same attitude as in gazing at a portrait by Franz Hals or Rembrandt; the work is significant from the standpoint not only of execution, but also of its power to represent life.

A few years ago Professor Stoll¹ presented a keen analysis of Falstaff, in which he assembled an admirable array of in-

¹ E. E. Stoll, "Falstaff," *Mod. Phil.*, xii, 197-240.

His discussion deals chiefly with the character in *I* and *II*, *Henry IV*. My approach in this essay differs much from that of Morgann, whose famous essay,

formation, and made many incontrovertible observations on Elizabethan and continental drama. Nevertheless, it has seemed to me that he belittled Falstaff's truth to life and thereby erred in calling him a coward. The source of the difficulty appears to lie in the excessive emphasis which Mr. Stoll bestowed on the tradition of the literary *miles gloriosus*. In part, Falstaff may belong to that universal type, but he impresses soldiers as behaving like one of them. He cannot with fairness be considered primarily a literary or dramatic type, whatever his relations on that side may be, since he is too individual for the term to do him justice. In fact, he realizes what is interesting in life to the degree that he should be called neither a type nor an individual, but in Poe's phrase, a "creation," so triumphantly does he envisage existence.²

"The Dramatic Character of Falstaff," was first published in 1777. I do not wish to deny truth to numerous other points of view that have been offered. F. S. Boas, *Shakspeare and his Predecessors*, New York, 1904, p. 273, introduces his penetrating exposition of Falstaff by an observation that he "presents a baffling problem which even the most subtle analysis can only in part hope to solve." Hence the value of analyses like that of L. L. Schücking, who relates Falstaff in part to a clown, *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays*, London, 1922, pp. 32 ff. The behavior of Falstaff at times reflects that of Dericke in "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth" (Shakespeare's Library, vol. V, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1875). Cf. J. Monaghan, "Falstaff and his Forebears," *Stud. in Phil.*, (U. N. Car.), XVIII, 353-361, who finds Tarleton, Dericke, and Oldcastle the source of Falstaff. The range of the literary type was broad enough to include Pyrgopolinices of Plautus, Thraso of Terence, the Dionysus-Hercules of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, and Heracles in *Alcestitis*. Cf. also J. W. Spargo, "An Interpretation of Falstaff," *Washington University Studies*, IX, 119 ff., who believes that Falstaff is not a *miles gloriosus* but derives from the tradition of the Vice in moralities. He finds five respects wherein Falstaff does not follow the tradition of the *miles*: he is not invariably and indubitably a coward, he possesses the playwright's sympathy, he is not stupid, he does not brag in order to enhance his reputation, he is not a victim of the woman whom he admires. The relations to Oldcastle have been studied especially by A. Ainger, *Lectures and Essays*, London, 1905, two vols., I, "Sir John Falstaff," pp. 119-155; W. Baeske, "Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare," *Palaestra*, vol. L, listing the motifs in Falstaff with their derivation, pp. 92 ff.

² Stoll, *op. cit.*, p. 213, "Much has been said about Falstaff being done from the life . . . but except in tone or in tricks of manner it is now evident that this could not be. The whole man or the tithe of him never trod the earth." Dr. Stoll explains how certain comic characters have been said to have arisen from warfare of Italy and Spain, Roman wars in Asia and Africa, and so on; but he

In explaining what kind of military figure our "bombard of sack" represents, I wish not to offend people unfamiliar with the army in active service or those who retain romantic conceptions of military personnel. My account does not depict numerous types of soldiers and does not accuse many who do fall within its scope, because they had reasons for thinking and

objects to such views, because, "Nothing is so rare as realism—nothing in itself so hateful to the public or by name so dear." If I understand "realism" as here used, I acknowledge that some forms of realism are repugnant to the audience, but not that all forms are; not only because of his wit and humor, but because he is done to the life does Falstaff please. Furthermore, it is only a blinking of the facts of military life to state, p. 214, "The braggart captain, indeed, is incompatible with himself. Cowards do not go to war, or, if driven to it, do not become captains. Or if even that is not beyond the compass of chance and their own contriving, the clever ones do not boast so extravagantly as to rob themselves of credence and engage themselves in undertakings which it is farthest from their wish to fulfill." Much of the last phrasing begs the general question and also assumes that the conduct of Falstaff is covered by the principle. The generalities are largely *a priori*. Another theory of the unreality of Falstaff cannot be maintained: B. E. Warner, *English History in Shakespeare's Plays*, New York, 1916, p. 129, "Falstaff is not a real character, but a personification of the reckless youth of the Prince, under which lay ripening the splendid potency of his manhood."

Cf. the opinion of the author of *Pan Michael*, Sienkiewicz, *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, ed. I. Gollancz, Oxford, 1916, "Why I was Able to Read Shakespeare," p. 533: "It is a fact that Falstaff had in Poland a brother named Zagloba, and that both have brothers living at this hour in England and in Poland." Cf. Julia G. Wales, "Character and Action in Shakespeare: a Consideration of Some Skeptical Views," *Univ. Wis. Studies* (in English), III, Madison, 1923, p. 122, "To have come across such people in real life is all that is necessary to make them credible," uttered particularly in comment upon Mr. Stoll's views of Falstaff.

The realistic treatment of contemporary life in London (or England) has been long recognized in the drama: complaints against it are voiced in Chettle's *Kind-Harte's Dream* (1592), and Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601); notorious examples are Jonson's *Alchemist* (1610), and *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). Some of the enjoyment of Jonson's audience arises from the realization that the unpleasant conditions of London are brilliantly portrayed and reveal the same side of human development that is shown in the comedies of Plautus. The aggressive, self-asserting captains of the New Comedy and the Latin adaptations of it illustrate an apparently permanent principle and practice for military life. Such an attitude is still valuable for self-defense in the supposedly peaceful social relations of the army. The trait of cowardice is not fixed so much as susceptibility to feminine allurements. The literary convention arose from real life and has retained vitality for times when soldiers become common objects of social consideration.

behaving as they did. A broad outline, moreover, cannot fit each case precisely.

The type of soldier to compare with Falstaff is distinctly interested in the physical aspects of his universe, partly, it is true, because of the effect of military authority, aims, and tradition. He has a keen appetite for the comforts of the body,³ food, liquor, women, evasion of certain tasks. Though he may rejoice in word-battles and practical jokes, he has a theory that "ideas" may easily hinder a man from content of body, bring him more work, and impose on him troublesome responsibilities. Ambition in that direction he lacks; he may indeed be promoted to a sergeancy, but often, should that position interfere with his freedom, he would disregard orders and calmly face punishment and even demotion. Likewise, he may prefer remaining a sergeant for life to becoming a commissioned officer; he will thus have more liberty and may through reenlistments draw more pay. He adopts or acquires a philosophical indifference toward the ethics of military discipline, because many times he finds their application thoroughly unreasonable.⁴ He is skeptical of numerous ideals; for he sees people who preach but do not practice. Many persons, he knows, are not eager to encounter danger, so that he questions the actual quality of non-combatants who urge views of patriotic duties. He is himself callous as to any necessity for him deliberately to seek death. He may be afraid of it, but if necessary, he will face it; he may be afraid of it and run away from it when he should not; he may be fearless, and yet act prudently for himself and others; or else he may be audacious and confident of escaping it by skill, effrontery, a notion about his destiny. If the mood strike him he may even boldly seek death. And yet all the while, without being quite a "military free-thinker" in any of the cases, he may be cynical of many ideals, including that of "honor."

Nevertheless, he has practical ideals, though some of them may seem not worthy of admiration.⁵ One of these is likely

³ Cf. Steele's remarks on the soldier's irresponsibility and attention to the physical, *Spectator*, No. 152.

⁴ Cf. a typical instance narrated by G. Duhamel, *Civilization*, New York, 1919 (trans. E. S. Brooks). pp. 200ff.

⁵ "The third engineer was under the illusion that only the virtuous have ideals. He was wrong." Wm. McFee, *Command*, p. 22, 1922.

to be swearing, another, consolation from women. Both are theoretically limited by modern army regulations, but they have been approved by immemorial tradition on the ground that "they test the real fighter," and they are still practiced where opportunity arises. Nearly all of these constituents can form an organic part of a man's personality, and yet experience demonstrates that he can accomplish a reasonable amount of military assignments. Often enough such a man will not run away from death when duty calls upon him to face it. But he would think that man a simpleton who should choose or court death when a little prudence would enable him to avoid it without being derelict in duty.⁶

With such a soldier in mind, we can return to Shakspeare, and nominate Falstaff, Pistol,⁷ and Bardolph for the general class. Two of them are cowards; the third, Falstaff, is not. A coward runs away when duty calls upon him to stick.

It is easy to compare Falstaff with modern soldiers. I think that scarcely any one would deny that military types tend to persist, so that in this respect we need have no scruples about

⁶ I ought to repeat that this is not the only sort of soldier; there are better as well as worse. The same qualification therefore ought to be applied to my sketch as to the recent novel, *Three Soldiers*, and an earlier work, Kuprin's *The Duel*. On the other hand, not all soldiers are like Hotspur or Fauconbridge, two of Shakspeare's heroes bold in both word and action, and the latter jocose in such a soliloquy as that on "Commodity," or like Iago, Cassius, Othello, Uncle Toby, Corporal Trim, or Tellheim. Captain MacMorris is a brave *miles gloriosus*. G. P. Krapp (though finding Falstaff a coward) in "Parolles," insists similarly on making distinctions among soldiers, cowards, braggarts, *Shaksperian Studies*, ed. B. Mathews and A. H. Thorndike, New York, 1916, p. 292. He is right also, I believe, in his general view, p. 299, that Parolles is "merely an echo of the braggart soldier of the Renaissance comedy."

⁷ Pistol's resemblance to the Herod of miracle plays has been observed, and his imitation of the "King Cambyses vein" is obvious. The character of Mycetes may be added from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine I*, as a species of comic link between Cambyses of high station and the swaggerer of low comedy. Pistol has been compared also with Centurio in Rojas' *Celestina*, (Klein, VIII, 916), possibly known to Shakspeare in manuscript because James Mabbe translated it and it was entered on the Stationers' Registers in 1598; also with Soldado, in Fernandez' farce of that name, Klein, IX, 979 (A. W. Ward, *Eng. Dramat. Lit.*, vol. II, London, 1899), p. 124. (I. Gollancz, note, p. 265, his edition, *Complete Work of W. Shakspeare*, vol. IV, New York, [A. L. Burt].)

The characters of Mycetes, Cosroe, and Tamburlaine, as differentiated by Marlowe, reveal their several capacities in ascending scale.

the difference between 1596 and 1918. A reader familiar with *I* and *II*, *Henry IV*, knows that Falstaff repeatedly orders liquor, criticizing it with gusto, and that he yields to the attractions of women. He is ambitious for ease of body, but does not seek the way to it by such a course of life as we suspect either Prince John of Lancaster or the Chief Justice would recommend. He performs his military assignments with a competence equal to that, we may suppose, of many a "sufficient" Elizabethan officer, recruiting soldiers and enjoying perquisites as he does so. He lives off other folk as much as he can, for he is an impoverished gentleman and a parasite. During intervals of peace, since in his day a soldier and gentleman had no special "honorable" means of raising money and thereby securing shelter, board, servant, and comfort, Falstaff resorts to devices not wholly praiseworthy, such as getting assistance from Prince Hal, beguiling the Hostess with promises of raising her to his rank through marriage, and committing highway robbery.⁸ And helikes the company of people, men and women. His views of life are practical, largely selfish, and in a sense, discreet.

II

If we continue to examine the character of Falstaff, I believe that even after he has been adapted to the stage we shall find him lifelike. His wit and humor have been constantly lauded from the day when superlative wits gathered at the Mermaid.⁹ Men other than playwrights had "wit" in that stirring age. A gentleman could appear then at the tavern and show himself a man of parts at the same time that he was revealing earlier days of perhaps greater innocence and loftier studies than those engaging him at the moment. He could satirize Euphuism,

⁸ Cf. the conduct of Guzman d'Alfarache and his captain in Mateo Aleman's picaresque novel. The conduct of Falstaff has been defended on these grounds: "The fact is that a truly comic character cannot degenerate morally, for he moves completely outside the kingdom of moral law And altogether, as Charles Lamb quite properly argued, the application of the moral judgment to comic heroes is merely a way of blinding ourselves to their real significance." *London Times Literary Supplement*, August 30, 1923, "The Incubus of Falstaff."

⁹ I prefer not to follow the suggestion of K. Elze, *William Shakespeare*, London, 1888, trans. L. D. Schmitz, pp. 150-52, that Falstaff is derived from Chettle and his behavior at the Mermaid.

quote Scripture, adopt the fashionable cant of melancholy, resent the less fashionable cant of tailors and weavers, recall a phrase or two of Julius Caesar's.¹⁰

Upon such a gentleman, named Sir John Falstaff, two other gentlemen, Prince Hal and Poins, who is a soldier, and an impecunious younger son, decide to play a practical joke, because they know the good humor of their victim and his brilliant capacity to entertain the company by lying. We must approach the matter cautiously in order to get the proper conception at the start. In general, Dr. Stoll insists rightly that we should get a correct impression of characters as they first appear in a drama, that the duty of any author is to give us a fair exposition of them. But in regard to Falstaff, he does not discuss the earliest impressions which Shakspeare affords, and moreover, he pushes the principle too far, in fact, into the ground. "The first impression," he says (pp. 201-3), "is designedly the dominant one." This statement is true for Shakspeare if by "dominant" is meant "guiding." It must be so limited, because it ought not to warrant a corollary pronouncement in entirety (p. 202): Shakespeare's plays "involve processes which unfold primarily not character but events; and at the end, except for casual conversions, his characters are pretty much what they were at the beginning." This denies growth in a dramatic character,¹¹ a phenomenon for which Shakspeare has been dis-

¹⁰ Falstaff's addiction to the conqueror's message recalls the use of it made by the thrasonical Spanish parasite, Armado, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. A further point of resemblance lies in their each having a saucy page as a foil; cf. Lyly's *Endymion*. Armado on the other hand suggests by his near-duel with Costard the encounter of Viola with Sir Andrew Aguecheek; in his affection for Jaquenetta he resembles Touchstone in his espousal of Audrey. The military side of Armado Shakspeare does not develop.

¹¹ I can illustrate the difficulty briefly from *Macbeth*. The play opens amid gloom to show that evil of some sort is about to affect a character, Macbeth. This is the first guiding impression. Next follows a scene wherein we learn what must be—as far as it goes—a true impression of Macbeth—but only as far as it goes. Three persons—an experienced soldier representing the lower ranks of society, Ross, a nobleman, and King Duncan—all agree in finding Macbeth a splendid soldier and gentleman. Here we have a broad, correct, initial impression of the character. If then we combine in our minds the effects of the first two scenes, we surmise that Macbeth, a good man, is soon to cope with evil. We cannot tell which way he will go, whether he will yield to evil or defy it, but we are able to anticipate suspense, provided that Macbeth does not

tinguished. Or course, to find growth in some of Shakspeare's characters is not to state that all or a majority of characters grow, in either real life or the drama.

Furthermore, as to Falstaff, even if he does not grow, he cannot be explained perforce as easily as Dr. Stoll would have us infer from his first principle of "dominant impression." The initial impression should not be considered complete or final. Held as complete, it forces Dr. Stoll to brush aside too readily information that we get about Falstaff later in *I* and *II*, *Henry IV*, and to explain too many inconsistencies with his "larger unity." Another sort of "larger unity," however, might require a less embarrassing array of irrelevancies. The limit to that principle of "dominant impression" will appear if one considers other characters in Shakspeare. Some of these, as the play unfolds its action, reveal characteristics that are not necessarily to be predicted from first impressions or from an attribution of growth. Another side or aspect may appear and prove to be more or less of a permanent nature, and yet not inconsistent with what has preceded.¹² Several instances may be cited of different sorts. The Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, though she loves Juliet and has helped her, latterly deserts her and thereby increases her isolation; her action is at once inconsistent, probable, and not predictable. Contrariwise, Emilia in *Othello* rises to a testimonial of loyalty to Desdemona, and so assists in her husband's downfall.¹³ Technique of narrative

reach a decision quickly and stick to it. He may weigh various courses to pursue, and consider his duty. What does happen, we see as the action progresses parallel with the unfolding of Macbeth's character, under new influences. Thus the play reveals a development of Macbeth's character, exposing new sides which become prominent and partly eclipse those formerly conspicuous. At the end Macbeth is not the same as at the beginning; he has "grown" in the particular sense here of deterioration. Other characters in Shakspeare can be similarly dealt with, provided that we admit growth of characters in real life.

¹² This point has bearing also on other characters discussed by Stoll. "Criminals in Shakespeare and in Science," *Mod. Phil.*, X, 55-80. I hope to return elsewhere to a discussion of marked differences among Elizabethan villains, such as Edmund, to whom I refer in footnote 13.

¹³ Enobarbus, the blunt, shrewd soldier, fails and deserts Antony as we could not foretell, and then seeks death—quite naturally for his type. In *Lear*, Oswald allows himself to be buffeted by Kent, and yet later dies bravely in behalf of his mistress and her orders. And Edmund, the handsome villain, also alters his aim at the end. Cf. also our first impression of Claudio in *Much Ado about Nothing*.

therefore does not require that the introduction of a character to an audience should entail as complete a revelation as Dr. Stoll's first principle would lead us to assume. Such, in part, is the case with Falstaff.

Beginning our study of the introduction of Falstaff earlier than Dr. Stoll does and bearing in mind these reservations as to the principles of dramatic exposition, we find him (I, I, ii) talking with the Prince of Wales in one of the latter's apartments.¹⁴ As the two converse, they palpably enjoy each other's banter. When we have made sure of their sociability, their wit and humor, their rough, jovial way of living, we meet Poins, who announces the project of a night robbery on the road from Canterbury to London. This first section of the scene presumably gives a guiding impression of Falstaff. We get no intimation that he is a coward, as we might if such were to be the "dominant" impression.¹⁵ Rather we find him a humorist in both our modern sense and in the old. We see the contrast between the physiques of the two leaders, and realize that Sir John is a man who enjoys satisfactions of the flesh.

Noting the atmosphere of night-habits, we are reminded that highway men are apt to recollect such topics as sheriff's men, prison, and hanging. We scent a whiff of humor in the notion that the huge hulk of Diana's forester, Falstaff, takes purses by moonlight. While the quick-witted pair exchange jokes, they rehearse the successive stages of night robbery—seizure of the gold, dissolute outlay for liquor and worse, and in case certain buff jerkins appear, swinging on the gallows. Falstaff expresses his inclination toward sinecures proposed to

¹⁴ A. C. Bradley, as everybody knows, has made admirable observations in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1909, pp. 247 ff., "The Rejection of Falstaff." Criticism of Falstaff has in fact had a long and estimable ancestry, in which many of the items I take up have been considered. I have tried, however, to study the case independently, and have been opposed to the view that Falstaff is not of life, but is a character of a midsummer night's dream (H. T. Baker, "The Two Falstaffs," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV, 470 ff.) or "a character almost purely humorous and therefore no subject for moral judgments" (Bradley, p. 260). Cf. W. Archer, *The Old Drama and the New*, Boston, 1923, p. 15, for a steadier view of Falstaff. H. N. Hudson, *Shakespeare's Characters*, Boston, 1898, is delightful on Falstaff, but goes too far when he says (vol. II, p. 94), "There is no touch of poetry in Falstaff."

¹⁵ Cf. the order which Shakspeare adopted to reveal Parolles in *All's Well* (discussed in section IV of this article).

him in jest. He is, we perceive, a penniless gentleman,¹⁶ who prefers a roisterous life to that of gilded butterflies; and knowing Elizabethan England, we recall that both those soldiers who are gentlemen and those who are not often feel enforced to take to the road in times of peace, since no provision is then made for their support. What ensues in the next section of the scene should not erase from our minds these initial effects.

In the second section after Falstaff has gone, Shakspeare does not assure us that he is a coward. Instead, a plan is devised to play a practical joke on him.¹⁷ The Prince, who is not to be taken as a coward, remarks, "I doubt they will be too hard for us." Poins, replying, makes a distinction that Dr. Stoll brushes aside, though it need not have been made if Falstaff were a coward: "For two of them, I know them to be as true-bred cowards as ever turned back; and for the third [meaning Falstaff], if he fight longer than he sees reason, I'll forswear arms." This qualification in regard to Falstaff is afterward borne out by his behaviour at the robbery, when Poins and the Prince attack in the dark, and it is also consistent with the later asseverations of the knight as to honor and discretion. Poins goes on to say, not that "the virtue of this jest will be" an exposure of cowardice on Falstaff's part, but rather "the incomprehensible lies that this same fat rogue will tell us when we meet at supper; how thirty, at least, he fought with; what wards, what blows, what extremities he endured; and in the reproof of this lies the jest."¹⁸ Thus the game, and the audience good-humoredly looks forward to those lies and their refutation. Such is the guiding impression of Sir John.¹⁹

¹⁶ J. Thümmel in his eulogy of Falstaff, "Der Miles Gloriosus bei Shakspeare." Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft, *Jahrbuch*, XIII, emphasized the prosperity of the classical *miles* in contrast with the poverty of the Elizabethan character, p. 6. A wider study of the type has been made by H. Graf, *Der Miles Gloriosus im englischen Drama*, Rostock, 1897. Cf. also J. B. Moore, *The Comic and the Realistic in English Drama*, Chicago, 1925, pp. 117-19, 141-43; he emphasizes Falstaff's power over words in *M. W. W.*, pp. 202-3.

¹⁷ Elizabethans liked to think of a good prince and monarch as indulging in pranks, and they enjoyed one which King Hal invented for an excellent soldier and an equally excellent captain in *Henry V.*

¹⁸ Stoll, pp. 202-3, adds "cowardly conduct" unnecessarily. It may not be amiss to remark that Mirabeau is reported to have declared that "a soldier who fights in the ranks does not require half so much courage as a foot-pad."

¹⁹ The third section of the scene is used to remove uncomfortable impressions that the audience may have received about the Prince and his morals.

In the scene of the robbery we discover at once that an additional joke has been played upon Falstaff—the removal of his horse. Then arrives the setter's report that eight or ten are in a party carrying King's money. Instantly Falstaff, with his wits as well as humor about him, suggests that the tables may be turned on them: "Zounds, will they not rob us?" The appropriate witticism in retort would be Hal's, "What, a coward, Sir John Paunch?" The reply is direct. "Indeed, I am not John of Gaunt, your grandfather, but yet no coward, Hal." The Prince can then reply ironically, "Well, we leave that to the proof." In a moment, the Prince and Poins having left for their post presumably, the travelers arrive and Falstaff leads the attack, shouting characteristically, "They hate us youth . . . Young men must live." Shortly, the thieves are represented as approaching Hal and Poins, and Falstaff accuses them, especially the latter, of being "arrant cowards." An assault is promptly made upon the robbers, all of whom run away, Falstaff after a blow or two. As we expected, he is thus distinguished from the rest. Quickly realizing the flight of his comrades, and also the metal of his opponents, he rushes off roaring. The Prince gives us the clue wherewith to judge the event which we have witnessed:

The thieves are scatter'd and possess'd with fear
So strongly that they dare not meet each other;
Each takes his fellow for an officer.

In the darkness there is no reason why they should not fear that the attack was by sheriff's men, since they cannot see for identification and do not expect an onslaught from their partners, Hal and Poins. An officer was to be feared by a practical mind, because guilt would be clear from the goods in possession, and the penalty would be hanging. The Prince, having made that clear, does not speak of Falstaff's cowardice, but expresses a fellow feeling:

Falstaff sweats to death,
And lards the lean earth as he walks along;
Were't not for laughing, I should pity him.

There is no implication that Falstaff was bound by duty to stay. Discretion would point to flight, and fear at such a moment

would not be cowardice.²⁰ Hence the next stage is to hear the lies, not the dishonor of Falstaff.

The scene in the Boar's Head tavern opens upon Hal and Poins. The former, full of merriment, has been acquiring the vocabulary of the drawers and getting acquainted with their characteristics. He proposes therefore a game in which he and Poins can plague one of the waiters till Falstaff arrives. Upon learning that he has come, Hal pauses to recall Hotspur's manner of thought. Kindling at a suggestion which occurs to him, he cries, "Call in Falstaff: I'll play Percy and that damned brawn shall play Dame Mortimer." The temper of the Prince is friendly, and shows no exultation at the prospect of accusing Falstaff of cowardice. He wishes to improvise a playlet.

This sport is postponed for a time, however, because Falstaff attempts to rally the Prince and Poins—for presumably he does not mean his accusation: "A plague of all cowards, I say, and a vengeance too. . . . Give me a cup of sack, boy."²¹ Time passes before he makes the accusation direct, and he meanwhile pretends that he is going to forsake his active life, one of virtue as befits a soldier, and live quietly like an old woman or a pious weaver. Manhood, he has learned, has gone from the world. When he has aroused a response, he gives his account of the double robbery. In declaring how tremendous were the odds against him, he proves as incredible as Poins and Hal had hoped. As questions and comments follow, he develops the account once more, progressively increasing the number of antagonists. By the time the conspirators challenge his inaccuracy, he reveals that he is aware of a game being played upon him, and lies so preposterously as to indicate to all that he is doing so consciously.²² Perhaps he winks at the audience. Possibly the previous backwardness of his opponents in heeding his attack has made him suspect a trick; at any rate he knows the sort of people with whom he is dealing, and intends to master the situation. In a moment, the crisis comes; he refuses to

²⁰ Commynes might justly have numbered him among the few people in his life who knew the right time to flee.

²¹ I suggest an answer here to a question offered by John Bailey, "A Note on Falstaff," p. 152, *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, ed. I. Gollancz, Oxford, 1916.

²² Cf. A. H. Tolman's explanations, "Why did Shakespeare Create Falstaff?", *P.M.L.A.*, XXXIV, 6-7.

furnish reasons on compulsion. After an interchange of invective with the Prince, who attempts to brand him "sanguine coward," he grants Hal an opportunity to tell his side and to ask triumphantly what trick Falstaff now has to get him out of the hole. (Here again appears the essential purpose of the whole joke, to hear Falstaff's explanations.) He counters with the theory of instinct and leonine behavior in the presence of royal blood. "I was a coward on instinct," he cries. He rejoices that the money is safe and that they can now enjoy the night; he proposes a play extempore.

After a passage over a rumor of war and Falstaff's instinct, the two proceed to forestall twice an interview between the Prince and his father, the King. Their sport is interrupted by news that the sheriff has reached the tavern in pursuit of highwaymen. Nevertheless, Falstaff is eager to go on with the play. Though a thief in danger of arrest and the gallows, he is not timid, and only by pressure can either he or Hal be brought to cease their game.²³ Twitted about his instinct, Falstaff denies the allegation, and will await the sheriff if Hal so desires. But Hal bids him hide behind the arras—a difficult task for such a hulk. When the sheriff is gone, Hal exposes Falstaff snoring. After picking his pockets, the Prince promises a charge of foot for the sleeping rogue. The scene thus ends, with a harmless joke. Hal thinks Falstaff fit for serious military duties. The veteran soldier, able to adapt himself to any emergency, had fallen asleep while in imminent danger, as a constitutional coward would not have done.

III

So far I have treated Falstaff as a soldier wresting a living from society during times of peace. After a brief inquiry into differences among soldiers who belong to a general type, I shall take up aspects of Falstaff's military duties and services. Shakspeare was accustomed to distinguish individuals within types. He could differentiate Falstaff from Pistol, Bardolph, Parolles, and Sir Andrew Aguecheek, on other grounds than wit, size, or cowardice. Moreover, Dr. Stoll seems to have disregarded the material about war in Shakspeare's histories. In chronicle

²³ Falstaff later utters the final word about instinct and the lion, and gives his supreme touch, Part I, III, iii, 163 ff. The whole is in high good humor.

plays we witness events of many sorts, all of which have been repeated in war ever since.²⁴ For example, in *II, Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, reasons for engaging in combat precede hostilities just as they ushered in the Great War.

Furthermore, in Shakspeare we have a wide range of characters participating in war. Hotspur and Glendower are brave in battle, fluent talkers, confident, but they have different natures. Neither is like Prince Hal, Lancaster, Henry IV, or Douglas. We cannot call the King or Douglas a coward, although Henry yields his place to Hal and Douglas flees from the same redoubtable Prince. The Scotsman is admittedly valiant.

Nevertheless, Falstaff does not flee from him, but like a discreet veteran²⁵ he manages to elude death at his hands. Duty does not insist that he be killed by the fire-eater, and most soldiers of experience would, I believe, find his conduct defensible and would not dub him coward.²⁶ If the point of honor is carried against Falstaff here, it must be carried against Douglas when he meets his superior. A court martial would have to consider these data; Falstaff was in the thick of the fight as he led his charge;²⁷ he was close to the King, Douglas, Hotspur, and Prince Hal, that is, the most important fighters; he had

²⁴ Cf. in Sidney's *Arcadia* the procedure of Amphialus against Philanax, the vicegerent for Basilius.

²⁵ J. Y. T. Greig, *The Psychology of Laughter and Comedy*, London, 1923, pp. 157 ff., finds that Shakspeare hesitated long before deciding whether Falstaff should be a coward, and only at almost the last moment in Part I made him such. This is contrary to Shakspeare's practice as a playwright, to keep his audience so long in doubt about an important character.

²⁶ A significant point as to cowardice arises in Kleist's patriotic military play, *Der Prinz von Homburg*. The poet, who was well-acquainted with military ideals and discipline, portrays the Prince as brave in battle. Still, an incident occurs wherein a glance at a grave turns him to a most ardent desire to live, to escape the death to which he has been condemned. The play continues, however, till he becomes conscious of his duty. Thus appears another side of the question of duty, bravery, and constitutional cowardice. An interesting item occurs in C. A. Ibershoff, "A Note on Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XXI, 670 ff. The Prince's behavior may be compared with Claudio's pleas to Isabel in *Meas. for Meas.*, III, i.

²⁷ D. J. Snider, *The Shakesperian Drama*, St. Louis, 1889, III, 378, does not quite understand the conditions of soliloquy, and therefore does not realize the true import of Falstaff's declaration, "There's not three of my hundred and fifty left alive."

to encounter Douglas. Falstaff cannot be wholly serious when he asserts that a fear of Hotspur's coming to life causes him to stab him in the thigh. Again, his speech on honor²⁸ shocks a civilian or a soldier of idealistic tendencies or a theorist about honor more than it does a practical-minded soldier of experience.

The affair of the pistol which proves to be a bottle, even if it does not demonstrate that Falstaff follows "regulations," is a joke on the Prince and also accords with the habits of a "competent" soldier. A civilian is apt to consider such incongruity between discipline and provision for physical welfare an impossibility and hence a bit of stage humor. Actually, however, it is both humorous and practical. Scores of veterans in the Great War found it desirable to slip over to a *débit*, or *gargotte*, and against orders to substitute for *eau potable* a little *vin rouge*. In fact, from a veteran one may expect any whimsicality—no matter what the occasion—and with it complete aplomb in facing out his conduct whenever exposed. Such is the explanation of the bottle.²⁹

The affair harmonizes with the scene where Falstaff cries (as Hal leaves him, having promised definitely a charge of foot and otherwise indicated eagerness for a fray with Percy),

Rare words! brave words! Hostess, my breakfast, come!
O, I could wish this tavern were my drum.

²⁸ M. LeR. Arnold, *The Soliloquies of Shakespeare*, New York, 1911, pp. 123-28, 132, distinguishes Falstaff from other *milités gloriosi* or coward *graciosi*; his soliloquies "are the opinions of an experienced soldier, logical and witty." If the *gracioso* has the function of acting as a chorus which possesses common sense and reacts against absurdities, or as a "raisonneur" to give us clearer light about characters than we should otherwise gain, then Falstaff resembles the type. But Falstaff does not resemble the *gracioso* in acting as a sort of *deus ex machina* to cut the Gordian knot of a plot. Cf. E. Eckhardt, *Palaestra*, XVII, "Die lustige Person im älteren englischen Drama." Berlin, 1902, pp. 404-05, 455-57. Furthermore, cf. *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, ed. R. P. Cowl, London, 1923, pp. xxx-xxxi.

²⁹ Stoll, "Falstaff," pp. 215-16, has misunderstood the incident. The point of the joke is not that in which "the coward finds his sword rusted in"—Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 471, does not bring out the full force of the joke.

The game between the Prince and Lazardo, the clever clown-servant, in Calderon's *Keep Your Own Secret*, II, i, shows that the motif of the defective sword has a scope which does not by any means coincide with that of the (soldier) braggart. See Act II, iv, in the same play for other comparisons with Falstaff.

Falstaff is roused at the prospects which Hal has afforded him. If only the tavern could go along with him or the war come to it he would be happy in doing his duty and in securing food and drink without excessive exercise. The drum, since the colors were represented on it, symbolized the heart of one's cause in war; Falstaff would welcome the substitution of a tavern.

IV

Falstaff as an active soldier has been compared with Parolles,³⁰ who is a *miles gloriosus*. In *All's Well* Parolles is introduced to us by Helena, who states what sort of character she thinks him and gives information of the sort to guide rather than to dominate our impression of him. Since he is a follower of Bertram, whom she loves, she can tolerate him, though he is a coward. When he talks with her, he reveals that he is ingenious, coarse, patronizing. When next he appears in the company of Bertram, he seems to be accurately read by the young gentlemen who are taking leave for the Florentine war. Later, he is the butt of old Lafeu, who is plainly a gentleman and who warns Bertram against him. The behavior of the upstart is that of a trimmer. Once in Italy, he is tested by the French lords, and proved a traitor and a coward. He even admits that he is cashiered.³¹ From beginning to end Shakspeare does not want us to approve a typical braggart soldier.

Falstaff is different. Despite his manifold vices, we are fond of him. In a degree our affection arises from his sociability; it is hard to separate him from companions who obviously seek his company or think of him in time of trouble. He is liked by people of all classes, though upon occasion he is frowned upon by all. The Chief Justice disapproves of him, because he fears the contamination of Prince Hal; nevertheless, having a wit of his own, and seeing several points of view, he enjoys the give-and-take of an interview with Falstaff. In truth, the

³⁰ N. Rowe, in "Some Account of the Life of William Shakespeare," 1709, speaks of Parolles as a vain-glorious parasite. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, develops the distinction between Falstaff and Parolles.

³¹ In various ways cashiering of braggarts may be observed in the cases of Bobadill, Bessus, Sir Thopas, Judas in *Bonduca*, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Tuca in the *Poelaster* (who is said to have an original in Captain Hannam), Protaldy in *Thierry and Theodoret*, etc.

fat man's personality has charm for everybody except Prince John of Lancaster, who is determined to repress him.

It is an ironical occasion on which Lancaster puts down Falstaff with his own sense of virtuous authority and efficiency. Dr. Stoll finds humor in Falstaff's taking a notable prisoner after the battle was over, but he misconceives the situation. The humor lies in the fact that without labor, Sir John Coleville, a "famous rebel" as Lancaster acknowledges him to be, surrenders to a grateful Falstaff. Plainly, Falstaff is deemed by a gentleman one to whom he may honorably yield;³² we are unwarranted in inferring that Coleville is misled. The parallel³³ urged in the case of Pistol fails if we recall that when he captures a French³⁴ gentleman, he embodies a familiar joke against a foreign nation. To return to the situation between Lancaster and Falstaff, we are pleased to hear Lancaster, whom we tend to dislike,³⁵ generously declaring that he will "Better speak of Falstaff than he deserves," with all his "tardy tricks." His ungracious fairness, however, makes us sympathize readily with Falstaff's panegyric on sack. The attitude of Lancaster is to Falstaff's mind unsocial; having felt the cold glance toward his habits of life, he improves the occasion to analyze the personalities of Lancaster and Prince Hal; he pronounces the effect of liquor on different minds, and measures characters according as they value alcohol. Thereby he expresses an age-long theory that liquor makes and shows a good fighter, — a maxim observed during the Great War. Falstaff swears by the dogmas of the veteran soldier. Whatever were the ultimate views of Shakspeare concerning liquor, we can see that he intended us to regard Prince Hal more favorably than Lancaster, though we do not wholly accept Falstaff's evidence. His is the theory in favor of that sort of well-balanced man,

³² Cf. the anxiety of Oswald and of Edmund in *Lear*, IV, vi; and V, iii, respectively.

³³ "Falstaff," p. 215; *Henry V*, IV, iv.

³⁴ Stoll, "Shylock," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, X, 275.

³⁵ The position of Lancaster in treating rebels is parallel to that of the contemporary Council of Constance when in dealing with Hus it decreed that faith is not to be kept with heretics. J. N. Figgis continues, pp. 102-103, *From Gerson to Grolius*, Cambridge, 2d edit., 1916: "If for heretics we read enemies, and for Church read State, we have the whole of Machiavelli's system in this one decree."

the good "mixer," a theory (if there be any) which Henry illustrates in *Henry V*. The presumption is that Shakspeare wishes to emphasize that the sociable man is the better man if he is also efficient. Even if we hear with disfavor the soliloquy on sherris-sack, we cannot justly find in it the attitude of a coward.

V

One cannot assent to some other efforts to belittle Falstaff's military value. Despite modern gibes and efficiency in the army, there is an undercurrent of thought which holds the veteran tolerably competent. A feature of military life is its suddenness, its unexpectedness; no soldier knows to what town he may go next, or even in what quarters or on what soil he will sleep. In such spirit Peto declares on a night of revelry that he has seen

a dozen captains,
Bare-headed, sweating, knocking at the taverns,
And asking every one for Sir John Falstaff.

The whole passage is aglow with martial fervor. The Prince,³⁶ out of regard for his father who is ill, is disturbed by news of the northern revolt, and regrets his own inefficiency. Then Bardolph comes to report that the dozen captains are at the door. Falstaff becomes effective himself, looks after the musicians, kisses the Hostess and Doll each good-bye. "Farewell," he cries, "good wenches; if I be not sent away post, I will see you again ere I go." Doll bids him a simple farewell. After he goes out, the Hostess pays tribute to his charm which already when she had wished to file legal action against him, had prevailed in his favor. "I have known thee these twenty-nine years, come peascod time; but an honest and truer-hearted man—well, fare thee well." Lastly Bardolph interrupts, summoning Doll. For many a soldier, such a scene has depicted his very life.

In like manner we cannot overlook the attitude of the Chief Justice toward Falstaff. That powerful official, who has a shrewd wit, understanding the "kernel of human nature," is

³⁶ His earlier accusation of cowardice cannot be regarded seriously, when the scene is jolly for everybody, any more than Falstaff's ejection of Pistol is of weight to prove courage.

trying to correct him and to deprive the Prince of constant association with him. We surmise from I, ii, 190 ff, that he had caused Falstaff to receive an unpleasant assignment of duty with Lancaster; he sensibly accords military value to Falstaff, and despite his weakness, treats him with a measure of respect. We observe that in recruiting forces with Shallow Falstaff is really fair and efficient.³⁷ To press too hard against his deficiencies is an error.

Likewise, there is no reason for explaining away such items³⁸ as his early experience as page to the Duke of Norfolk; his acquaintance with John of Gaunt; his shrewd jocosity in the King's presence (I, V, i); Lord Bardolph's report about him (II, I, i); his declaration about his seal-ring (I, III, iii); his being a gentleman by birth; his having some of the trappings of a gentleman's education; his wit, which equals that of the Prince, (or of Hamlet, if differently applied); his humor, charm, understanding of the points of view of all sorts of people. When he and Hal separate, the reason is not that Falstaff is not a gentleman born or that he has been proved a coward, but that he has vices which cannot be permitted in a nearly ideal King.

The sociability of the man is portrayed in the words (II, V, i),

I will devise enough out of this Shallow to keep Prince Harry in continual laughter the wearing out of six fashions. . . . O, it is much that a lie with a slight oath and a jest with a sad brow will do with a fellow that never had the ache in his shoulders. O! you shall see him laugh till his face be like a wet cloak ill laid up!

There lies the secret of many passages in Falstaff. At the very moment he is thinking of Hal.³⁹ In the same way, when he learns that Henry V sits on the throne, he thinks of others

³⁷ In I, IV, ii, Falstaff criticizes himself unfavorably.

³⁸ Stoll uses now and then prejudicial words with regard to Falstaff, such as "wheedle," "whimper"; an example occurs when he refers to his chiding Doll, "Do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end." (II, II, iv, 251 ff.). But in I, 300 he perhaps brings up the matter himself, "Thou'rt forget me when I am gone." In I, III, iii, 33 ff. he has no qualms about Bardolph's nose and its suggestions.

³⁹ Though I agree often with H. D. Gray, "A Memorial Volume to Shakespeare and Harvey," Univ. of Texas *Bulletin*, No. 1701, pp. 97 ff. "Shakespeare's Conception of Humor as Exemplified in Falstaff," I cannot support the accusation (p. 101), that Falstaff's sociability fails to stand the test of true friendship.

besides himself (II, V, iii): "Blessed are they that have been my friends, and woe to my lord Chief Justice." With like attitude (II, V, v), he receives the blow of exile from the King. Straightway he thinks of Shallow, standing beside him: "Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pound," which is followed by Shallow's rueful remark. Falstaff's spirits recover in a moment, so that he hopes that he will be sent for in private. Then since the Chief Justice has a hand more free to protect his King, comes the fall of imprisonment on the fat reprobate. But Lancaster reassures us with an explanation (which we would require) concerning the King's real purpose in such dealings with his friend:

He hath intent his wonted followers
Shall all be very well provided for;
But all are banish'd till their conversations
Appear more wise and modest to the world.

II, Henry IV, is frequently esteemed inferior to Part I.⁴⁰ The reasons are that in the earlier play we get a spontaneous original impression of the great creation Falstaff; that Prince Hal plays more persistently a part in connection with him and in balance against another remarkable character, Hotspur; that we have splendid passages from the first speech of Henry IV, the portrait by Hotspur of "a certain lord," and in fact an opulent conception of human character. On the other hand, perhaps we underestimate *Part II*, because we have become familiar with Falstaff and tend therefore to watch too keenly for a display of intellect and a supreme flow of spirits. The Prince is less often present as stimulus and foil—in fact, affords us close comparison in only one scene. The encounters with the Chief Justice, though excellent, have not equal humorous vigor; the tone has to be subdued because of the general problem that Shakspeare has to face. The scenes with Shallow and Silence are glorious enough, as are the serious scenes in which Prince Hal and his father engage.

Apart from such items of merit, the central event of the play, the death of Henry IV, involves a huge difficulty. The Prince

⁴⁰ R. G. White, *Studies in Shakespeare*, Boston, 1887, p. 30, says, however, "The greatest Falstaff is that of the Second Part." A similar view is admirably enforced by H. T. Baker, "The Problem of 'A. Henry IV,'" *English Journal*, XV, 289 ff. (April 1926).

must reform or so shift emphasis in his conduct as not only to give evidence of sincerity but to convince everybody that he may become ruler and victor at Agincourt. So circumstanced, he is incompatible with his companion Falstaff, a tremendous personality, full of charm, yet laden with vices. The dramatist has to alter Hal and subdue Falstaff. By withdrawing Hal from Falstaff because of an emergency of state, he prepares the way naturally. He then shows Falstaff developing such extreme confidence as to his influence with Hal that we as witnesses will demand that Hal look out for the safety of the kingdom. Nevertheless, Shakspeare must sufficiently protect a character which he likes and has wished the audience to like. Dr. Stoll has not squarely faced this problem. When he admits⁴¹ that in *Part II* the theme of cowardice is not handled, he virtually surrenders what he deems vital to Falstaff's character. If the fat man were a coward, Shakspeare would have a fairly simple task to have him cashiered, and thus render easy to the King's hands the task of casting him off. Actually, since Shakspeare does not attach the "humor" of cowardice to Falstaff, he has to dispose of him otherwise. He prepares us by two earlier items, the augmented tendency of the Prince to reflect unfavorably upon his own previous conduct, and the larger participation of the Chief Justice in directing Falstaff's career. Latterly, Falstaff, well nigh infatuated with his royal friend, exhibits at once a loving regard for his fellow reveller and a blindness to the necessities imposed upon a ruler. Thus reversal in the fortunes of Falstaff's intimates, Doll and Dame Quickly (II, V, iv) seems ominous. Lastly, a scene occurs wherein we witness once more his excessive confidence, then his disappointment, then his revival of hope for a moment, then the confirmation of the fall. In fine, however, we learn that Falstaff will be looked after, and to a degree feel that the new King has shown himself loyal both to his friends and to the state.⁴² So Shakspeare has come close to violating a dramatic principle which requires that in comedy, a character well-liked must be cared for and not allowed to suffer the severities of genuine tragedy. Here the

⁴¹ "Falstaff," pp. 209-10. He tries to modify the admission by insisting that an item like the tribute to sack marks a typical coward.

⁴² Sympathy with Falstaff in his fall was already evident in N. Rowe, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

author has the affair so under control that maintaining suspense he can dally with us, confident that he can provide for both Hal and Falstaff, who must now live at least ten miles apart. A successful solution of such a problem makes the play notable from the standpoint of art.⁴³

The scene in which we learn of Falstaff's death discloses several items that persuade us toward the soldier. Apparently Shakspeare still wishes us to remember Sir John with kindly thoughts.⁴⁴ Perhaps Nym and Pistol feel little grief at the news. The Boy recalls words precisely, among them a humorous remark about Bardolph's nose. Bardolph himself, despite the fact that he had got little riches but liquor from his service to Falstaff, ejaculates, "Would I were with him, wheresome'er he is, either in heaven or in hell," and thereby gives proof of affection and loyalty. Something in the man brought out faithfulness in even such an unlikely person. As to the Hostess, now married to Pistol, she gives us an account that with all its absurdity and unconscious humor—which puts to flight sentimentality—affords us the same realistic impression that we derive from reading about a much nobler death, that of

⁴³ At the time when the author or the manager of the play indicated that he intended to go on with Falstaff, he liked him and hoped that the audience did too—an attitude different from that encouraged by Dr. Stoll in his insistence on cowardice. "If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katherine of France: where, for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat." The only untoward concern which he has in mind is the fear that with resentment some of the audience may have confused Falstaff with another sort of hero: they shall have Falstaff "unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." When Shakspeare actually wrote *Henry V*, however, he formed new plans for him. As is known, Goethe at one time thought of basing a continuation on items which occur at the close of *II, Henry IV*; see "Zwei Falstaff-Fragmente von Goethe," A. Brandl, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXI (1900), pp. 85 ff. Brandl emphasized Goethe's suggestion that Bardolph and Poin are fauns awaking Silenus (Falstaff), and thus connected the early dramatic history of such a character with the Greek satyr-plays as well as with Pyrgopolinices. Cf. H. W. Mabie, *William Shakspeare, Poet, Dramatist, and Man*, New York, 1916, p. 189, "a satyr become human."

⁴⁴ It may be noted (*Henry V*, IV, vii) that the competent Captain Fluellen knows about the casting off of Falstaff by the King, whom he admires as a fellow Welshman. He does not accuse Falstaff of cowardice, as such a serious soldier might have done had the facts warranted, but rather he describes him as a "fat knight . . . full of jests, and gipes, and knaveries, and mocks."

Socrates. Mystery and delirium hover amid the last thoughts of the notorious captain. The Hostess records his last moments with ample accuracy and poetry. We feel the while a pang at the essential loneliness of his situation. Prince Hal, possibly the greatest experience in Sir John's life, is not with him, and is setting forth on another career. The knight's immediate military associates are shortly to go likewise. Falstaff is to be forgotten by the men and women who knew him best; he is to attain the pathetic "honor" of an old soldier.⁴⁵

VI

In conclusion, I believe that in the two parts of *Henry IV* and in *Henry V*, Falstaff follows the career of a veteran soldier, though Shakspeare has to handle him in accordance with the exigencies of the stage and a certain amount of literary and dramatic tradition connected with the Vice, the parasite, and the braggart soldier. In his actions he is not a coward, but he has no illusions about the relation between life and death. He long retains illusions about his comrade, Hal, however, and is blind to the necessities that bind a Prince become King. His fall is not due to military disgrace, but comes as a severe retribution for manifold vices. Though his shrewd philosophy of life is not exemplary, its shortcomings are in a measure compensated for by such social qualities as his wit and humor, his charm, his retention of youthful spirits, his sense of comradeship. Of such characters as he have been constituted in no small part the armies that have supported the ambition of kings and the defense of nations. But Falstaff is the Genius of them all.

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* It is interesting to compare his career with that of the Abbé Coignard as conceived by Anatole France.

SOME OLD NORSE ETYMOLOGIES¹

1. *Glima*, 'Wrestle'

I connect the verb *glíma* 'to wrestle' with *líma* 'to lime,' 'glue together,' i.e., **ga-líman* > *glíma*. The prefix *ga-* here could denote the idea of perfectivity, i.e., **ga-líman* meant 'to get (the limbs) interlocked, glued together' > 'wrestle.' The meaning of the word *glíma* therefore supports this etymology; cf. Greek *συναπράσασθαι* 'to seize hold of' > 'wrestle.'

For the transition of meaning 'glued, limed together' > 'twisted together' compare *lími* 'a bundle of twisted twigs,' 'broom,' *lími-ingar-stafr* 'two vowels interlocked or written together,' i.e., 'a ligature' (like *æ*), cf. *Snorre Edda* II, 48: "tveir hljóðstafr saman límdir."

The root **lími-* (with long *i*) was often confused with the root **lím-* (with short *i*), cf. *lími* for *lím-i* (*CF.*). It is possible that the two roots are related, i.e., that they are simply ablaut variations of the same root **lími-: *lím* 'bend,' 'twist,' 'stick together,' and *Fick* (p. 366, sub *límu*, *líman*) thus connects them in ON *lími* 'limb' and *lími* 'bundle of twigs.' In view of this fact it is possible that the verb *glíma* 'wrestle' (noun *glíma* 'wrestling'), was reinforced in its special meaning by a confusion between *lími-* 'twist together' and *lími* 'limb'; i.e., **ga-líman* may have suggested the idea of 'the limbs being twisted together.'²

¹ The following is a list of the works most frequently referred to in this article, together with the abbreviations of the same as used in my text:

Cleasby-Vigfússon (CF.), "An Icelandic-English Dictionary,"

Falkund Torp (FT.), "Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch."

Fick, "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indo-germ. Sprachen."⁴

Fritzner, "Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog," 1866.

² Since writing this article I find that another entirely different etymology of ON *glíma* has been offered, namely, by Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen in the *Festschrift an Eugen Mogk*, 1924, pp. 460-462.

The author here connects *glíma* with the root **glí-* 'to shine.' The semantic development is from 'shine,' 'quick, sudden movement of light' to 'quick, sudden movement' as in wrestling. Striking semantic parallels are cited, e.g., *bragð* 'a hold in wrestling' from *bregða* 'to move quickly'; *bregða* goes back to a root **breh-* 'to light up suddenly,' 'move quickly,' cf. *braga* 'to shine, gleam.'

I have no fault to find with this etymology; it certainly seems convincing. The only suspicion in my mind is whether it is not just as conceivable or just as likely that the idea of *glíma* 'to wrestle' developed out of the notion of 'to interlock (the limbs)' as out of the notion 'to move quickly, suddenly.'

2. Gopi, 'Vain Person'

This word is rare; it is not listed by *Fritzner* and according to *CF.* occurs only in the *Snorre Edda*.

I connect the word *gopi* with the root **gap-* 'gape,' 'stare,' cf. *gap-i*³ 'a fool-hardy person,' 'reckless fellow.' An ablaut variation of this root would more likely be *gōp-* (with long *o*) than *göp-* (with short *o*)—6th ablaut series—but there may be here a case of analogy with other ablaut series where short *o* exists along side of short *a*, cf. *glapi* 'fool' | *glōpr* 'idiot' | Norw. *glōp* 'fool' (*e*-series), and *klafi* 'a kind of fork' | *klōfi* 'a cleft' | *kljufa* 'cleave' with *gapi* | *gōpi*.

The word *gop-i* could then mean 'one who is stared at,' 'one who invites staring' > 'one who likes to be stared at' > 'a vain person.' A *gal-gop-i* is a person who carries this weakness to the point of madness; *CF.* renders it by "coxcomb."

3. Hrani 'Blusterer'

This word is rather rare; it occurs only in prose, recorded by *CF.* but not by *Fritzner*. *CF.* gives also the following compounds of the word; *hrana-legr* 'rude' and *hrana-skapr* 'uncivil behaviour.'

I connect the word *hran-i* 'blusterer' with the verb *hrana: hrein* 'to squeal like a pig,' used also of animals in heat (cf. *CF.*); *hran-i* could mean then 'a squealer,' 'one who makes a loud noise,' 'blusterer.' With *hrana-skapr* 'uncivil behaviour,' compare German *Schweinerei*.

The vowel *a* does not belong to the first ablaut series but on account of the *n*-suffix in *hrf-n-a* (cf. *Fick*, sub *hri* 2, p. 104) the vowel *a* in *hr-a-ni* may be explained as due to analogy with the fourth ablaut series, cf. *grimr* | *gramr* 'hostile,' *vinr* 'friend' | *vanr* 'accustomed,' etc.

From the root **hran-* I derive the verb *grenja* 'to grunt,' 'roar,' 'utter a terrible sound,' i.e., **ga-hran-jan* > *grenja* = OE *grennian* 'to grin,' OHG *grennan*: MHG *grennen* 'to grin at.' The transition in meaning from 'utter a sound (of pain or of pleasure)' to 'distort the countenance' or vice-versa⁴ is natural enough. The primary sense of this verb, if we derive it from P. G. **ga-hran-jan*, must, however, have been 'to utter a sound,'

³ For the semantic development of this word see my article in *Scan. Studies*, VIII, pp. 41-43, "*A pi: Glapi* 'fool.' "

⁴ Cf. OE *grānian* (< **grain-on*) > Eng. *groan*.

cf. ON *hrfna* 'to squeal'; *hreiðr* 'a scream,' 'cry'; the root **hrt-* evidently being related to the root **skrt-* (cf. Fick, sub *hri* 2, p. 104) as in German *schreien*, English *shriek*, *scream*, etc. From the root **ga-hran-* > **gran-* we have further OHG *gran-ôn* 'to grunt'; MHG *gran-en* 'to whimper,' 'cry'; for the transition in the meaning of this verb from 'grunt' to 'cry' compare ON *grenja* 'to grunt'; OE *grennian* 'to grin.'

From the verb *hrfna* 'to squeal,' I derive the ON verb *grfna* *grein* 'to grin,' i.e., **ga-hrtin-an* > *grfna* (= OHG *grfnan*, MHG *grfnen* 'grin') with the same transition in meaning from 'squeal' to 'grin' as was noted in the case of the stem **hran-*.

Both groups of verbs, i.e., both those related to ON *gren-ja* and those related to ON *grfna*, have been traditionally connected with P.G. roots having initial *g*, viz., **gren-* and **grfn-*.⁵ But the transition in meaning from 'grunt,' 'squeal,' 'howl,' etc. to 'grin,' 'cry,' 'whimper,' etc. and vice versa indicates rather that the two groups are etymologically related, and, therefore, should not be referred back to two different roots. On this ground, I venture to question the traditional etymology of these words as going back to two distinct roots **gren-* and **grfn-:**grain- etc. I refer them all back to the P.G. **ga-hrtin-* > **grfn-* with ablaut variations.

Therefore I add here to the list of ON words going back to an earlier *ga+h* in initial position, given by Elis Wadstein "Nordische Bildungen mit dem Präfix *ga-*", *IF*. V, c) "*h* ist der Anlaut des einfachen Wortes," pp. 12-21, ON *grenja* < **ga-hran-ja* and ON *grfna* < **ga-hrtin-an*. The root **hran-i** *hrtin-* means 'noise,' 'grunt' 'squeal' > 'grin,' 'distort the countenance,' etc. Words denoting 'sound' are often formed with the prefix **ga-*, cf. *glamihlam* 'sound'; *glymríhlymr* 'clash, clang'; *gneggja* *ihneggja* 'neigh,' etc.

4. *Hripuðr*, 'Fire'

The word *hripuðr* is a poetical designation for 'fire' and occurs only once in the *Elder Edda*,⁶ viz., in the opening line of the *Grímnismál*:

⁵ Cf. Fick, sub *gren* p. 140 and sub *gri* 1, p. 143. *Fritsner* also separates the two roots, cf. sub *grfna* 1, p. 647: "Medens *grfna* derimod intet har med Verbet *grenja* (ags. *grennian*) at gjøre."

⁶ Quotations from the *Elder Edda* are based upon the Hildebrand-Gering edition,⁴ 1922. I have, however, substituted *ð* for the *þ* of the text wherever this character represents the sonant spirant.

Heitr est, *hripuðr!* ok heldr til mikill.

I connect the word *hripuðr* with the verb *hripa* 'to leak,' used also metaphorically in the sense of 'to do anything hurriedly or carelessly' (cf. *CF.* and *Fritzner*).

The meaning of the verb *hripa* indicates an irregular, quick motion; when water leaks, it spurts out in different directions and the metaphorical sense of 'to do anything hurriedly' suggests a rapid motion. The word *hrip-uðr* could then mean 'the one who darts out quickly or irregularly,' 'the flamer,' i.e., 'fire.' The meaning of the verb *hripa*, therefore, suggests precisely the action⁷ of *fire*, and we are thus justified in assuming that the word *hrip-uðr* is derived from the verbal stem *hrip-+uðr* denoting the agent.

Just as the *wind* is called *vof-uðr* 'the swinger' (cf. *váfa* 'swing'), *Alvm.*, 20, 2, *gneggj-uðr* 'the neigher' (cf. *gneggja* 'neigh'), *Alvm.*, 20, 3, *hvið-uðr* 'the blower' (cf. *hvið-a* 'squall'), *Alvm.*, 20, 6, so the *fire* is called *hrip-uðr* 'the darter,' 'the flamer,' as indicating the action of this element.

The personification of these words (ending in the suffix *-uðr* denoting the agent) was all the more natural in that many proper names of men ended in the suffix *-uðr* derived from **hqðr* 'war,' as *Nið-uðr*, *Stqrk-uðr*; so *hrip-uðr*, *vof-uðr*, etc. as the personification of fire and of wind, etc.

5. *Kangin-* [yrði] 'Taunts, Jibes'

This word occurs once in the *Elder Edda*, viz., in the *Hárbarðsljóð*, 13, 4:

skyldak launa køgursveini þinum *kanginyrði*.

The word occurs often in prose in the shorter form *kank*; cf. *kank-yrði* 'jibes,' *kank-váss* 'jeering,' 'jibing,' mod. *kankast* 'jeer,' 'jibe.'

⁷ Cf. *Fritzner*, II, p. 60 sub *hripuðr*: "Poetisk Benævnelse paa Ilden, som vel er hentet fra en af dens Virkninger."

The word seems to me, however, to be derived not from any of the *effects* ("Virkninger") of fire but from the *action* of fire.

Gering (*Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*⁴, 1923) translates *hripuðr* by "der hurtige," which sense, however, leaves out of account the *irregular* action of fire. "Der hurtige" is rather *hrqðuðr* (cf. *hrap-* 'schnell,' 'hurtig'), poetic designation for fire, *Alvm.*, 26, 4.

The root⁸ **kang-ī***kank-ī***kink-* means 'twisted,' 'crooked.' The stem **kang-* I connect with *kengr*⁹ (<**kang-ī-R*) 'bay,' 'hook,' 'bending.' The stems **kank-ī***kink-* I connect with Swed. (dial.) *kink(a)ikank* 'kink,' 'knot,' Norw. (dial.) *kink* 'slight bending,' 'nod of the head,' ON *kinka* 'to arch the head,' ODan. *kank(r)e* 'to throw back the head.'

The ON form *kang-in-* I derive from the root *kang-* 'twisted' + the ending *-in* (<**-in*, Goth. *-eins*) which was often added to a nominal stem to denote an adjective 'made of that material,' cf. *goll* 'gold' | *gull-in* 'golden' (Goth. *gulþ-eins*). In the adjective *kang-in-* the suffix *-in* does not denote 'the material,' but 'the kind,' 'nature,' of the words (*-yrði*), namely 'twisted,' 'false' 'jeering,' 'taunting'; cf. *kang-in-* in this compound *kangin-yrði* with *gull-in* in the compounds *gullin-bursti*, *-horni*, *-kambi*, etc. 'golden (brush, horn, comb).' The absence of the *i*-umlaut in *kangin* may be explained in exactly the same way as in the case of *gullin* (instead of **gyllin*), namely, as due to analogy with the apocopated case forms where no umlaut occurred, such as masc. sing. acc. *kang-nan*, *gull-nan*, etc.

For the transition in meaning from 'twisted' to 'evil,' 'false,' etc. compare *kangin-yrði* 'twisted words' > 'jibes' with (*v*)*rong orð* (*Fásm.* 33, 6) 'evil words,' (*v*)*rangr* 'twisted,' 'wrong,' OE *wringan* 'to twist,' 'wring.'

6. Tjǫsull 'Torture,' 'Passion'

This word occurs only once in ON literature, viz., in the *Skirnismál* 29, 1 of the *Elder Edda*:

Tópi ok ópi tjǫsull ok óþoli
vaxa þér tǫr með trega.

I translate: "May madness and lamentation, torture and passion, tears and sorrow be thy lot." This is a curse which Skirnir, servant of Freyr, pronounces upon Gerðr, the giant's daughter.

The words *tópi* and *ópi* likewise occur only here. I connect¹⁰ *tópi* 'madness' with Dan. *taabe*, Swed. *tåp* 'fool' and *ópi*¹¹ 'lam-

⁸ For the various forms of this root see *FT.*, I, p. 510, sub *king* and *kinglæv*.

⁹ Compare also *kinga* 'brooch,' so called from the clasp (*kengr*) by which it was fastened.

¹⁰ Cf. *Deller-Hcinzel*, II, p. 202 where references to articles on the meanings of these words are given.

¹¹ Rendered by Gering (*Glossar*⁴) as 'abneigung.'

entation' with ON *þpa* 'to cry out,' Eng. *weep* (<*wōþ-jan = Goth. *wōþ-jan*).

Gering (*Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*,⁵ 1923) gives the meaning of *tjqsull* as "fessel, zwang (?)," but it is difficult to see with what root the word is connected if this be the correct meaning. The root **tis-i*¹³*tas-i*¹⁴*tais* (cf. *Fick*, pp. 160, 164) means 'to pluck out,' 'weaken' (*auffasern, ermatten*) etc., and there seems to be no other root with which *tjqsull* can be connected.

Bugge¹² (*The Home of the Eddic Poems*, XX) derives the word *tjqsull* from OE *teosu*. I believe Bugge is right in connecting ON *tjqsull* with OE *teosu* (cf. *teosu-word* 'injurious word' and *teosw-ian* 'torment'), but there is no reason why we should assume that the ON word was derived from the OE.

The root **tis-i*¹³*tas-i*¹⁴*tais-* means 'to pluck out,' 'weaken;' from this primary sense was developed the idea of 'torment,' 'torture;' cf. OE *tæsan* (<**tai*s-jan) 'to pluck out (the wool of sheep)' > Eng. *tease*.

I derive ON *tjqsull* from PN **tis-ul-aR* (>*tjqsull*) meaning 'something which plucks, pulls' > 'something which torments, tortures,' i.e., 'torture,' 'torment;' cf. OE *teosu-* (<**tes-wō-*) 'torture,' *teoswian* (<**teswian* < P.G. **tiswōn*) 'to torture, torment.' For the suffix¹³ *-ul-i-il-i-al-* as denoting the agent compare *lykill* <**luk-il-aR* 'key,' lit. 'closer' (cf. *luka* 'to close'), *biðill* <**bið-il-aR* 'wooer,' 'suiter' (cf. *bið-ja* 'to sue for the hand of a maiden'), *stqkkull* <**stqkk-ul-aR* 'sprinkling' (cf. *stqkkva* 'to sprinkle'), 'a jumper' (name of a whale), *sjetull* (cf. *sit-ja*) 'settler,' etc. We may assume that there was a verbal stem **tis-* in ON which has not been preserved; cf. OE *teoswian* 'to torture,' *tæsan* 'to pluck.'

I derive ON *tjqsull* from a verbal stem **tis-*+ the suffix *-ul-*, i.e., **tis-ul-aR* > *tjqsull*, just as from the verbal stem **tai*s- (cf. **tai*s-jan > OE **tæsan*) we have WGerm. **tai*s+il- > OE [*wulfes*] *-tæsel*, 'carduus,' 'thistle' (> Eng. *teasle*), OHG *zeisala*, MHG *zeisel* 'thistle.' The semantic development of both groups is the same, viz., **tis-i*¹³*tais-* 'to pluck out,' > 'nag,' 'torment.' WGerm. **tai*s+il- meant then 'the tormenting, pricking (plant),'

¹² "In *Skirn.*, 29, there is mentioned a magic sign *tjqsull*, i.e. 'he who causes harm,' from A. S. *teosu*, 'harm.'

¹³ Cf. L. Sütterlin, *Geschichte der Nomina Agentis im Germanischen*, 1887, pp. 29-39.

i.e., 'thistle.' We use the work 'prick' in the same sense when we speak of the 'pricks of conscience' = 'a tormenting conscience.' Just as OE *tāsen* became Eng. *tease* so *-tāsel*¹⁴ came to mean 'the teasing or torturing (plant),' the suffix *-el* < **-il-* denoting the agent exactly as does the suffix *-ul-* in ON *tjqs-ul-l* = 'that which torments,' 'torture.'

7. *þrasir* 'Fighter,' 'Warrior,' 'Hero'

The word *þrasir* is confined to proper names (applied to supernatural or to symbolical creatures) and is most often found as the second member of a compound; thus we have *Dólg-þrasir* (*Vǫlsp.*, 15, 2), *Líf-þrasir* (*Vafþm.*, 45, 1), *Mog-þrasir* (*Vafþm.*, 49, 3) and as a feminine form of the word, *Hlíf-þrasa* (*Fjǫlsm.*, 38, 2). In prose we find *qr-þrasir* (*Eilífs þórsdrápa*, 16) and the simplex *þrasir* (*Sn. Edda*, I, 470).

The noun *þrasir* is no doubt derived from the verb *þrasa*, but we are not at all sure as to the exact meaning of this verb. The verb *þrasa* occurs only once in ON literature, viz., in the *Loka-senna*, 58, 3:

hvi *þrasir* þú svá, þórr?

Gering (*Glossar*⁸, 1923) translates *þrasa* by "dräuen, drohend darauf losgehen," and for this meaning refers to Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, I, p. 395, footnote 2. But this reference does not in the least enlighten us as to how this verb acquired this meaning inasmuch as Bugge here merely assumes from the context that the verb *þrasa* means 'to frighten,' 'threaten,' etc.—"Dette Verbum betegner Lok. 58 at optræde paa en truende Maade, for at jage en anden bort." Bugge further tries to substantiate this meaning by connecting the ON verb *þrasa* with Lat. *terrere*; "Det er, som Docent K. F. Johansson har paapeget for mig, samme Verbum som lat. *terrere*."

¹⁴ *CF.*'s explanation (sub *tjösull*) of ON *tjqsull* as "a magical character," has no foundation whatsoever. He rightly connects the ON word *tjqsull* with OE *-tāsel* but infers from the meaning 'a magical character,' which he assumes for the ON word, that OE *-tāsel* came to mean 'thistle' "perh. from the herb being used for charms." OE *-tāsel*, as shown above, most likely acquired its sense from the primary meaning 'to pluck,' 'pull out' (cf. *tāsan* 'to pluck') > 'nag,' 'torment,' 'hurt,' 'prick,' etc.

CF.'s attempt (*ibid.*) further to connect ON *tjqsull* with Swed. *tjusa*, *för-tjusa* 'to charm' is ridiculous; Swed. *tjusa* is derived from ON *kjósa* 'to choose.'

In the first place it is not at all certain that ON *þrasa* is connected with Lat. *terrere*—Fick (sub *þræs*, *þras* pp. 191-192) does not so connect it—and even if it were, this would not prove that the ON verb had preserved the same sense as the Latin verb.

Fick (*ibid.*) assumes the primary sense of the root **þras-* to be 'snort,' 'breath heavily,' etc. and connects ON *þrasa* (to which he gives the meaning 'schnauben') with OS *þrāsian*, OHG-MHG *drāsen* 'schnauben.'

Even if we assume that the WGerm. verbs in question are derived from the same root (with ablaut variation) as the ON verb *þrasa*, there is no necessary reason why we should conclude that the ON verb preserved the same meaning (i.e., 'schnauben') as the WGerm. verbs.

I believe that the primary sense of the root **þras-* was 'to quarrel,' 'fight.' The sense of 'to snort,' 'pant,' etc. could easily have been derived from that of 'to fight,' 'quarrel.' As an indication of this semantic development we note that the late WGerm. verbs have the former sense while the earliest of all the Germanic languages, Gothic, has the latter sense, namely, in the word *þrasa-balþei* 'Streitsucht' (*Skeir.*, 5, 11). In modern usage Icel. *þrasa* means 'to quarrel,' 'wrangle,' similarly *þras* 'quarrel,' 'litigation' (cf. *CF.*), but I believe this meaning is simply a preservation of the oldest sense of the word. I base my assumption not only upon the sense of this word in the Gothic *þrasa-balþei*—which is far better evidence as to the primary sense of the word in Germanic than is Lat. *terrere*—but also upon the sense of *-þras-ir* (= nomen agentis of the verb *þras-a*) as used in compounds. The word *-þrasir*, as used in compounds, cannot mean 'one who tries to frighten another away' (cf. Bugge) nor 'one who snorts, pants,' (cf. Fick) but 'one who quarrels, fights.' This meaning can hardly be secondary in view of the Gothic *þrasa-balþei* 'Streitsucht.'

a. *Ltf-þrasir*

In the *Vafþm.*, 45, 1 we find the name *Ltf-þrasir* coupled with *Ltf* 'Life.' Of the various senses assumed for the verb *þrasa*, viz., 'to frighten,' 'to snort, pant,' none is consonant with the meaning of the first element of this compound. The only sense consonant with the element *Ltf-* is that which I have as-

sumed as the primary sense of the root **þras-*, viz., 'quarrel,' 'fight.' The word *-þrasir* could then mean 'a fighter,' 'hero' and could be attached to any element of a compound to designate a person who in this particular respect distinguishes himself; i.e., *-þrasir* was added (to an element in a compound) as a heroic epithet.

Lif and *Lif-þrasir* were the two beings destined to survive the 'great winter' (*fimbul-vefr.*) *Lif-þrasir* could then mean 'one who is heroic, mighty, sturdy in life (i.e., in surviving death),' 'one hard to kill.'

b. *Hlíf-þrasa*

Just as *Lif-þrasir* is coupled with *Lif*, so we find (*Fjölsm.*, 38, 2) *Hlíf-þrasa* coupled with *Hlíf*, the two warrior-maidens who sit at the feet of *Mengloþ*. The element *-þrasa* 'fighter' > 'heroine' serves here as a mere intensive to the heroic epithet *Hlíf* 'shield-maiden,' 'valkyrie.'

c. *Dólg-þrasir*

The name *Dólg-þrasir* (*Vqlsp.*, 15, 2) is applied to a dwarf, similarly the simplex *þrasir*¹⁶ in the *Snorre Edda*. The name *þrasir* could mean 'fighter,' 'hero' and *Dólg-þrasir* 'one who fights the enemy' > 'one mighty in fighting the enemy,' i.e., 'enemy-renowned hero.'

d. *Mog-þrasir*

This name occurs once in the *Vafþrúðnismál*, 49, 3:

þria þjóðir falla þorp yfir
 meyjar *Mogþrasis*,
 hamingjur einar þærs í heimi 'ru,
 þó þær með jotnum alask.

I translate: "Three scores of maidens shall pass o'er Mog-thrasir's hill, they alone on earth shall protect (men), tho they are born of the giants."

¹⁶ The word *qr-þrasir* (*Eilifs þórsdrápa*), quoted by *Detter-Heinsel* (II, p. 24), I have not been able to investigate inasmuch as this ON work is not available to me. The word evidently means either 'one who is not a hero, not valiant' (*qr-* = negative particle) or 'one who is a great hero, excessively valiant' (*qr-* = intensive particle).

The vital question in the interpretation of this name here is whether we are to construe *Mogþrasis* as a gen. sing. dependent upon *meyjar* or upon *þorp*. If we construe it with *meyjar* 'daughters' I do not see what significance¹⁶ the name can have. Why should a giant bear this name? On the other hand, if we construe *Mogþrasis* as dependent upon *þorp* the name acquires a significance which is, as I shall try to show, consonant with the sense of the passage.

I take *Mog-* in this compound to mean not 'son' but 'man.' The word *mogr* is often used of a young man¹⁷ and in the plural (*megir*) is regularly used in compounds for 'men,' cf. *vil-megir* 'slaves,' *her-megir* 'warriors,' *heipt-megir* 'enemies,' etc. A generic use of the word *mogr* = 'man' in this compound is, therefore, not at all unlikely.

Just as we have *Líf* and *Líf-þrasir*, *Hlíf* and *Hlíf-þrasa*, so we might likewise have *Mogr* (cf. *Rígsþ.*, 42,4) and *Mog-þrasir*; and just as in the former cases the element *-þrasir* 'fighter' came to be used as a mere heroic epithet, so too in *Mog-þrasir* this element would add nothing to the sense of *Mog-* = 'man' except the force of a heroic epithet.

I interpret *þorp Mogþrasis*, therefore, to mean 'the hill of man,'¹⁸ i.e., that hill where the race of man is to be saved from the destruction of Ragnarökkr. This interpretation is the only one which to my mind gives any sense to the name *Mog-þrasir* consonant with the meaning of the element *-þrasir* in other compounds. In view of the fact that these maidens (*meyjar*) are called *hamingjur* (i.e., protecting female divinities), it is not unreasonable to assume that the hill is called *þorp Mog-þrasis*

¹⁶ Cf. *CF.*: "The giant father of the weird sisters (*hamingjur*), *Vþm.*"

Finnur Jónsson ("Den Oldnorske og Oldlandske Litteraturs Historie," I, 1894, p. 141) translates *Mogþrasir* by "en, der ønsker sønner, børn: ø 'et menneske.'" How he derives the sense of 'desire' (*ønsker*) from the root **-þras* is incomprehensible to me. Cf. also H. A. Bellows in his translation of the *Poetic Edda, Scandinavian Classics XXI, XII*, p. 82, footnote 49, where he translates the name, presumably according to Finnur Jónsson's interpretation, by "Desiring Sons."

¹⁷ Cf. *Fásm.*, 33, 2 where *mogr* refers to young Sigurðr:

þar liggir Reginn,	ræðr umb við sik,
vill tæla mog	þanns truir hönnum.

¹⁸ I agree with *Deller-Heinsel's* interpretation (II, p. 167): "*þorp Mogþrasis* mag die Wohnungen der neuen Menschen bedeuten." No explanation, however, is here given as to what the name *Mogþrasir* means.

because it is on this hill that the maidens save the race of men from destruction.

In conclusion, it may be said that the root **þras-* in ON had the primary sense of 'to quarrel,' 'fight,' as preserved in the Gothic *þrasa-balþei* 'Streitsucht.' As the secondary sense of the WGerm. cognates (OS *þrâsian*, OHG *drâsen* 'schnauben') indicates, the root **þras-* in ON may also have connoted the idea of 'to pant,' 'snort,' as in fighting. This sense may be present in the ON verb *þrasa* (*Ls.*, 58,2):

hví *þrasir* þú svá, þórr?

I translate: "Why dost thou *bluster*¹⁹ so, Thor." Not 'threaten,' 'try to frighten away' (as Gering-Bugge have it), but 'wrangle, quarrel with *blustering* words;' cf. *orðbægin* *halr* 'word-quarreling fellow' as applied to Thor in the *Hymiskviða*, 3,2.

But the derivative *-þrasir*, denoting the agent of this verb, had evidently entirely lost this connotation, if we consider it as ever present in the verb. The fact that the noun *-þrasir* was not used as an ordinary noun but was confined to proper names, favors the assumption that its original sense had been weakened into a general appellative or heroic epithet, applied to supernatural creatures (dwarfs, etc.), or to mythical-symbolical persons (cf. *Mog-þrasir* 'man').

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¹⁹ Cf. *CF.* sub *þrasa*: "To talk big, make a bold show."

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

The facts we have from which to date Shakespeare's sonnets are scant. In 1598 Francis Meres wrote in *Palladis Tamia*: "As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagorus, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends." In 1599 Jaggard brought out *The Passionate Pilgrim* by W. Shakespeare, piratically inserting two sonnets—numbers 138 and 144. In 1609 Thomas Thorpe published the whole number of the sonnets as we now have them.¹ This does not take us far, since the first two references may or may not mean the completion of the group.

In 1898 Sir Sidney Lee² practically disposed of the guesswork concerning the "Mr. W. H." of Thorpe's dedication by pointing out that this publisher was a professional pirate of manuscripts, that he associated himself with a certain William Hall who sometimes procured the manuscripts for him, that "begetter" could sometimes mean procurer, and that it was not unknown to dedicate surreptitious publications to the procurer.

In the same connection, Lee³ made an exhaustive study of the Elizabethan sonnet as a type, and, by showing the completely conventional character of most of Shakespeare's sonnets, rendered their autobiographical quality even more dubious than hitherto.

In 1913 Raymond Alden⁴ proved with finality the soundness of a suggestion first made in 1843⁵—that the Quarto arrangement of the sonnets is not Shakespeare's, and is neither chrono-

¹ Further contemporary references have been pointed out as possibly applying to the sonnets, but they are all extremely doubtful, and are rejected by most scholars. The arguments for and against these references are completely outlined in Alden's variorum edition of *The Sonnets of Shakespeare*, (1916) p. 441.

² *A Life of William Shakespeare*, Appendix V. Throughout, I quote from the 1917 edition.

³ *Ibid.*, Chapters X and XI, and Appendix IX.

⁴ *The Quarto Arrangement of Shakespeare's Sonnets, Anniversary Papers by Pupils of G. L. Kittredge*, (1913) pp. 279-288.

⁵ Knight, *Pictorial Shakespeare* (1843) Vol. VI.

logical, nor strictly according to subject. His basis for the statement was the piratical character of the publication which prohibits the possibility of Shakespeare's final sanction of the arrangement, and the internal evidence of discontinuity which suggests that Thorpe received the sonnets in groups of two or three and then made a superficial attempt to arrange them by subject.

These two theses show the unjustifiability of supposing either that the date of the sonnets must match some corresponding event in the poet's private life, or that the chronology must follow the order of the Quarto edition.

Four general methods of determining the date of the sonnets remain.

The first is the application of lines in the poem to public events of contemporary interest. Because of the ambiguity of all such verses, the method is useless, leading to an amazing diversity of opinion over each possible reference, as is instanced by Sonnet 107:

The mortal moon hath her eclipse indur'd,
And the sad augurs mock their own presage,
Uncertainties now crown themselves assur'd,
And peace proclaims olives of endless age. Lines 5-8

These lines have been taken to refer to the death of Philip II of Spain, 1598,⁶ to the Essex rebellion, 1601,⁷ and to the death of Queen Elizabeth, 1603.⁸ Nowhere in the sonnets is there an undisputed reference to current history.

The second method is tangled up with the Southampton-Pembroke-Dark-Lady controversy. For want of a plausible nominee, the dark lady drops out of serious discussion, and there is no sort of unanimity of opinion concerning the patron. Certain identification of the lady or of the patron would throw light on the question of date, but also their identification depends to a great degree on the decision as to date.⁹

⁶ Isaac, *Die Sonnett-Periodē in Shakespeare's Leben*, Jahrbuch IX, 176 (1884).

⁷ Tyler, *The Imprisonment of Lord Pembroke in 1601*, Academy (1884).

⁸ Suggested rather incidentally by "J. G. R." in *Notes and Queries*, February 12, 1859, and developed more fully by Massey, *The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (1888).

⁹ From the lives of these two possible patrons, we know that if the patron sonnets were written 1590-1595, they were addressed to Southampton; if in 1597-1601, to Pembroke.

The third method is concerned with passages in the sonnets which are paralleled by other authors. The influence of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, published 1591, and of Daniel's *Delia*, 1592, is admitted, but concerning Drayton's *Idea*, 1594 and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, 1598, in both of which are numerous parallelisms with Shakespeare, there is a dispute as to which is the borrower. Even if we knew that Shakespeare followed, little light would be thrown on the date of his poems, since he must have been familiar with the work of Marlowe at least, and probably with that of Drayton, long before publication.

The insecurity of these methods of dating has led the less theoretical editors to assert that, while the chronology can be partly guessed from internal evidence, the order can never be based on any foundation more solid than the personal opinion of style. This, it seems to me, overlooks a clue quite securely objective. That it is as yet no more than a clue does not excuse neglect.

Shakespeare has a habit to which most writers are more or less prone leading him often to repeat a word or phrase very soon after first using it, and subsequently to ignore it. We find phrases twice or thrice in one play and nowhere else.

We have, for instance, "a-land" in *Pericles*, II, i, l. 31 and III, ii, l. 69; "an-end" for on end, in *Hamlet*, I, v, l. 19 and III, iv, l. 122; "bottled" for big-bellied in *Richard III*, I, iii, l. 242 and IV, iv, l. 81; "avail" as a substantive in *All's Well that Ends Well*, I, iii, l. 190 and III, i, l. 22. Very many more such cases could be quoted, in each of which the word appears only in the one play. Very frequently when a word is used four or five times, all the instances occur in works of closely related periods, as "ashy" in *Henry VI*, part 2, III, ii, l. 162, *Lucrece*, l. 1378, again in l. 1512, and in *Venus and Adonis*, l. 76.

Therefore, when we find in Sonnet 14,

But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive

and in *Love's Labour's Lost*,

From women's eyes this doctrine I derive IV, iii, l. 302

we feel justified in concluding that Sonnet 14 was written while *Love's Labour's Lost* was in progress.

Isaac and Sarrazin¹⁰ both worked on this tack, but they both made the mistake of grouping the sonnets by subject and dating those in a group together. This presupposes that if an author were going to write a number of poems on a similar subject, he would write them all at one time, and then turn to something else. This supposition, however, is without foundation. That Shakespeare could pick up an old theme for reworking is abundantly shown in the plays, as, for example, his use of the disguised lady forced to carry wooing messages from her beloved to the object of his affection in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1591-92 and again in *Twelfth Night*, 1601. Particularly in view of the conventional character of the sonnets there is no reason to suppose that Shakespeare would not have tried his hand at one subject several times.

This paper goes over again a field already covered by these two scholars, but from a different point of view. Ignoring subject matter and style at first, I have arranged those sonnets which have passages paralleled in the plays according to the dramatic chronology given by Neilson and Thorndike in *Facts about Shakespeare*. Later I will study the poems arranged to discover if the development of style checks with the order determined by parallel passages. I emphasize particularly the repetition of odd words or phrases found nowhere else in Shakespeare's works. If the word appears only in the quotation given, it is italicized.

The evidence offered is so incomplete that I can pretend no more than a skeleton chronology. However, if even one-third of the sonnets can be placed with some certainty in their periods, the arranging of the remainder by comparison of style becomes simplified. Although the method of arranging the sonnets according to parallelisms with the plays leaves such regrettably large gaps where no such parallelism occurs, it is still, I think, the soundest method open to us by which we can arrive at any sort of chronology.

Venus and Adonis, 1591

Sonnet XLVIII. (Boswell)¹¹ Cf. l. 11,

¹⁰ Isaac, *Die Sonnett-Periode in Shakespeare's Leben*, Jahrbuch, XIX, 176 (1884) and Sarrazin, *Zur Chronologie von Shakespeare's Dichtungen*, Jahrbuch XXXII, 149 (1896).

¹¹ I have, as far as I was able, given the name of the commentator who first pointed out the parallel.

Within the gentle *closure of my breast*

The quiet *closure of my breast*¹² *Venus and Adonis*, l. 782

This parallel is corroborated by a more distant echo in the same sonnet (Capell)

For truth proves thievish for a prize so dear l. 14

Rich preys make true men thieves *Venus and Adonis*, l. 724

Observe that the passages from *Venus and Adonis* are comparatively close together.

It is more than probable that most of the procreation sonnets, I–XVII, belong in the *Venus and Adonis* period, though perhaps they were suggested when Shakespeare was reworking the long poem for publication in 1593 rather than when he first prepared it for distribution in manuscript. The style of the sonnets in question, and cross-parallels with *Romeo and Juliet* make this plausible. The procreation theme appears in the poem in three places.

Make use of time, let not advantage slip;
Beauty within itself should not be wasted:
Fair flowers that are not gathered in their prime
Rot and consume themselves in little time. ll. 129–32

Torches are made to light, jewels to wear,
Dainties to taste, fresh beauty for the use,
Herbs for their smell, and sappy plants to bear;
Things growing to themselves are growth's abuse:
Seeds spring from seeds, and beauty breedeth beauty;
Thou wast begot; to get, it is thy duty.

Upon the earth's increase why shouldst thou feed,
Unless the earth with thy increase be fed?
By law of nature thou art bound to breed,
That thine may live when thou thyself art dead;
And so in spite of death thou dost survive,
In that thy likeness still is left alive. ll. 163–74

Therefore, despite of fruitless chastity,
Love lacking vestals and self loving nuns,
That on the earth would breed a scarcity
And barren dearth of daughters and of sons,
Be prodigal: the lamp that burns by night
Dries up his oil to lend the world his light.

¹² The italicized words or phrases are unique in Shakespeare's work.

What is thy body but a swallowing grave,
 Seeming to bury that posterity
 Which by the rights of time thou needs must have
 If thou destroy them not in dark obscurity?
 If so the world will hold thee in disdain,
 Sith in thy pride so far a hope is slain.

So in thyself thyself art made away;
 A mischief worse than civil home-bred strife,
 Of theirs whose desperate hands themselves do slay
 Or butcher sire that reaves his son of life.
 Foul cankering rust the hidden treasure frets,
 But gold that's put to use more gold begets. ll. 751-68

The theme appears briefly in *Romeo and Juliet*,

O! she is rich in beauty; only poor
 That, when she dies, with beauty dies her store. I, i, ll. 221-22

She hath (sworn chastity) and in that sparing makes huge waste;
 For beauty, starv'd with her severity,
 Cuts beauty off from all posterity. *Ibid.*, ll. 224-26

Love's Labour's Lost, 1591

Sonnet XXI. Cf. ll. 13-14 for repetition of figure;

Let them say more that like of heare-say well;
 I will not praise that purpose not to sell.

My beauty, though but mean,
 Needs not the painted flourish of your praise.
 Beauty is bought by judgment of the eye,
 Not uttered by base sale of chapmen's tongues.

Love's Labour's Lost, II, i, ll. 13-16

and again; (Steevens)

Fie, painted rhetoric! O! she needs it not:
 To things of sale a seller's praise belongs. *Ibid.*, IV, iii, ll. 239-40

Notice also the repetition in both passages from the play of the word "painted" which appears also in l. 2 of the sonnet.

Sonnet CXXXVII (Malone) Cf. ll. 9-10

Why should my heart think that a *several* plot
 Which my heart knows the wide world's common place?

My lips are no common, though *several* they be.

Love's Labour's Lost, II, i, l. 221

These are the only occurrences of the word "several" in this sense of private. It was applied to private ground in contrast to the common land belonging to the city.

Sonnet XIV (Steevens) Cf. l. 9.

But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive

From women's eyes this doctrine I derive.

Love's Labour's Lost, IV, iii, l. 302

Sonnets CXXVII, CXXXI, CXXXII, CXLVII, are on the "dark lady" theme. All the ideas expressed in them are found similarly expressed in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, ll. 250-53 and ll. 258-61.

Sonnet LVII. (Malone) Cf. l. 5.

Nore dare I chide the *world-without-end* hour.

World-without-end bargain. *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, l. 799

Sonnet LVIII. Walsh says, "This sonnet is a mere replica of the preceding (LVII) and was probably intended to supersede it." The same theme is re-expressed from a woman's point of view in *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, l. 60-68. The closeness in the scene of the play of the parallelisms increases the significance of both.

Sonnet VII. Cf. l. 5

And having climb'd the steep-up heavenly hill

The steep-uprising of the hill *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, i, l. 2

The connection between play and poem is still further corroborated by the similarity of ideas in lines 1-4 of the sonnet and Act IV, scene iii, lines 221-25 of the drama (Walsh). The sonnet reads

Lo! in the orient when the gracious light,
Lifts up his burning head, each under eye
Doth homage to his new appearing sight
Serving with looks his sacred majesty.

And the play

(Who) Like a rude and savage man of Inde,
At the first opening of the gorgeous East,
Bows not his vassal head and stricken blind,
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast.

Comedy of Errors, 1591

Sonnet LII. Cf. l. 8

Or captain jewels in the *carcanet*To see the making of her *carcanet*. *Comedy of Errors*, III, i, l. 4*King John*, 1593

Sonnet XLIX. (Dowden) Cf. l. 4

Call'd to that audit by *advis'd respects*More upon humour than *advis'd respect*. *King John*, IV, ii, l. 214

Sonnet CXII. Cf. l. 5

You are my *all-the-world*My life, my joy, my food, my *all-the-world!**King John*, III, iv, l. 104*Richard III*, 1593

Sonnet XXII. (Malone) Cf. l. 4

Then look I death my days should *expiate*Make haste, the hour of death is *expiate*.*Richard III*, III, iii, l. 23

"Expiate" is used elsewhere in other senses. The connection between play and poem is corroborated by the echoing of the figure of time furrowing the brow. (Sonnet, l. 3; *Richard III*, I, iii, l. 229).

Sonnets XV and XVI together make one complete poem. (Steevens) Cf. l. 12, Sonnet XV

To change your day of youth to sullied night

Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

Richard III, IV, iv, l. 16*Titus Andronicus*, 1593-94

Sonnet XLI. (Lee) Cf. ll. 5-6

Gentle thou art, and therefore to be won,
Beauteous thou art, therefore to be assail'dShe is a woman, therefore may be woo'd,
She is a woman, therefore may be won.*Titus Andronicus*, II, i, l. 82-3

The phrase seems to have been on Shakespeare's mind about this time, for it is used with variation in *Richard III*, I, ii, l. 228

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
Was ever woman in this humour won?

Another version appears in *I Henry VI*, V, iii, ll. 78–9 (Steevens) but it does not seem to me that the sonnet could have been so early, and the repetition twice in this year is sufficient excuse for placing the sonnet where its style fits.

Sonnet XXXI. Cf. l. 5

How many a holy and *obsequious* tear
To shed *obsequious* tears *Titus Andronicus*, V, iii, l. 152

Rape of Lucrece, 1594

Sonnet XIII. Cf. ll. 3–4

Against this coming end you should prepare
And your sweet semblance to some other give.

I often did behold
In thy sweet semblance, my old age new born.

Rape of Lucrece, ll. 1758–59

Also

If in the child the father's image lies. *Ibid.*, l. 1753

Sonnet XXV. Cf. l. 6

But as the *marigold* at the sun's eye
Her eyes like *marigolds* had sheathed their light

Rape of Lucrece, l. 397

Sonnet XXVI. Capell pointed out the similarity between the first quatrain of this sonnet and the dedication published with *The Rape of Lucrece*. The whole poem gives the impression of being nothing more than a versified version of the prose dedication. It would seem to have been written while the latter was running through the poet's mind, whether or not the poem itself was ever used as a dedication. It is to be noted that Spenser's dedicatory sonnet prefixed to *Faerie Queene* was a poetical version of the subsequent prose dedication to *Ruins of Time*.

Shakespeare's dedication to *The Rape of Lucrece* is as follows:

To the Right Honourable, Henry Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield. The love I dedicate to your worship is without end: whereof this pamphlet without beginning is but a superfluous Moiety. The warrent I have of your Honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutored Lines makes it assured of acceptance. What I have done is yours, what I have to doe is yours, being part in all I have, devoted yours. Were my worth greater, my duety would shew greater, meane time, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship; To whom I wish a long life, still strengthened with all happiness.

Your Lordships in all duety,

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Richard II, 1595

Sonnet LXXXVIII. Cf. l. 1

When you shall be dispos'd to *set me light*.

The man that makes at it and *sets it light*.

Richard II, I, iii, l. 293

Midsummer Night's Dream, 1594-95 and *Romeo and Juliet*, 1595

Sonnet XCVII. (Malone) Cf. for repetition of figure, l. 6

The teeming autumn big with rich increase.

The childing autumn.

Midsummer Night's Dream, II, i, l. 112

Sonnet CL. (Steevens) Cf. l. 3

To make me give the lie to my straight sight

I am content, so thou wilt have it so

I'll say yon grey is not the morning's eye.

Romeo and Juliet, III, v, ll. 18-19

This parallelism of ideas is merely corroboratory. Of more importance is the fact that in l. 2 of the sonnet, and in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, ii, l. 128 the word "insufficiency" is used for the only two times in Shakespeare's works.

Sonnet XXVII. (Malone) Cf. l. 11

Like a jewel hung in ghastly night

Makes black night beauteous and her old face new.

She hangs upon the cheek of night

As a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear.

Romeo and Juliet, I, v, ll. 47-8

Sonnet XXVIII continues Sonnet XXVII, making with it one continuous poem. Cf. l. 12 (Massey)

When sparkling stars twire not thou gildst the even.

Fair Helena, who more engilds the night
Than all yon fairy oes and eyes of light.

Midsummer Night's Dream, III, ii, ll. 187-8

Sonnet LXXXVII (Dowden) Cf. l. 13

Thus have I had thee as a dream doth flatter.

If I may trust the flattering truth of sleep.

Romeo and Juliet, V, i, l. 1

Also (McClumpha)

A dream too flattering sweet *Ibid.*, II, ii, l. 141

Sonnet XCV. (Massey) Cf. ll. 9-11

O! what a mansion have those vices got
Which for their habitation chose but thee
Where beauty's veil doth cover every blot.

Was ever book containing such vile matter
So fairly bound? O! that deceit should dwell
In such a gorgeous palace. *Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, ll. 83-5

This is corroborated by the presence in both sonnet and play of a figure too common to be in itself conclusive. In the sonnet ll. 2-3

Which, like a canker in the fragrant rose,
Doth spot the beauty of thy budding name.

and the play, I, i, ll. 157-9:

As is the bud bit with the envious worm
Ere he can spread his sweet leaves to the air
Or dedicate his beauty to the sun.

II Henry IV, 1598

Sonnet LXXI. (Malone) Cf. l. 2

The surly *sullen bell*

Sounds ever after as a *sullen bell* *II Henry IV*, I, i, l. 102

As You Like It, 1599-1600

Sonnet LXXXI. (Malone) Cf. l. 12

When all the breathers of this world are dead.

I will chide no breather in the world

As You Like It, III, ii, l. 297

The only other use of the word "breather" in this sense is in *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, iii, ll. 24-5

She shows a body rather than life,

A statue than a breather

Notice the closer echo in the first play.

Twelfth Night, 1601, and *Troilus and Cressida*, 1601-2

Sonnet C. (Schmidt) Cf. l. 9

Rise, resty Muse.

Who in this dull and long continued truce is resty grown

Troilus and Cressida, I, iii, l. 263

The only other occurrence of "resty" is in *Cymbeline*.

Sonnet CI. Follows very closely in thought and expression after Sonnet C. Cf. l. 7

Beauty (needs) no pencil beauty's truth to lay.

'Tis beauty truly blent, whose red and white

Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on.

Twelfth Night, I, v, ll. 257-8

Sonnet CX. Cf. l. 3

Gored my own thoughts.

My fame is shrewdly gored. *Troilus and Cressida*, III, iii, l. 228

Note also the related passage in *Twelfth Night*, III, i, l. 129, where a similar game figure is used

Have you not set mine honour at the stake

And baited it?

Hamlet, 1602

Sonnet CVII. (Steevens) Cf. l. 1

The *prophetic soul*.

Oh my *prophetic soul*!

Hamlet, I, v, l. 40

Sonnets XII. (Steevens) Cf. l. 4

And sable curls or silvered o'er with white

A sable silvered

Hamlet, I, ii, l. 242

In *Hamlet* as well as in the sonnet, the phrase is used to describe hair. This is corroborated by the comparison with l. 3, (Dowden)

When I do behold the violet past prime.

A violet in the youth of primy nature.

Hamlet, I, iii, l. 7

Measure for Measure, 1603

Sonnets III (Steevens) Cf. ll. 5-6

For where is she whose fair unear'd womb
Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry.

Her plenteous womb
Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry

Measure for Measure, I, iv, ll. 43-4

Sonnets III, and Sonnet XII, which I have compared to *Hamlet*, are procreation themes, and therefore would seem at first sight to belong in the *Venus and Adonis* period with the others of that theme. However, the subject was again for a time in Shakespeare's mind, for it appears in two plays of this period—*Twelfth Night*, I, v, ll. 259-61 and *All's Well*, I, i, ll. 136-78. If the parallelisms had occurred in the passages discussing the subject we might well say that like occasion begets like expression and discard this whole method of dating. That the parallelisms appear in other plays of the same date is significant.

Othello, 1604

Sonnets CXXI. Cf. l. 9

No, I am that I am

I am not what I am

Othello, I, i, l. 65

Sonnets XXX. Cf. l. 5

Then can I drown an eye unus'd to flow

Of one whose subdued eyes

Albeit unus'd to the melting mood

Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees

Their medicinal gum

Othello, V, ii, 348-51

This is corroborated by the comparison between l. 1 and *Othello*, III, iii, ll. 138-41, in each of which a law figure appears

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
 Who has a breast so pure,
 But some uncleanly apprehensions
 Keep leets and law days, and in sessions sit
 With meditations lawful.

Sonnet CXXV. (Steevens) Cf. l. 2

With my *extern* the outward honoring
 In complement *extern* *Othello*, I, i, l. 64

Macbeth, 1606

Sonnet CXIII. (Malone) Cf. l. 6

Which it doth *latch*.
 Where hearing should not *latch* them *Macbeth*, IV, iii, l. 195

In both quotations the word "latch" means to catch, and is used of a sensation. In the sonnet, however, the word is an emendation for "lack" which does not make sense in the line. "Latch" may not be correct, although it seems to be the only word for the place, and it must rime with "catch."

Timon of Athens, 1607

Sonnet LXIII. (Lee) Cf. l. 5

Hath travell'd on to age's *steepy* night.
 Bowing his head against the *steepy* mount.
Timon of Athens, I, i, l. 75

The following table indicates compactly the arrangement of those sonnets which show satisfactory textual similarities with the plays.

- 1591—XLVIII, XXI, CXXXVII, XIV, CXXVII, CXXXI, CXXXII, CXLVII, LVII, LVIII, VII, LII.
 1593—XLIX, CXII, XXII, XV, XVI, XLI, XXXI, I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XVI, XVII.
 1594—XIII, XXV, XXVI.
 1595—LXXXVIII, XCVII, CL, XXVII, XXVIII, XCV, LXXXVII.
 1598—LXXI.
 1599—LXXXI.

- 1601—C, CI, CX.
 1602—CVII, XII.
 1603—III.
 1604—CXXI, XXX, CXXV.
 1606—CXIII.
 1607—LXIII

We see that fifty-three sonnets can be placed in their periods with fair certainty. The results from this study of parallels are, as far as they go, satisfactory. No poem had parallels to plays of different dates. There were cross parallels with *Romeo and Juliet* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and with *Troilus and Cressida* and *Twelfth Night*, but for both pairs of plays the date given by Neilson and Thorndike is the same year.

It has not been the aim of this paper to determine a complete chronology of the sonnets. I have tried only to suggest a skeleton around which the remaining sonnets can be safely built. For this reason I have eliminated many parallelisms which are suggestive but not conclusive. I have included, however, every instance I found in which peculiar words or phrases appear for the only times in Shakespeare's works. These cases seem to me the soundest evidence that the productions in question were written at approximately the same date, because it is probable that, if a word not in the author's ordinary vocabulary had drifted into his mind, it would be used twice—more probable than that it should be used once, forgotten for a while, and then resurrected for a second occasion.

One question remains to be answered before the soundness of this method of working be established. Is the resulting chronology reasonable from the point of view of style? It seems to me that it is, and that the development of technical mastery and matured expression advances evenly throughout these fifty-three poems. Style, however, cannot be treated satisfactorily in the space of an article, and it is, in any case, rather too subjective a matter to allow of incontrovertible proof.

The point I wish to leave clearly in mind is that no method yet attempted other than textual parallelisms is a sound premise from which to argue the chronology of the sonnets. The order of the Quarto proves nothing. We cannot judge the

dates of composition by correspondence to events in the poet's life because the sonnets may not be autobiographical and because we do not know any of the intimate details of Shakespeare's life. Nor can we place the poems by public events, for there is no clear and undisputed reference to any such event. We cannot be sure whether Pembroke or Southampton was the patron of the moment. When parallels with other authors appear, we do not know which was the imitator. We must not group by subject, for Shakespeare often reworked an old subject several times. Style is inconclusive, and while it must be considered as corroborative evidence, it cannot be taken as proof in itself.

On the other hand, Shakespeare did, as we know from the plays, often use a phrase twice and then forget it. There are striking parallelisms between some of the sonnets and some of the plays. None of the evidence thus afforded is contradictory.

I present this skeleton arrangement for what it is worth. It is a sturdy framework on which I hope in time may be hung the complete but more tentative chronology.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

KONRAD BURDACH, VORSPIEL. Gesammelte Schriften zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes. Erster Band, erster Teil: Mittelalter. 400 S. Zweiter Teil: Reformation und Renaissance. 282 S. Verlag Max Niemeyer in Halle a. Saale. 1925.

Im Jahre 1923 begannen Paul Kluckhohn und Erich Rothacker die Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte herauszugeben. Die "Buchreihe" dieser Zeitschrift eröffnen K. Burdachs ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge.

Jede Wissenschaft erfordert die Hingabe eines ganzen Lebens. Und der Wissenschaft, die sich die Erhellung des deutschen Altertums zur Aufgabe setzt, hat Burdach sein Dasein geweiht. Ihr dient er seit den Tagen seiner Jugend mit voller Kraft, mit einer Liebe, der Gelehrsamkeit nicht letztes Ziel sein kann. Leben vermag sich nur an Leben zu entzünden. Sein eigenes Empfinden bannt Burdach in seine Werke; die Darstellung ist nicht starr oder blutleer, sondern erfüllt von tiefer Hingabe an den Gegenstand. Wie jede Dichtung, so ist auch das Buch eines Gelehrten Spiegel seines Wesens, seiner ihm eigenen Art: bei aller Vorurteilslosigkeit, die oberstes Gebot sein muss.

"Richtlinien," unter diesem Namen sind die drei ersten Beiträge vereint. Sie zeigen Burdachs hohe Auffassung von der Wissenschaft, der er dient. Die Antrittsrede in der Berliner Akademie (1902) gibt überdies dankenswerte Aufschlüsse über seinen Entwicklungsgang. In Königsberg, in der Stadt Kants, Hamanns, E. Th. A. Hoffmanns, ist er aufgewachsen. Wilhelm Scherers "Vorträge und Aufsätze" lagen auf dem Konfirmationstisch des Fröhreife. An der Universität seiner Vaterstadt wurden Schade, Friedländer, Dahn seine Lehrer. Musikalische Neigungen waren seit Kindheitstagen in ihm mächtig. In Leipzig fasste er endgültig den Entschluss, sich der Gelehrtenlaufbahn zu widmen. Wichtige Anregungen und Belehrungen verdankte er hier Zarncke, Hildebrand, Georg Curtius, Braune, Ebert, Ribbeck, Hübschmann, Windisch. Während eines Sommersemesters in Bonn hörte er Wilmanns, Bücheler, Jakob Bernays. Als Leipziger Doktor kam er nach Berlin. Hier besuchte er die Vorlesungen Wilhelm Scherers, mit dem ihn alsbald eine herzliche Freundschaft verband. Auch Karl Müllenhoff trat er persönlich nahe. "Als ich von ihm schied, um mich zu habilitieren, hat er mir segnende Worte gesagt, die ich niemals vergesse."

Geschichte der deutschen Sprache ist zugleich Geschichte der deutschen Bildung—dieser Gedanke durchzieht Burdachs wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk. Ihm gibt auch die Einleitung in die Vorlesung über Walther von der Vogelweide an der Berliner Universität (1902) lebendigen Ausdruck. Burdachs erste Veröffentlichung in Buchform¹ beleuchtete die innere Entwicklung des Dichters auf Grund sprachlich-stilistischer Eigenheiten. Im Jahre 1900 gab er unter dem Titel "Walther von der Vogelweide. Philologische und historische Forschungen" (Erster Teil, München, Duncker & Humboldt) ein Lebensbild des mittelalterlichen Künstlers—und zwar auf dem Hintergrunde der Zeit. Das verleiht dem genannten Buche seinen Eigenwert und charakterisiert zugleich Burdachs Forscherart: nicht ein für sich abgetrenntes Lebensgebiet ist ihm die Dichtung. Der Philologe, der Literaturhistoriker vereint sich in ihm mit dem Geschichtsforscher und dem Kunsthistoriker. Universalität kennzeichnet seine Werke. Das eigentlich Heimische schält er aus dem Gesamtbestande der mittelalterlichen Kultur heraus. Und zudem ergründet er die Einflüsse fremder Völker. "Die Offenbarerin tiefster und edelster Geheimnisse" nennt er die Philologie. Sie deckt das Wesen eines Volkes auf; und das Wesen seiner grossen Denker und Dichter. Der Nation hat auch die Schule zu dienen. Nicht Aneignung äusserer Kenntnisse darf ihr letztes Ziel sein; auf die Ausbildung der inneren, sittlichen Kräfte muss sie vor allem bedacht sein. Dass die deutsche Schule "eine Lehrerin der nationalen Ethik" werde, fordert der Aufsatz "Über deutsche Erziehung." Das beigefügte Nachwort enthält zugleich wertvolle Hinweise, die vor allem in dem zweiten Teile des ersten Bandes eingehendere Behandlung erfahren.

Die Einleitung der Vorlesung über Walther von der Vogelweide war bisher ungedruckt. Zum ersten Male veröffentlicht werden auch zwei grosse Abhandlungen: "Nachleben des griechisch-römischen Altertums in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung und Kunst und deren wechselseitige Beziehungen" und "Die Entstehung des mittelalterlichen Romans." Eine Fülle von Stoff ist hier vereint und verarbeitet. Wichtige neue Erkenntnisse werden uns geboten. Und nicht minder wertvoll sind die rein methodischen Hinweise, und Forderungen. Die Wissenschaft vom deutschen Altertum darf, wenn anders sie ihre hohen Aufgaben erfüllen und nicht in gefahrvolle Einseitigkeit verfallen will, die lateinische Bildung des Mittelalters keineswegs ausser Acht lassen. Fast ganz unerforscht geblieben sind bisher die mittelalterlichen, lateinischen Poetiken und Rhetorik, diese "in ihrer weitgreifenden Bedeutung noch

¹ "Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide" (Leipzig 1880). Eine zweite Auflage, die auch Burdachs Aufsätze über einzelne Minnesänger bringen wird, bereitet der Verlag Max Niemeyer in Halle vor.

gar nicht erkannte Hauptquelle der poetischen Technik der landessprachlichen Dichtungen." Und auch eine stärkere Berücksichtigung der bildenden Kunst würde der altdeutschen Philologie wertvolle Einblicke in innere Zusammenhänge gewähren. Burdach spricht u. a. von den Personifikationen, die bei mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern z. B. häufig begegnen: frou Minne, frou Ere, frou Staete, frou Saelde. Diese Stileigentümlichkeit geht zurück auf eine lange künstlerische und kunsttheoretische Überlieferung, die im Hellenismus wurzelt. Von dort stammen auch die ausführlichen Beschreibungen wunderbarer Grotten, Bauten und Kunstwerke. Man denke nur an die eingehende Schilderung des Graltempels im jüngeren Titurel! Sie "wäre nicht möglich gewesen ohne die Anlehnung an die wirklich existierenden Vorbilder der Architektur." Zu der verlorenen Salomo-Dichtung Heinrichs von Veldeke, von der uns der unbekante Verfasser des "Moritz von Craon" berichtet, hat wohl ein Bildwerk den Anstoss gegeben. Das poetische Motiv zeigt in lebendiger Überlieferung fortwirkende Eindrücke der Symbole des Orients. Auch für das althochdeutsche Gedicht von Christus und der Samariterin nimmt Burdach "bildliche Darstellungen als Vorlage oder wenigstens als Anregungsquelle" an. Ebenso fesselnd wie schwer zu beantworten ist die Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen geistlichem Schauspiel und bildender Kunst, eine Frage, an der Burdach keineswegs vorübergeht. Lichtvolle Ausblicke neben reicher Belehrung spendet auch die bisher unbekante Abhandlung "Die Entstehung des mittelalterlichen Romans." Wie schön wird z. B. der "Ruodlieb" gewürdigt! Novellenstoffe sind hier vereint und verarbeitet, die der Verfasser wohl aus Byzanz empfangen hat. Auf orientalische Vorbilder geht vor allem die Art des Aufbaus zurück. Für unsere Kenntnis von der Entstehung der Salomo-Sage sehr wertvoll ist ein Fund Burdachs. Am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts erzählt eine französische Jerusalem-pilgerin, in der Kirche des heiligen Grabes habe man am Charfreitag den Ring Salomos und das Horn gezeigt, mit dem die alttestamentlichen Könige gesalbt wurden. Zwei Jahrhunderte später berichtet eine andere Quelle, der Siegelring Salomos, durch den er sich die Dämonen unterworfen habe, werde den Gläubigen zum Kusse dargereicht; er bestehe aus Elektrum. Aus einem Excurs des Buches über Walther von der Vogelweide ist ein grosses, bis auf den Schlussabschnitt vollendetes Werk "Longinus und Gral" erwachsen. Den Inhalt der ersten acht Kapitel umreisst ein Aufsatz, der den mittelalterlichen Kulturkreis dem Leser lebendig vor Augen stellt. Den Gral leitet Burdach nicht eigentlich aus der christlichen Legende und den apokryphen Evangelien her, sondern "aus den poetischen Eindrücken der Liturgie, aus der *Kultusmystik* und *Kultusmagie*, aus dem materialistisch,

paganistisch gefasstem Dogma und Ritus des *Abendmahls*, aus dem Reliquiendienst und den *Reliquienmärchen* der *Palästina-wallfahrer*." Gral und Longinus-Speer *zusammen* bilden nach ihm den ursprünglichen Kern der Gralsage.² Mit den Betrachtungen über die Entstehung der Legende vom heiligen Gral sind die Aufsätze "der Judenspiess und die Longinussage" und "Der Longinusspeer in eschatologischem Lichte" innerlich aufs engste verknüpft. In Schriften des 15.-17. Jahrhunderts begegnet häufig die Wendung: mit dem Judenspiessrennen-Wucher treiben. Die ältesten Belege gibt Sebastian Brant in seinem *Narrenschiff*, im 76. und im 93. Kapitel. Der fast sprichwörtlich gebrauchte Ausdruck wurzelt in langer Überlieferung, in volksmässiger Anschauung. Nach Joh. 19, 34 durchbohrte ein Kriegsknecht mit der Lanze die Seite des Gekreuzigten; Wasser und Blut quollen aus der Wunde. Im Mittelalter wurde der Kriegsknecht vielfach für einen Juden angesehen. In einer reichen, weitausblickenden Darstellung zeigt Burdach die Bedeutung, die Longinus in geistlicher und weltlicher Dichtung, in Dogma, Predigt, Legende und Sage während der Zeit des frühen Christentums und des Mittelalters gehabt hat. Und merkwürdig, dass der Longinus-Speer, das Sinnbild eines erhabenen, religiösen Gedankens, als Volkswitz drei Jahrhunderte lang zur Kennzeichnung der Schlechtigkeit einer leidenschaftlichen gehassten Menschenklasse dient, ohne dass damit eine kirchenfeindliche Gesinnung zum Ausdruck käme. Kulturgeschichtlich sehr wertvolle Schilderungen ziehen wieder an unseren Augen vorüber. Neue Ergebnisse, die zugleich eine Umstellung der bisherigen Forschung notwendig machen, bringt die ausführliche Abhandlung "Über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Minnesangs, Liebesromans und Frauendienstes." Rittertum und Frauendienst widersprechen sich innerlich. Weder aus der militärischen, noch aus der sozialen oder religiösen Natur des Rittertums lässt sich der Minnedienst herleiten. Burdach beleuchtet zunächst die bisherigen Versuche, den Ursprung des Minnesangs zu erklären und zeigt den grundsätzlichen Fehler, an dem sie alle leiden. Der Weg führt ihn schliesslich zur Kultur der Araber, von der er ein fesselndes Bild entwirft. In den dichterischen Huldigungen, die seit dem 9. Jahrhundert die arabischen Hofpoeten Andalusiens fürstlichen Frauen darbrachten, erblickt er das literarische Vorbild des werdenden Minnesangs und des ro-

² Hingewiesen sei auf *Wolfgang Golther*, *Parzival und der Gral in der Dichtung des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, J. B. Metzler 1925). Nach Golthers Überzeugung beruht die gesamte Überlieferung auf den Gedichten Kristians, Roberts von Boron und Wolframs von Eschenbach, "aus denen alle späteren ohne verlorene Zwischenglieder abgeleitet werden müssen." In Kristians unvollendetem Werk sieht er den Keim und die Grundlage der Gralsdichtungen. Die Gralsszene gewährt ihm zudem "den festen Mittelpunkt zum Vergleich und zur Bestimmung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses."

mantischen Liebesgriffes der höfischen Romane. Nur der *künstlerischen* Entstehung des Minnesangs geht er nach. Die *inneren* Ursachen aufzudecken, die geheimnisvoll in den Tiefen der mittelalterlichen Seelen sich vollziehenden Wandlungen zu verfolgen, "übersteigt wohl die Kräfte geschichtlicher Erkenntnis." Der Brauch, hochgestellten Frauen in Liedern zu huldigen, lässt sich bis in früheste Zeit zurückverfolgen. Einfluss der hellenistischen galanten Hoflyrik ist spürbar. Und die persische Dichtung bildet, wie wir wohl annehmen dürfen, die Kulturbrücke zwischen alexandrinischer Hofkunst und arabischer Poesie in der uns vorliegenden Form.

Mit Walther von der Vogelweide beschäftigt sich der zweite Beitrag des Buches. Denselben Künstler ist die letzte Abhandlung des Bandes gewidmet. Sie trägt die Überschrift "Der mythische und der geschichtliche Walther." Von dem Denkmal, das deutsche Vaterlandsfreunde dem Dichter in Bozen errichtet haben, geht Burdach aus. Walthers Heimat ist uns unbekannt. "Das lichte Marmorbild in Bozen schiebt dem wirklichen, dem historischen Walther ein Traumbild unter. Es besteht die Gefahr, dass dieses Traumbild sich auch in die Auffassung von Walthers dichterischem Werk eindringt." Walther wird Goethe gegenübergestellt und damit beider Wesen scharf umgrenzt. Goethes Kunst ist ganz persönlich. "Lass den Weltenspiegel Alexandern," heisst es im Westöstlichen Diwan. Der Weltenspiegel, den er ergreift, wird in seiner Hand zum Liebesspiegel. Walther klagt wohl in seinen Versen über eigenes Leid, über eigene bittere Erfahrungen. Aber seine Lyrik wurzelt in der Gesellschaft seiner Zeit; er spricht zugleich aus, was auch Tausende andere Herzen bewegt. Nur im Rahmen des Mittelalters sind sein Wesen und sein Werk zu verstehen. *Geschichtlich* muss sein Wirken begriffen werden. Ein Anhänger der staufischen Reichspartei, mahnt er sein Volk, Philipp den "Waisen" aufzusetzen. Dieser Spruch vom Juni 1198 sowie die Verse "Diu kröne ist elter dan der künec Philippes si" und "Ez gienc, eins tages als unser hërre wart geborn" sind "denkwürdige Zeugnisse mittelalterlicher offiziöser Publizistik." Das Verständnis für den Dichter hat uns Burdach vielfach überhaupt erst erschlossen. Hinzuweisen wäre wiederum auf das treffliche Buch über Walther vom Jahre 1900; und insbesondere auf die dort abgedruckten, ebenso tief schürfenden wie weitblickenden, auf gründlichster Kenntnis der zeitgenössischen Quellen fussenden Untersuchungen über den ersten, zweiten und dritten Reichsspruch. Die Abhandlung des "Vorspiels" berücksichtigt eingehend das Lied "Ich sach mit mnen ougen" und weiterhin die sieben Sprüche gegen den Papst aus dem Frühjahr 1213. Der letzte Abschnitt schildert die literarischen Plänkeleien zwischen Walther und Wolfram. Mit einer glänzenden Charakteristik der beiden Dichter, die

ihre Eigenart tief beleuchtet und die Gegensätzlichkeit ihres Wesens hervorhebt, schliesst die Arbeit. Sie fördert in hervorragendem Masse das Verständnis für Walther. Ja, sie ist neben dem genannten Buche von 1900 vielfach von grundlegender Bedeutung. Die neue, von Hermann Michel besorgte Auflage der Pfeifferschen Ausgabe in den Deutschen Klassikern des Mittelalters beweist es. Nicht minder die grosse, umfassende Ausgabe von Wilhelm Wilmanns, die jetzt Victor Michels betreut (Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle a. Saale).³

Im Seminar von Wilmanns hatte der Bonner Student die beiden Fassungen des "Werther" miteinander zu vergleichen. Schon damals fiel Burdach der grosse sprachliche Unterschied in der älteren und jüngeren Gestalt der Dichtung auf (1774 und 1787). Den Preis der Grimm-Stiftung erwarb er sich 1881 durch die "Darstellung der Sprache des jungen Goethe in seinen Schriften und Briefen bis 1776." Ihn fesselte die Frage nach der Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Schrift- und Literatursprache. Der Erhellung und Lösung der hier auftauchenden Probleme sollte sein weiteres wissenschaftliches Wirken gewidmet sein. Es entstand das grossangelegte, später im Auftrage der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften fortgeführte Werk "Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation. Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildung" (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin).⁴ Es liegen bis jetzt vor: Burdachs Schilderung "Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit (2. Band, 1. Teil, 1. Hälfte). Ferner der 3. und 4. Teil: Kritischer Text, Lesarten und Anmerkungen, hg. von K. Burdach und Paul Piur; und der "Anhang." Dieser enthält: Urkundliche Quellen zur Geschichte Rienzos, hg. von Burdach und P. Piur; sowie das Oraculum Cyrilli, kritisch hg. von P. Piur. Auf diese, in den Kreisen der franziskanischen Spiritualen entstandene prophetische Schrift beruft sich Rienzo oft in seinen Manifesten an Karl IV. und Erzbischof Ernst. Beigefügt ist ein Kommentar, als dessen Verfasser man fälschlich Joachim von Fiore angesehen hat. Das Jahr 1917 bescherte uns die prächtige, von K. Burdach und Alois Bernt gemeinsam veranstaltete Ausgabe des "Ackermann aus Böhmen."⁵ Der zweite Teil des

³ Verwiesen sei auf die feinsinnige harmonisch in sich abgerundete Darstellung von C. von Kraus, "Walther von der Vogelweide als Liebesdichter" (S. 16), *Münchener Universitätsreden*, Heft 3. Verlag der Hochschulbuchhandlung Max Hueber, München, 1925.

⁴ Im einzelnen sei verwiesen auf Burdachs Bericht in Januar-Heft (1925) dieser Zeitschrift, S. 1 ff.

⁵ Vgl. Helmut Wocke, "Der Ackermann aus Böhmen." *Ibergs Neue Jahrbücher* 1922, I. Abt., S. 279 ff.—Eine Facsimileausgabe des Druckes a (Wolfenbüttel) liegt im Insel-Verlag zu Leipzig vor. Die Handschrift H. (München) bringt in drei verschiedenen Ausgaben mit Alois Bernts Übersetzung der zweite der "Böhmerland-Drucke" (Verlag Gebrüder Stippel, Reichenberg in Böhmen). Beigegeben sind Urholzschnitte von Prof. Walter Klemm, einem führenden Meister sudetendeutscher Holzschnittkunst.

Werkes, der den Dichter des gewaltigen Prosadialoges würdigt und biographische und ideengeschichtliche Untersuchungen bringt, ist zur Zeit im Druck. In kurzem zu erwarten haben wir das Buch "Schlesisch-böhmische Briefmuster aus der Wende des 14. Jahrhunderts."

Im engsten Zusammenhange mit diesem bahnbrechenden grossen Werk stehen die Arbeiten, die der erste Band des "Vorspiels" im zweiten Teil vereint. Sie bilden zugleich die Brücke zu den beiden Schriften Burdachs "Deutsche Renaissance. Betrachtungen über unsere künftige Bildung" (Berlin, E. S. Mittler & Sohn, jetzt in 2. Aufl. vorliegend) und "Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus. Zwei Abhandlungen über die Grundlage moderner Bildung und Sprachkunst" (Berlin, Gebrüder Paetel). Die Einleitung der Hallischen Habilitationsschrift "Die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache" eröffnet den Band. Sie betont, dass Luther keine neue Sprache geschaffen habe, und erinnert an des Reformators eigenes Bekenntnis in den Tischreden. In ständigem Vordringen begriffen war die Sprache der kaiserlichen Kanzlei, wie sich unter und nach den Luxemburgern in Böhmen ausgebildet hatte. Im Laufe der Zeit nahm sie mitteldeutsche Formen auf und eignete sich so zu einem Bindegliede zwischen Norden und Süden. Mehrere von Burdach herbeigezogene Zeugnisse beweisen, wie weit man im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert noch von dem Streben nach sprachlicher Gemeinschaft entfernt war. Um 1536 wurden die für Franz I. von Frankreich bestimmten Schreiben, die von allen Höfen Deutschlands einliefen, zunächst in "gemeines Deutsch" übersetzt und erst dann ins Französische übertragen! R. von Raumers Behauptung, um 1600 sei Luthers Sprache die Büchersprache der Protestanten wie der Katholiken geworden, ist falsch und unhaltbar. Eins aber ist gewiss: "Eine Geschichte der Einigung der deutschen Schriftsprache, die um etwa 1800 soweit abgeschlossen war, als sie heute ist, kann mit vollem Recht eine Vorgeschichte der politischen Einigung unseres Vaterlandes genannt werden."

Aus der Festschrift für Rudolf Hildebrand stammt ein Beitrag "Zur Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache." Er beschäftigt sich mit dem Hiatus-Gesetz, das Opitz nach dem Vorgang Ernst Schwabes von der Heide im Aristarchus und dann im Büchlein von der deutschen Poeterei aufstellte. In seinen Bestrebungen um die Reinigung der Dichtersprache liess sich der Schlesier von dem Beispiel der Romanen und den Gedanken der Niederländer leiten. Die folgenden Arbeiten über "Die pfälzischen Wittelsbacher und die altdeutschen Handschriften der Palatina" und die "Wandlungen der deutschen Bildung im Spiegel der Handschriftenkunde" bringen nicht bloss eine Fülle neuen Stoffes und eine feinsinnige Cha-

rakteristik Püterichs von Reicherzhausen; sie gewähren auch wichtige Einblicke in die Anfänge des pfälzisch-schwäbischen Humanismus. Der Forschung geben sie überdies bedeutungsvolle Hinweise; sie zeigen, welche wichtige Erkenntnisse unserer Literaturgeschichte aus einer planmässigen und eindringenden Untersuchung der Geschichte des deutschen Handschriftenwesens erwachsen würden. Wir erhielten Aufschlüsse über das allmähliche Absterben der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung; wir erfahren, wie lange die Teilnahme für die ältere deutsche Poesie lebendig geblieben ist. Beantwortet könnten dann auch die folgenden Fragen werden: "Wie lange währt das literarische Übergewicht Oberdeutschlands? . . . Ferner: wann rückt das *mittlere* Deutschland in die gleiche Stellung ein? Wann regt sich auch hier Interesse für die ältere einheimische Literatur? Wann und wo beginnt man hier deutsche Handschriften zu sammeln? In welcher Reihenfolge beteiligten sich dann die einzelnen mitteldeutschen Landschaften?" Dem Absterben des Mittelalters, dem Aufdämmern der neuen Zeit geht Burdach nach. Der Osten Deutschlands rückt in den Mittelpunkt seiner Forschungen, die Zeit des Luxemburgers Karls IV. Die Sprachwende vom Mittelhochdeutschen zum Neuhochdeutschen ist zugleich eine Kulturwende. Und so beschränken sich Burdachs Untersuchungen keineswegs auf sprachliche Erscheinungen. Wie weit er seine Aufgabe fasst, zeigen die Berichte über die zweijährige Forschungsreise in Böhmen, Mähren, Österreich, Italien, Schweden und Frankreich. Den theologischen, den juristischen Handschriften jener Zeit spürt er eifrig nach. Und er beschäftigt sich eingehend mit der Miniaturmalerei der Schule von Siena. Alle geistigen Ströme, die nach Böhmen kamen, sucht er kennen zu lernen; und zugleich will er zeigen, welche Einflüsse der Luxemburgische Hof als Kulturmittelpunkt auf Mähren, Schlesien, Thüringen ausgeübt hat. Die Namen eines Dante, Petrarca, Cola di Rienzo begegnen uns immer aufs neue. Wir hören u. a. von dem Wirken Johanns von Neumarkt, des Kanzlers Karls IV. Eine Fülle feinsinniger Einzelbeobachtungen bergen die Reiseberichte. Über den Satzrhythmus der deutschen Prosa handelt ein hochwichtiger Aufsatz: gerade die Kenntnis des Cursus ist ja so notwendig für eine richtige künstlerische Würdigung des "Ackermanns aus Böhmen"! Auf Untersuchungen der Franzosen Valois, Havet und Bouvy fussend, hat Wilhelm Meyer gezeigt, wie eine feste Überlieferung der Satzbetonung vom Ausgang des Altertums bis in die Zeit des Mittelalters fortwirkt. Den Einfluss der Kanzleisprache Böhmens auf die Schlesiens beleuchtet ein weiterer Beitrag. Johann von Gelnhausen, dem Notar Karls IV., gelten die folgenden Blätter. Zum Schluss rückt Luther aufs neue in unseren Gesichtskreis. Unvergängliche Verdienste hat er sich um unser Deutsch erworben. Die Anschauung freilich,

als sei er der "Schöpfer der neuhochdeutschen Sprache," hält wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis nicht stand.

Den reichen Inhalt der beiden Bände wollen diese Zeilen nur andeuten. Ein Wort des Dankes gebührt auch dem Verleger Max Niemeyer in Halle, der in einer für den deutschen Buchhandel ausserordentlich schwierigen Zeit mit Burdachs Aufsätzen und Vorträgen ein neues wissenschaftliches Unternehmen verheissungsvoll eröffnet.

HELMUT WOCKE

Liegnitz in Schlesien

ORTNAMNEN I GÖTEBORGS OCH BOHUSLÄN. I, ORTNAMNEN I SÄVEDALS HÄRAD. Pp. xix+367. [Institutet för ortnamns- och dialektforskning vid Göteborgs Högskola]. Göteborg, 1923.

Although the name of the author of this work does not appear on the title page it is clear from the preface that the larger share of the work and the final form in which it appears goes to the credit of Dr. Hjalmar Lindroth, who is the Secretary and the Director of Research for the Institute. To Professor Evald Lidén generous acknowledgement is given by the author for numerous and important contributions to the etymological part, while for Landvetter Parish some of the work was apparently done by Mr. A. Lewin, Master in a Folkschool, who is a native of this parish. A word about this Institute will be in order.

It was organized in the fall of 1917 at Gothenburg University (Högskola) as an Institute for Placename- and Dialect-Investigation. Its main object is to undertake exhaustive and systematic investigations of the names and dialects of the province, and to publish the results as monographs; further also to furnish a place for the publication of such investigations of special problems as may best be issued as separate articles. For these purposes the Institute issues a series under the general title of *Skrifter*, followed by the Institute's name. The men who have inaugurated this large undertaking rightly claim for the work they are doing an important place in the study of western Swedish history and culture; for surely any European community with an ancient settlement which is also continuous down to the present time will have in its placenames a chief source for those facts which make up the history of its life in the past, and its community development from the time when settlements were first formed through the subsequent centuries; and the dialect itself will often have to be consulted.

The Institute sent out its first published number of 1918. This dealt with the District and Parish Names of Bohuslän, a volume of 115 pages, by Hjalmar Lindroth. This was fol-

lowed in 1920 by a volume which took the form of a group of articles, 133 pages in all. Among these articles I shall note particularly two: one on the boundary and the differences between south and north Bohuslän, a question of very great interest; this was also by Dr. Lindroth; and one by Mr. A. Paulson on nature terms in Bullaren and their use in place-names. There were also other excellent contributions, by the Director and by others. As will be seen Dr. Lindroth has taken a very active part in the research and the output of the Institute. His work otherwise also, in recent years, will be known to some of the readers of this JOURNAL, for there have been many contributions from him, articles and critical reviews, that have appeared in other journals and special works, as the chapter on "Ortnamnen och bebyggelsehistorien" in Flodström's *Sverges Folk*, 1918. In 1923 he published a general work on the study of placenames¹ in the series *Natur och Kultur*, and he is the author of the Institute's third volume, entitled *Kunst- och Skärgårdsnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohuslän. I, Sjökortet Jjörn* (p. 240).

The present work, published in folio form, is Part I of what is planned to ultimately include the place names of the whole province. We are in this part given an account of the place-names of Sävedal, which is a section of that portion of the province which lies within Västergötland. There is often great detail of treatment, and in connection with the name under consideration there is much material of cultural-historical interest furnished. There has been included in this case rather more than is intended in the series as a whole, namely all classes of settlement names, even names of parts of estates, in so far as these are not named after the present occupant. The plan of the work also excludes all names that have no connection with popular name-giving. The author divides the material into: (1) settlement names, and (2) nature names. The latter take up pages 132-336 of the work, and I roughly estimate the number to be about 2700 names in this district (härad) of three parishes. There are 99 settlement names discussed, listed alphabetically under the three parishes. In its scope the section on the nature names does not differ much from other Swedish and Norwegian works on the subject, or for that matter of the most recent English works in the field. Nevertheless, I shall indicate the author's divisions here and the kinds of names included. (1) lakes, tarns, bays, sounds; (2) water-courses; (3) islands, holms, skerries, headlands; (4) roads, bridges, gates, wading- and crossing-places; (5) heights, hills, slopes, rocky places, rocks; (6) marshes, bogs; (7) valleys, sunken places, holes; (8) fields, meadows, orchards,

¹ *Våra Ortnamn og vad de lära oss*. Stockholm.

gardens, burned-over land, clearings, open places; (9) woods, groves; and (10) miscellaneous names.

The work has been so excellently done, and shows on every hand such sound critical judgment in the sifting of the material, and such a degree of reserve in the consideration of the names and in the effort to find an explanation for difficult cases, that it is possible, here, in the great majority of names where explanations are offered, to agree with the author. I shall take the space merely to add a note on a few names.

P. 8. *Dansered*. The author seems inclined to regard this as having in its first part the word *Dan*, i. e., 'Dane,' and hence that the place was named after a Dane who 'cleared' (-red) a farm for himself and settled there. I suppose it is possible that the dialect may allow of this explanation in spite of the first *e*. The earliest recorded form *Dansridt*, 1550, gives some support for this, and there is, besides, the form *Danzrödh*, 1565. But it is to be noted that an almost equally early form is that of *Danseridt*, 1585, and that the present pronunciation is *Danasra*. In between 1585 and the present both forms are used. The indications are then that the original nameform was of three syllables, for names of this type (two monosyllabic themes, the first a genitive in -s), seem to retain this form always in Sävedal.

P. 126. *Åstebo*. Possibly the second part is to be regarded here as -bo, for the preposition employed is *på*. If the second part were -bod, the preposition would, it seems likely, have been *i*, as in the case of *Kopparbo*, p. 19, *i Kopparbo*. In regard to -bo as the explanation, there is a parallel in *Fläskebo*, p. 54, where, however, the author notes that the source may be -boda.

P. 259. *Ulvekulan*. There is no discussion, but a reference to *Ulvekullan*, where also the parallel *Vargekullan* is mentioned. In these two cases the meaning is clear. But the long -u- of the second part of *Ulvekulan* seems to preclude identifying with *kulle*. I have at this moment a vague recollection of having once heard an old man, speaking the Aurland dialect of Norwegian, say *ulvakula*, of a place where wolves have their gathering place, as a hollow or a cave. Turning to Aasen's *Norsk Ordbog* I find that his second definition of *kula* is 'en liden Skaal,' and he adds: 'bruges ellers meget i Nordre Bergenhus om en Sammenkomst til Leg og Lystighed.' And Ross has the meaning 'Rede,' but apparently used only of a 'nest' of twelve eggs.

P. 72. *Skalmered*. With regard to this name I cannot help feeling that the numerous occurrences (twenty or more) of recorded forms in -redh, -ridt, -rödh, -ryd, etc., from 1540 on, as against the single form *Skalmwle* gives the former precedence as the point of departure for the etymology. The *l* of the ending

could be a scribal error (dittography). To be sure, in deriving from *Skalma+red*, the writing *Skalmwle* would have another irregularity in the *w* for *a*. But *w* can surely be assumed as sometimes occurring in early modern Swedish (1546) for *u*; cf. also such other forms as *Skalmondröd*, and *Salmunered*.

P. XV. In discussing the one occurrence of a name in *-um* (<*hem*) the author says "detta namn går med säkerhet tillbaka till långt avlägsen förhistorisk tid," but without any more definite dating. (Hence to the Early Iron Age or even, perhaps, the Bronze Age, as some have held?). But need this class of names be much older in western Sweden than in Norway? As to the west Swedish names in *-red*, (*-ryd*, *-röd*, etc.) should they not be dated somewhat later perhaps than is usually done?

In the *Inledning*, xi-xix, there is a discussion of the situation and the history of the settlement, its topography, its fauna and flora now, and (as revealed in the placenames) in earlier times, the age and course of settlements, the relative chronology of certain types of formations, lanes of intercourse in former times, and the people (pure native, very little permanent movement to the locality even from the city of Gothenburg). Naturally there are the usual share of humorous names, while such as represent a comparison with the appearance of an animal or part of it, a human being or part of the body, an aged person, or, e. g., a tool, or an article of food, are numerous. The local pronunciation of every name is given in the phonetic symbols of the Swedish dialect society. There is an alphabetical index of all names, and separately of personal names, of nicknames, and of words which appear in new meanings or which are not found at all elsewhere in Swedish. I miss greatly a separate listing of the names according to the second theme; we cannot see the extent and distribution of these. I think such a list adds materially to the value of a work of this kind. From the Preface we see that the city of Gothenburg on the recommendation of its Mayor, has contributed 19,500 kroner (\$5,265) toward the expenses of the investigation and the printing. There is an excellent map.

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MITTELHOCHDEUTSCHE DICHTERHELDENSAGE, by Fritz Rostock. xvi+48 pp. Halle, Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1925.

This is volume fifteen of *Hermaea, Ausgewählte Arbeiten aus dem deutschen Seminar zu Halle*.

Starting from and with Heusler's characterization of the older Germanic *Heldensage* as a consistent literary type,

homogeneous in content and uniform in style, Dr. Rostock approaches the mass of historico-legendary material which has been grouped together under the catch-all concept of *Volks-sage* to inquire whether it is not possible to introduce some law and order in this ill defined genus by analyzing the material into coherent sub-types.

Without attempting a complete analysis of the *Volks-sagen*, Dr. Rostock finds justification for bringing together a part of the material under the concept of *Dichterheldensage*, a term which might perhaps better be written, for the present, *Dichterhelden-Sage* to show that what is meant is not *Heldensage* of which the poets of the MHG period were especially fond, but *Heldensage* in which some of these very poets appear as the heroes.

This concept is by no means a new one, as Dr. Rostock himself points out. Simrock, Scherer, Vogt, and others recognized more or less clearly the relationship existing between the legends which are attached or linked in one way or another to the names of Tannhäuser, Neidhart von Reuenthal, Wirnt von Grafenberg, and other well known names, and R. M. Meyer is credited with being the first to suggest the term *Dichterheldensage* as a group name.

Assuming that we have here a promising hypothesis Dr. Rostock proceeds to inquire what legends or groups of legends may properly be considered as belonging in this category; what characteristics they possess in common, stylistically and with respect to content; when, where, and how the *Dichter* were transformed into *Helden*.

In theory, and no doubt also to a certain extent in point of fact, the "poet-hero" type of literature may be found in any period and among the most diverse races. Dr. Rostock is concerned, however, only with that particularly clear manifestation of the type which occurred after the classic period of the *Minnesang* had come to an end, which reached its culmination in the period of the *Meistergesang*, and which may be said to have terminated with the *Fastnachtsspiele* of Hans Sachs.

Confining himself to this restricted but productive era, Dr. Rostock lists eight legends or cycles of legends which clearly belong in this category:

- the Moringer legend
- the Neidhart legend
- the Tannhäuser legend
- the Bremberger legend
- the Wirnt von Grafenberg legend
- the Wartburg legend
- the Meistersinger legend
- the Legendary Narratives concerning the death and burial of Walther von der Vogelweide and Heinrich von Meissen (*Frauenlob*).

Taking up each legend in detail Dr. Rostock brings together all the available historical material with which he then builds up his theory of the origin and development of the legend in the form in which it appears in connection with one or the other of the "poet-heroes" mentioned. Naturally we are dealing here to a considerable extent with conjectures and probabilities, none of which, however, are without foundation and many of which are thoroughly convincing.

As an example of the method pursued and the results obtained we will give a partial summary of Dr. Rostock's treatment of the Moringer legend.

Jakob Grimm was the first to identify the "noble Moringer" of the legend with the MHG Minnesinger Heinrich von Morungen. Later scholars questioned this identification, but Friedrich Vogt has more recently brought forward new and convincing proofs for the correctness of Grimm's view. The legend has been preserved in a Volkslied and in a prose version found in the Zimmerischen Chronik. As a historical source the latter is of less value in that its author has clearly drawn his information from the Volkslied. The story of which Moringer is made the hero is the familiar "homecoming legend," of which numerous versions existed both within and beyond the boundaries of medieval Germany: "A knight who is about to undertake a distant journey receives from his wife upon his departure the promise that she will wait for a definite time for his return. If he fails to return within the period specified she is to be free to marry another husband if she so desires. The knight is unable to return as soon as he had hoped. The appointed day is almost at hand when he learns that his impatient wife is already on the point of taking a second husband. By supernatural means the knight is transported to his home. Unrecognized he enters his castle to find his lady already at the wedding banquet with her new lover. Unobtrusively he slips his wedding ring into her hand. The wife recognizes her long lost lord, repents of her faithlessness and the reconciliation follows."

For the literary historian the question immediately arises, how and when did this popular tale become attached to the name of the historical Heinrich von Morungen? The author of the Zimmerischen Chronik reports concerning "Möringer": *Hat ain weib gehabt aines fürnemen geschlechts, und von deren schöne und frombkait vil wurt in liedern gesungen.* This information is not found in his source, the Moringer-Volkslied, but is based upon his acquaintance with the Minnelieder of the real Heinrich von Morungen, of which he himself makes mention. Clearly therefore the author of the Chronik must have identified the "Möringer" of the Volkslied with the MHG poet. We have therefore a noble knight and his wife, *von deren schöne*

und frombkait vil wurt in liedern gesungen: suitable figures, surely, to whom to assign the romantic tale of the homecoming. But the argument does not stop here. Documentary evidence has been discovered which shows that Heinrich von Morungen made an annual contribution (*X talenta annuatim*) to the Monastery of St. Thomas in Leipzig. Now St. Thomas is also linked up with the homecoming legend and appears in a version of the story narrated by Caesarius von Heisterbach in his *Dialogus Miraculorum*. If we may assume that the author of the *Volkslied* was acquainted with Heinrich von Morungen's devotion to St. Thomas, or assumed such devotion from the fact of Heinrich's annual donation to the monastery we have here another possible link between the old legend and its new hero. Furthermore we know concerning Dietrich von Meissen, Heinrich's feudal lord, that he took part in a crusade and that various romantic tales were in circulation concerning his homecoming. It is quite possible that a later generation confused the one with the other and assigned to Heinrich the adventures that were originally associated with the name of Dietrich.

It is interesting to note that the rôle of the knight's younger rival who almost succeeds in winning the hand of the inconstant lady is assigned to Gottfried von Neifen, a younger contemporary of Heinrich von Morungen. Why, we do not know. The mere fact that Neifen was younger than Morungen may be a sufficient explanation since the latter describes himself in the *Volkslied* as an old, or elderly man:

Was ich schaff so bin ich alt,
davon so junget sie nit vil,
dass mir mein bart ist gray gestalt
des sie ein jungen haben wil.

The homecoming legend, including the pilgrimage to India, the land where, according to tradition, St. Thomas first preached the Christian doctrine, was known in Germany at least as early as the year 1220 since it was at about this time that Caesarius von Heisterbach composed his *Dialogus*. It is impossible to say just when the legend became attached to the name of Heinrich von Morungen who was still living at this time. A *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Volkslied* is furnished by one of the manuscripts of the poem, dated 1459. Actually the poem may have been composed considerably earlier.

From the above one might conclude that Dr. Rostock is proving too much, in that any one of the possibilities which he suggests might be sufficient to account for the linking of the old homecoming legend with the name of the MHG poet. But where one is dealing with possibilities and probabilities

one can only enumerate them and rest his case at the point where no further evidence can be brought forward.

After a careful study and analysis of the eight legends singly Dr. Rostock concludes his treatment of the Dichterhelden-Sage with a résumé, divided into three sections: the Origin of the Material, the Fusion of the legendary material with the historical MHG poets, the poetical Construction and Presentation of the legends.

Here again in our limited space we can only call attention, by way of illustration, to one or two of the more striking statements into which Dr. Rostock seeks to condense his results.

Just as the older Heldensage had an impressive historical background in the events of the Germanic migrations in the third to the sixth centuries, so the Dichterhelden-Sage springs from and is projected against the great cultural and literary period at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. As Alboin, whose death occurred in the year 572, was the last of the older group of heroes, so we may regard Tannhäuser, whose death occurred about the year 1270, as the last of the great "poet-heroes." A further parallel is seen in the fact that as the older Heldensage did not always choose for its material events and characters of the greatest historical importance but rather persons and events of the greatest personal and human interest (Hildebrandslied), so the Dichterhelden-Sage is less concerned with the poetical excellence of its heroes than with their personal qualities and romantic fate. In both cases a good story made a stronger appeal than historical importance or literary excellence.

The tendency of the older Heldensage to transform individuals into types (Siegfried, Dietrich von Bern: Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, etc.) is repeated in the Dichterhelden-Sage. Thus Neidhart von Reuenthal appears as the peasant-baiter *par excellence*; Wolfram von Eschenbach as the layman endowed with divine wisdom; Tannhäuser as the typical penitent; Heinrich von Morungen as the much-traveled pilgrim or wayfarer.

Without condensing his material to the point of unintelligibility, Dr. Rostock has packed a really astonishing amount of information into the 48 pages of his dissertation and has produced a work which no student of MHG literature can afford to overlook. It is safe to predict that no history of German literature from now on will fail to recognize the Dichterheldensage as a distinct literary type. The merit of the work consists not so much in the discovery of new facts as rather in the establishment of a new genus under which it is possible to group in orderly fashion a mass of facts whose relationship had not previously been so clearly perceived.

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THE AESTHETICS OF ROBERT BROWNING. By C. N. Wenger, Ph.D. George Wahr. Ann Arbor. 1924. Pp. x+272.

Dr. Wenger has much to learn before he publishes another book. In the first place, he must learn that it is always advisable to employ a good publisher and to read proof. Author and printer have evidently conspired to produce a volume illustrating common—and uncommon—typographical and rhetorical faults. It abounds in misspelled words, bad punctuation and inaccurate quotation. Scholars will have little patience with a book in which entire lines are upside down, and letters of eight point constantly find their way into words of ten point. There are other mechanical errors such as depressed type and bad alignment and spacing. In quotation and reference there is little regard for good usage. The author needs a proof reader's manual such as Collins' *Authors' and Printers' Dictionary*.

He must also learn to write straightforward sentences. Finer examples of what Mr. Quiller-Couch calls "jargon" could hardly be found. This comes from the introduction: "To the attitude and spirit of work taken with him and with Professor Parker I owe the original interest in the subject in hand. To these things and to their helpful suggestions it is largely due if a glimpse of Browning's aesthetics is offered that is not without value and appreciation among students of aesthetics and lovers of Browning's poetry." (pp. ix-x). The reader may also wish to know the central principle of Browning's aesthetics: "The methods of art with which his theory deals have to do, then, with the putting of growing intuitions of truth into such forms that an increasing freedom of truth over forms is manifested. It is readily apparent that matters such as the purpose of art and the classification of the various arts are involved with the degree of success attained in embodying truths in this manner." (pp. 91-92). After several pages of this vagueness and indirectness one finds satisfaction in fancying that the following quotation applies to the author's "case": "So far as the concealment always partially fails, however, the materials always approach the absolute, and some of them more nearly do so than others because of less limitation from the embodiments in their case" (p. 55). We shall not compliment the author by suggesting that he has something of Browning's obscurity. It is better to believe that his study of German aesthetics has not had an altogether salutary effect upon his modes of expression.

Not more perplexing but even more amusing is Dr. Wenger's love of the obvious. "Browning's philosophy, I repeat, is to be found in by far the greater part of his work" (p. 39). "The philosophy of Browning . . . is preëminently and in all its phases a philosophy of and for human life." (p. 65) "It is possible that the poet's knowledge, thought, and feeling were so

deep and complex that they were out of all proportion with his powers of expression, and that this has something to do with his particular application of the growth theory to art." (p. 93) "Except in rationalistic eras the imagination has quite consistently been given a high place among artistic gifts." (p. 11)

Not only is his style vicious, but his methods are unsound. In a preliminary survey of modern aesthetics before Browning, which is no more than a sketch of German theory from Herder to Schopenhauer, the author excels his contemporaries in his confusing use of the term "romantic." "I use the terms *modern* and *romantic* interchangeably here to signify what is generally recognized as a new attitude toward and understanding of the universe and life, . . ." (p. ii) To this "romantic" theory of the great German philosophers Dr. Wenger believes that Browning owed a great deal. "Whether his agreement with them in so many respects was due chiefly to direct influence or to independent growth is really a question of biography and one whose settlement, even if possible, would assist but little in an exposition of the theories involved." (pp. 39-40) This is a curious divorce. Had the author seen the relation of significant biographical material to his work we might have been saved from mere guesswork such as this: "If his readings in those Museum days could be known I daresay that much of the likeness of his ideas on art to those of the German romantics would be explainable on the grounds of direct influence rather than on those of independent growth." (p. 74) We are prepared for lame conclusions: "In general Browning's aesthetics is one that lacks the systematisations evident in the previous modern aesthetics, whether the latter be taken as a whole or in the parts contributed by the various individual aestheticians." We leave this last inimitable bit of padding to the teacher of rhetoric. "This is due, of course, to the fact that Browning nowhere attempts a systematic prose or poetic work altogether given to art theories such as every one of his predecessors with whom we have had to do some time or other indulged." (p. 239) There is no need to pursue the subject further save to add that in this conclusion Browning's departures from "romantic" theory appear quite as significant as the parallels. One comes to the end of the volume, and especially to the Bibliography with its scanty references to general aesthetics, with the conviction that Dr. Wenger might more profitably have spent his time in the preparation of a *materialien* for which scholars might have found use.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATURAL HISTORY ESSAY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. A Thesis in English [University of Pennsylvania.] By Philip Marshall Hicks. Philadelphia: 1924.

The object of this dissertation is not to trace the various manifestations of the feeling for nature in American literature, but, as the title adequately indicates, to reveal the evolution of a single literary *genre*. "The term natural history essay will be used in the following pages as a designation of the essay that is based upon, and has for its major interest the literary expression of scientifically accurate observations of the life history of the lower orders of nature, or of other natural objects." This is sufficiently exclusive to render possible some definite results within reasonable compass, results already prefigured in the table of contents: I. Early Treatment of Natural History. II. The Beginnings of the Natural History Essay. III. The Period of the Naturalists. IV. The influence of Transcendentalism. V. The Period of Growth. VI. John Burroughs.

Various writers of the seventeenth century prepare the way for the natural history essay, which may be said to begin, in the next century, with Bartram's *Travels*. Here we find "the first combination of accurate observation, aesthetic appreciation, and philosophical interest in the realm of natural history literature." Crèvecoeur, though more of an essayist, is regarded as having "died without issue": "the line is carried on in the next generation by the literary descendants of Bartram the great naturalists, Audubon, Wilson, Bonaparte, Nuttall, Gray, and later Agassiz. Their work provided the background of scientific fact necessary for the aid, stimulus, or correction of the essayists who were to follow." Then comes the outburst of Transcendentalism, represented by Emerson's *Nature*. "The questions concerning the philosophical and religious import of the relationship of man to nature that stirred in the mind of William Bartram" now become vital questions, and it is Emerson who answers them impressively in terms of the ideas current in his age. Emerson's philosophy of nature reappears in the natural history essays of Thoreau, who "added the element of form and is the founder of the type as we know it today"; yet it is not Thoreau's form, which "shows considerable variation," that is most important, but rather his "influence upon the spirit, content, and attitude toward nature of the essays that have followed him." In the next period, the writers of natural history essays multiplied, until at length Burroughs, who wrote "about one hundred and eleven" essays of this type, "established by constant use and sincere workmanship a form that previous writers had, in the main, employed only experimentally." Après lui, le déluge!

In tracing this evolution, it cannot be said that Mr. Hicks has discovered much; he has followed a rather obvious if unfrequented path. Yet it was a path worth somebody's taking, and he has done a service in making it still plainer. He has brought into definite relation a long succession of writers great and small. He has steadily kept his eye on his object, avoiding the lures of by-paths. In so doing, however, he has perhaps missed some of the finest scenery, the widest views.

For the dissertation is not notable—indeed, most dissertations are not—in philosophic breadth. In an “influence” subject like this, one would like a more sensitive awareness of what was going on in English literature; one would like a more fundamental characterization of the two leading influences, the romantic and the scientific-realistic, upon the natural history essay; one would like a fuller comprehension, in this connection, of the evolution controversy, especially of John Fiske's essays and addresses in the seventies and eighties; one would like to know more about the effect of the scenery of America and of frontier modes of thought and feeling; one would like to witness the emergence and growth of the sentimental natural history essay; one would like to feel, throughout, the presence of a rich religious and philosophic background. It is quite true that Mr. Hicks does not attempt these larger tasks, indeed expressly rules some of them out; but it is not clear that even his limited subject did not call for them, if it were to be handled finally. Of the writer's deficiency in handling ideas, one example must suffice: the awkwardness involved in saying (p. 102) that Hawthorne's “small adventures into the field of the nature essay have no connection with the Emersonian philosophy” and in saying on the next page, apropos of “Buds and Bird Voices,” “Never was Emerson's conditional marriage of natural history to human history better exemplified within the range of his second use of the beauty of nature, the relation of things to virtue.”

It might well be questioned, however, whether breadth of treatment is worth expending on such a tenuous subject as that selected by Mr. Hicks. One need not be a disciple of Croce to feel a suspicion of pedantry (confessed by Mr. Hicks himself on page 154) attaching to the analysis of so free and fluid a *genre* as the natural history essay. It may be this, that, or the other. Is *Walden*, for instance, a collection of natural history essays? No, says Mr. Hicks (p. 96), and yet we must so regard it (same page). This is a painful conclusion to have to attain regarding the central book in the field, and it suggests a fundamental difficulty in the subject itself. Perhaps the ideal form for a history of the natural history essay is not a dissertation but—an essay.

A few miscellaneous observations may be worth recording. The dissertation wants an index. Conflicting dates are given for Emerson's *Nature* (pp. 63, 161). "Dennis" (p. 62) should read "Dennie," and there are other slips in the spelling of names: "Aggassiz" (p. 113), "DeQuincy" (p. 142), "F. B. Sandborn" (p. 167). The dissertation abounds in errors in punctuation (of which the most juvenile are on pages 53, 56, 67, 78, 107, 109, 118). And there are several glaring errors in syntax (pp. 29, 48, 107), of which I reproduce the last: "Why he should have felt a similar pride in never having used a telescope is a less commendable attitude."

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RECENT FOLK-LORE PUBLICATIONS

DER SINGENDE KNOCHEN. B. Dr. Lutz Mackensen, Helsinki, 1923 (*F. F. Communications*, No. 49).

The author proposes to trace the history of this Märchen type (Grimm, *K.H.M.* 28; Aarne, *Verzeichnis*, No. 780). He distinguishes three main groups, one, in which the fatal instrument is made of the bones of the victim, a second, in which it is cut from the plant that has grown up from the victim's corpse, and the ballad group, in which the instrument is a harp (almost exclusively found in Scandinavia and Britain). By a careful comparison of all known variants he reconstructs the archetype:

A girl, moved by envy, kills her younger sister by pushing her into a stream. Her father finds the tree that has sprung from her corpse, cuts a musical instrument from it and learns about the murder. The murderess is condemned to suffer the same death as her victim, and the latter is thereby brought to life.

This archetype arose in the Flemish speaking part of Belgium and thence migrated to the Romance and Teutonic countries. The ballad version is derived from a German variant, as are the East European variants. The ballad migrated from Scandinavia to Britain. The author is inclined to consider the tale as very old, because it is based on very primitive beliefs and fancies. At all events, it appears to have been the intellectual property of the Franks, that is, a Teutonic tribe. Had it been Celtic, its area of distribution would doubtless be different.

The argumentation is clear and convincing throughout. Only here and there may one take exception, usually in matters of secondary importance. On p. 14 we read: "Die Verpflanzung der erzählten Begebnisse in fürstliche oder adlige Häuser dürfen wir als Ausfluss eines Wunschtraumes ansehen." To my mind there is nothing gained by the introduction of the heavy

psychological artillery in a matter so simple. The folk most everywhere take a good deal of delight and interest in royalty and court life, a fact which is apt to be overlooked in republican countries. The quest motif and the number three arose most probably under the influence of two other types (Grimm, 57 and 97). Of special interest is a Kabyl version (p. 164): A step-mother sends her step-children, twins and their younger brother to cut reed in a marsh. Then one of the twins cuts off the head of the youngest, and the skull sings, revealing the murder. In much the same manner Atreus and Thyestes kill their step-brother Chrysispos at the instigation of the latter's step-mother Hippodameia. Again, the Korybantēs, we are told, were three brothers, two of whom slew the third, cut off his head and wrapped it in a crimson cloak.¹

The type is remarkably free from misprints. I have discovered errors only in the Portuguese song on p. 124 f., which should read:

Não me arranges o meu cabelo
 Que minha mãe m'o creou,
 Meu pae m'o penteou
 Minha madrastra me enterrou
 Pelo figo da figueira
 Que o passarinho levou.

¹ I have attempted to discuss this theme (without being aware of the Kabyl variant) in my monograph *The Legend of Rodrick, Last of the Visigoth Kings, and the Ermanarich Cycle*, Heidelberg, 1923, p. 56.

DER MÄRCHENTYPUS VON KÖNIG DROSSELBART.

B. Dr. Phil. Ernst Philippon, Greifswald, 1923 (*F. F. Communications*, No. 50).

The folk-tale examined (Grimm, 52, Aarne, 900) has been transmitted not only in the oral variants of recent collections, but also by a number of historical texts going back to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Of the latter, the Spanish ballad of Durán's *Romancero* has been omitted in the list of variants, although it is referred to in the text. Of the modern variants one misses an Italian text from Tuscany.¹ Previous monographs dealing with the folk-tale, such as the essay of E. Gigas² and my own³ have not been utilized. Neither did the author consult H. Hauvette's well-known work on Luigi Alamanni,⁴ where he might have seen that the date of the *novella* has been fairly accurately determined. Twice (on pp. 13 and 73) the author expresses his misgivings about the genuinely traditional char-

¹ *La Vigilia di Pasqua di Ceppo*. Otto novelle di T. Gradi, Torino, 1870 p. 97.

² *Et Eventyr's Vandringer*, in *Litteratur og Historie Studier og Essays*, III, Samling, København, 1902.

³ *Etudes Italicennes*, II, 141-153.

⁴ Henri Hauvette, *Luigi Alamanni*, Paris, 1903.

acter of the modern Spanish tale of Busk's collection (published in 1870); a closer examination would have revealed that it is a contamination of Durán's ballad with Alamanni's tale, no doubt the work of Miss Busk herself.⁵

The author's treatment of the Oriental texts is not much more satisfactory. Limiting himself to a discussion of the variants quoted in the great work of Bolte and Polívka, he omits an Arabic story found in a MS of the *Nights*⁶ and unquestionably a variant of our folk-tale. I quote the outline as given by V. Chauvin.⁷

Une princesse ne veut épouser que celui qui la vaincra; à ceux dont elle triomphe, elle enlève le cheval, les armes et les habits et leur marque son nom au front. Un prince de Perse, Bahrâme, muni de grandes richesses, se risque à son tour; il va vaincre quand l'amazone se dévoile et profite du trouble que lui cause sa beauté pour lui faire subir le sort commun. Se déguisant alors en vieillard, il s'engage au service du jardinier de la reine et transforme le jardin. Voyant la princesse et ses femmes, il étale des bijoux qu'il promet en dot à qui l'épousera, assurant qu'après avoir reçu un baiser il répudiera sa femme. La princesse, admirant les bijoux que deux de ses suivantes ont ainsi obtenus de jour en jour, tente l'aventure. Comme elle se laisse approcher, il la renverse et lui met le genou sur la poitrine. Elle doit s'avouer vaincue; mais, craignant la honte de la défaite, elle suit le prince en Perse et l'épouse du consentement de son père.

As will be seen, this variant is a combination of our tale and the motif of the amazon, best known from the MHG *Brunhild-lied* but quite frequent also in the Orient.⁸ The occurrence of the *dueñas* immediately calls to mind the other Mediterranean variants, hailing from Italy and from Spain.

To come to the thesis proper: Philipppson believes the tale to be of Teutonic origin, on the plea (1) that a large number of good variants have been found in Germany and Denmark (pp. 77-80) and (2) that the type of the haughty princess is characteristically Teutonic (pp. 93-96). Neither argument is decisive. The former merely proves that Germany and Denmark present, on the whole, a soil favorable to the preservation of a good tale, irrespective of its origin; the latter is of very doubtful force, since the amazon occurs in the Orient as well, whilst Artemis, Atalanta and Camilla are all sprung from Mediterranean soil. The "Teutonic" theory may therefore be dismissed as resting on insufficient grounds.

Let us now see whether with Philipppson's data and a few supplementary ones we may reach a more satisfactory result.

⁵ Neither Adolpho Coelho in his *Contos populares portugueses*, Lisboa, 1879, p. xxvi, nor myself in the above quoted study noticed this, although Durán, on p. 174 of the first volume of his *Romancero* gives an outline of Alamanni's *novella*, which facilitated the fusion of the two accounts by Miss Busk.

⁶ Burton, V, 94.

⁷ *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 54-55.

⁸ Cf. for example A. Durr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, Jena, 1920, pp. 71, 136 and 233; Schott, *Ueber die sage von Geser-chan*, *Abh. d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss., phil. u. hist. Kl.*, 1851, p. 269.

The kernel of the tale is the woman's venality. But it cannot be used to advantage because it is equally frequent on Romance and Teutonic territory.⁹ Traces of the *dueñas* are still visible in six Teutonic and three Slavonic variants, a sure sign that they are derived from South European versions. The oldest texts (*Die halbe Birn*, *Clarus Saga*, Alamanni, Spanish ballad) contain the motif of the suitor's lack of good manners, and this feature consistently reappears in more recent Romance variants. Now it is well to remember that the elaborate rules governing the conduct of *courtois* society originated in the countries of Latin Europe, and many of the treatises teaching them were translated from French into Middle High German. The clash between the knights of the old school and the new society must therefore have first taken place in France or Italy. As is well known, the *Clarus Saga* is the Old Norse translation of a Latin text which Jón Halldórsson found current in France. Nothing certain is known about the source of *Die halbe Birn*. But it is a well known fact that the vast majority of the charming little *novelle in verso* edited by F. H. von der Hagen are derived from French sources. Further, another tale of this collection, *Der Gürtel*, by Dietrich von Glatz, which likewise centers around the theme of the venality of the heroine, is supposed to go back to Hyginus' *Fabulae*.¹⁰ There is therefore *prima facie* evidence to show that *Die halbe Birn* is derived from a parallel version of the original of the *Saga*, current in France or Italy. Finally, there is the motif of the avaricious Catalan and the venal Provençal princess, a theme which could have arisen only in Italy (where that reputation of the Catalans was firmly established),¹¹ in Northern France, or, possibly, in Castile. In my monograph I have shown that the version of Alamanni, though told him on French soil by an Italian lady settled in Provence, is unquestionably of Italian origin. This inclines the balance in favor of Italy, as against Northern France (only two Castilian variants are known). That behind this *courtois* version there may lurk another, more primitive, and possibly of Teutonic, i. e., Lombard, origin, I will not deny. But the author's arguments to prove the existence of such a form are somewhat too subtle, and I confess myself unable to follow him.

⁹ Philipsson could have mentioned the well-known story of Freya or Frigg selling her honor to certain dwarfs—for a necklace (*Chantepie de la Saussaye, The Religion of the Teutons*, transl. by B. J. Vos, p. 275). It is a good story; but is it Teutonic? I very much doubt it.

¹⁰ J. Brock, *Hygins Fabeln in der deutschen Literatur*, München, 1913, p. 31.

¹¹ Cf. Dante, *Par.* VIII. 77: L'avara povertà di Catalogna.

DIE LEGENDE VON DEN ZWEI ERZSÜNDERN. B. N. P. Andrejev, Helsinki, 1924 (*F. F. Communications*, No. 54).

It is a typically East European legend which the author, a Russian folklorist, examines in this valuable little study. To the Western reader it is probably best known through L. Tolstoj's parable *The Godson* (Andrejev refers to it as "eine tendenziöse Erzählung"!). With the help of South and East Slavonic, Finnish, Roumanian, Tartar, Armenian, and Arabic versions he reconstructs the normal type and common basis of all extant variants.

A terrible robber, who has committed ninety-nine murders, decides to atone for his crimes, but he can find no confessor. At last a priest tells him to plant a burning tree into the ground and to moisten it with water, which he has to carry in his mouth from a great distance. In addition he is to plant a garden and to offer its fruits to the travelers. For a long time he strives in vain; at last a man passes by on horseback in a great hurry and refuses to take the food offered him. The robber learns from him that he is going to prevent a wedding and in great indignation slays him. Overcome by grief at this new sin, he suddenly notices that the tree has become green, and the priest tells him that as a reward for his last murder all his former crimes have been forgiven him.

The legend is shown, contrary to the opinion of J. A. Javorskij, to have migrated to Russia from South Slavonic territory, probably from Bulgaria, after having arisen in the Balkans, perhaps as early as the fourteenth century. From there it also reached Armenia. The Ukraine received it from the South and transmitted it to the rest of Russia. Influences of and contaminations with other stories of a similar character are frequently found. Such related tales are the Gregory legend, the story of the Robber Madej, and the *Shot at the Sacred Host*. The author points out (rightly, no doubt) that our legend is essentially a compound. One of its sources is the atonement of Lot, which furnished the motif of the burning wood or tree. In an appendix the existence of an early Balkan version, in which the sin of the second sinner is necrophily, is made probable.

Here and there one would perhaps have liked to see the author express an opinion on the relationship of this story with certain Western legends, with the *Chevalier au barisiel*, for example, with the romance of Robert the Devil, or even with the touching story of the knight who, at the approach of Easter, forgives the enemy who had slain his father, truly a rare enough example of the fruition of Christian teaching on Europe's blood-stained soil. Perhaps some Western scholar, will in time examine this tale which probably reached its highest perfection in Alessandro Manzoni's immortal work.

All these parallels do not help, however, to account for the most salient point of our legend, the atonement of past crimes by the committing of a new one, the slaying of another criminal, still more heinous, and Andrejev declares (p. 91) that the

motif is still shrouded in mystery. I believe I can furnish the required explanation.

In the well-known Indian tale of King Vikramāditya and the Vampire¹ we are told how a mendicant inveigles the monarch, renowned for his courage, to take part in an incantation, where he plans to offer him up as a victim. Vishnu appears to the king in a dream,² warning him and advising him to ask the magician to do himself first what he requests the king to do and then to slay him when an occasion presents itself. Vikramāditya does as he is bidden and cuts off the mendicant's head. Then a voice is heard in the air: Bravo, King! By offering up to-day this rascally mendicant thou hast obtained the power of going through the air, which he wished to obtain.

We have then the following situation. To attain a certain goal a magician kills a vast number of human victims. Only one is still lacking of the required number, when his intended victim, i. e. the king, slays the magician and receives the boon³ which otherwise would have fallen to the latter. It is clear that the fact of the robber having slain ninety-nine victims in our tale has no bearing on the rest of the legend. The matter is somewhat different if, as in a South Slavonic variant (p. 44), the second robber has committed ninety-nine misdeeds and now wants to perpetrate the last. There can be no doubt, to judge from the whole tenor of the story, that by committing this last crime and thus reaching the round number he hopes to attain something and that this something, this boon, falls to the first sinner when he slays the second, just as the boon sought by the mendicant falls to his slayer, King Vikramāditya who completes the number of the victims.

That my interpretation is essentially correct is shown by the Russian tale of *Skitskij Paterik*, quoted by the author on p. 89.

An old man follows a voice from Heaven and goes into the desert. There he meets a robber who shouts: It is good that thou hast come, for we believe that whoever kills 100 people is allowed to enter Paradise. I have killed ninety-nine; thou wilt be the 100th. God will soon take me into Paradise.

The rest of the story is of no bearing on our problem, as it is evidently a contamination of our tale with another, composed to inculcate the value of a confession. In the uncontaminated legend the old man was doubtless the first robber,

¹ Tawney-Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, III (London, 1925), pp. 209-211; F. von der Leyen, *Indische Märchen*, Halle, s. d., p. 9; Sir R. F. Burton, *Vikram and the Vampire*, London, 1893; cf. also M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, pp. 97 ff.

² I follow the reworking of Somadeva. The *Velâlapantschavinçati* makes the *velâla* (vampire) warn the king.

³ In the *Velâlapantschavinçati* the boon consists of the eight siddhis, i. e., the art of making oneself big or small, heavy or light, of being able to touch everything, of seeing every one of one's wishes fulfilled, of commanding the elements and of influencing all things, lifeless and living.

who kills the second, thereby completing the required number and obtaining the boon which the other had sought.

The Russian scholar Jacimirskij connected the motif with the Mohammedan paradise. Andrejev sees in it a reflex of the tenets of certain heretic sects. Obviously, it is neither, but an Eastern motif, most probably of Indian origin, occurring in the *Vetâlapantschavinçati* and in Somadeva's reworking of the old tale of King Vikramâditya and the Vampire.⁴

⁴ There is also a curious parallelism between the penitent carrying water in his mouth a great distance and King Vikramaditya carrying the *vetâla*. Should there also be some connection between the motif of necrophily in the oldest Balkan version and the need the Indian magician has of the vampire?

MÄRCHEN UND SAGE. Bemerkungen über ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Sigfridsagen. By H. W. Rutgers, J. B. Wolters. Groningen. Haag: 1923.

In three chapters the author gives (1) a summary of the existing theories on the relationship of heroic legend and fairy tale (2) an examination of F. Panzer's derivation of *Sigfrid and Brynhild* from the Russian wooing tale, and (3) an inquiry into the relationship of the legend of Sigurd and Sigurdrida and the fairy tale of the Sleeping Beauty. The objections voiced against Panzer's method (failure to trace the history of the *Märchen* types he utilizes, excessive preference given to recent forms of the heroic legends, and excessive stress laid upon secondary features) are fully justified. As for the Russian wooing tale, he rightly doubts whether it is a genuine *Märchen* and is inclined to regard it as the result of a comparatively recent fusion of heterogeneous elements. The three decisive motifs of the Russian tale (the tests, the struggle in the bridal night and the magic hood) are shown to be derived from a German form of the Sigfrid story. The important study of Löwis of Menar, arriving at the same result, and my own attempts to derive the French *Geste Rainouart* and the Teutonic Walther Legend from folktales, the Bear's Son type and the Magic Flight type respectively, did not come out in time to be utilized.

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HISTORICAL OUTLINES OF ENGLISH PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY. (Middle English and Modern English). By Samuel Moore. George Wahr. Ann Arbor: 1925. Pp. viii+153.

Six years ago Professor Moore published in his *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Middle English Grammar*

a compact, but very useful guide to historical English grammar. The present work is an outgrowth of that; but the author is quite justified in claiming for it that it is more than a revision; it is, in fact, an entirely new book. One very long section (VI, pp. 112-148, on the history of Modern English inflections) is entirely new, and fresh material has been added elsewhere, so that the new edition runs to nearly twice the length of its predecessor. The arrangement, too, has been greatly improved. The older work was, in truth, rather bewildering, jumping from Present English to Middle English and back with startling abruptness; in the one before us, there is a straightforward, coherent progress, with no confusing hiatus. The result is a convenient hand-book which, we are sure, will be welcomed alike by teachers and students of historical English grammar. And that means, it ought to be unnecessary to say, every one who takes the study of English seriously; for in no department of life is the hand of the past so heavy as in language: we in the Middle West in this year of grace speak as we do because five hundred years ago Geoffrey Chaucer and the folk of his generation spoke as they did on the banks of the Thames.

But Mr. Moore, wisely, does not begin with the language of Chaucer. He begins with the sounds of speech; and his introductory chapter, taken over with some amplification and revision from the first edition, is, for all that it is brief, a really adequate introduction to the phonetic basis of language. Thence he proceeds in the first chapter to a careful, but not too minute, analysis and classification of the sounds of modern English, which, as he rightly says, is the only proper starting point for a study of phonology. Having thus laid his foundation, Mr. Moore is ready to deal in successive chapters with the history of English sounds; the historical development, by phonological change and analogy, of Middle English Inflections; a survey of the dialects of Middle English; the language of Chaucer, and the development of Modern English inflections. Altogether an admirable, close-knit design, and, on the whole, well carried out. We have no intention, however, of embarking on a meticulous examination of details, still less of signalizing this or that omission; for this is a handbook, an *Abriss*, and neither a *Handbuch* nor a *Grundriss*. We shall point out merely a few matters which seem to us to warrant notice.

(1) Our first objection is perhaps the most serious of all. In the table on p. 23, Mr. Moore indicates [æi] as the pronunciation of the diphthong in ME *seil*; and on p. 25 he says: "[ai] developed out of Old English æ followed by j, spelled g; e. g. OE *dæg* [dæj], ME *dai*; OE *sægde* [sæjdē], ME *saide*. In early Middle English this diphthong had the sound of [ai], but in late Middle English it became identical with [ei]. It is possible that the two diphthongs were levelled under [ai] or

[ɛi], but it is more likely that both developed into a diphthong that approximated to [æi].” This theory, which goes back to Skeat,¹ who apparently levels original [ai] and [ei] under [ɛi], has been dominant in this country ever since. Emerson countenances it, vaguely, in his *Reader*,² and Foster, in *Modern Language Notes* even went so far as to argue for a pronunciation between [ɛi] and [ei].³ Now what evidence is there for the strange hypothesis that ME [ai] and [ei] fell together as [æi]? There is none; and as a matter of fact, there is a good *a priori* case against it, for it assumes a most extraordinary development: the raising and fronting of the first element of one diphthong, and the lowering and retracting of the first element of the other, until the two meet happily on some neutral ground between! Such a process resembles rather the easy compromises of politics than the operations of phonetic laws. But apart from its inherent improbability, the older theory is now pretty well disposed of by Luick’s demonstration⁴ that [ai] and [ei] were levelled under [ai] before the end of the thirteenth century.

(2) The ME double forms *lasse, lesse; ladde, ledde; hafdes, hefdes* (p. 24) are puzzling to a novice, and should not be left unexplained. They are, of course, nothing but instances of earlier and later shortenings of OE *ǣ*.⁵

(3) The treatment of *father* (p. 25) is too facile. The vowel of the Modern English word is explained neither by ME [fadər] nor by ME [fædər]. As a matter of fact, the explanation is still to seek.

(4) §27, 3, c and e (p. 27) are misleading: intervocalic -*ɛ̄*3- became [i:], and intervocalic -*ɔ̄*3- became [u:]; but -*ɛ̄*h and -*ɔ̄*h (where the spirant was final) remained, at least during the ME period, [ɛi] and [ou].⁶

(5) §28, 5, Modern English *wood* [wud] does not preserve the *u* of ME *wode*. The spelling of the Mod. Eng. form shows clearly that the ME word had [o]. The modern vowel is clearly due to the relaxing, lowering, and lengthening of an early ME [u].⁷

(6) The first paragraph of §28, 8 is loosely formulated. The difference between *blood* [blʌd], for instance, and *good* [gʊd], is simply a matter of the chronology of the shortening of [u:] from OE [o:]. If this shortening came before the change of [u] to [ʌ], as in *blood*, we should have [ʌ]; if, on the other

¹ *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, VI, General Introduction, §22.

² Grammatical Introduction, §50.

³ “A Note on Chaucer’s Pronunciation of *ai, ay, ei, ey*.” *M. L. N.*, 26, 76-77.

⁴ *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, §408, 1.

⁵ Wright, *Elementary Middle English Grammar*, §§89, 90.

⁶ Luick, *op. cit.*, §407, 1, 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, §394.

hand, the shortening came later, the [u] would remain, as in *good*.

(7) Footnote 56 (p. 36) should be elaborated or deleted, as it stands it is inaccurate and confusing.

(8) Mr. Moore's treatment of vowels in unstressed syllables (§29) is, of course, summary; we think it altogether too summary. The statement that "unaccented **a, e, o, u** became [in Middle English] a vowel which was usually written **e** and which probably approximated in sound to [ə]," is doubtful. In syllables carrying any degree of stress at all, the sound was more probably [ɛ], which, in the course of the thirteenth century developed generally to [i]. This is made abundantly clear by thirteenth and fourteenth century spellings like *wallis*, *askid*, *lokid(e)*, and by a rhyme like Chaucer's *drede is: dedis* (*C. T.*, D 1169-70). And how else are we to explain the present English pronunciation of words like *naked* [ne:kid], *ended* [ɛndid], *roses* [ro:ziz]?⁸

(9) Concerning the difficult business of the development of the Middle English and Modern English inflections (Parts III and VI) we shall say little. Mr. Moore has stated very well the general principles (pp. 37-40); for the rest he has been content—properly enough in a book of this sort—simply to tabulate the more common forms. But we should like to point out that neither of the suggested explanations of Modern English *she* (p. 51) is tenable, and that there is another which seems to us rather more plausible.⁹

(10) Perhaps the most generally useful chapter in the book is Part V, on the language of Chaucer. It is comprehensive and clear; and on the whole, there is nothing to which one is compelled to take very violent exception. Particularly valuable and interesting is the phonetic transcription of lines 1-117 of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. But why [kauntɚbri] in l. 16, and [kauntɚbri] in l. 22? One may be fairly sure, too, that Chaucer pronounced not [kauntɚburi] but [kauntɚberi] in l. 27. In l. 97 the reviewer would transcribe *loued* as [luvid]. §76 provides a good key to Chaucerian pronunciation; but gives the student no help in distinguishing between ME [ē] and [ĕ]. Such a help is, of course, afforded by modern spelling, and should, we think, have been noted. Similarly, modern spelling enables one to distinguish in most cases between ME [ō] and [ō̄] but here the orthographic differences are of less importance, since the two sounds have not normally fallen together.

⁸ *Ibid.*, §460, 2.

⁹ Ruud, "A Conjecture Concerning the Origin of the Modern English Pronoun *she*. *Modern Language Notes*, 25, 222 ff. Some months after this article appeared, Professor Lindvist published in *Anglia* (45, 1-150) an article in which he arrives at precisely the same conclusion.

But it would be captious to end on a note of criticism. Mr. Moore set out to make a useable manual for students, not a treatise for specialists. And he has succeeded; for the faults, after all, are venial and the merits, substantial. Now who will give us what is needed even more urgently than the book under review, a competent treatment, not too exhaustive, of Middle English syntax? Phonology and Morphology are well enough; but the soul of a language is in its syntax, and syntax has hitherto been the Cinderella in the family of early English studies.

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EDMUND SPENSER. AN ESSAY ON RENAISSANCE POETRY. By W. L. Renwick, M. A., B. Litt. Professor of English Literature, Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the University of Durham. Edward Arnold and Co. London: 1925. Pp. vii+193. \$3.75

Special students of Spenser have not been at a loss for Spenser problems and it must be recognized that their conclusions have been only too often highly problematical. Where a service has been rendered in removing some time-honored but mistaken theory, there has often been a disservice in setting up a new hypothesis equally conjectural. At best, such scholarship frankly dealing with debatable points has set the probabilities in a clearer light and nourished a wholesome spirit of skepticism. At its worst, it has been of a kind to produce a sense of futility among those who have been fatigued and bewildered by their honest attempt "to keep up with the literature of the subject."

In this situation there is refreshment to be found in a book like Mr. Renwick's that was undertaken not primarily with the intention of tackling problems but for the purpose of securing more clarity, more sharpness of line, for views that are generally accepted. Nobody need be told that the poetry of Spenser is broadly representative of Renaissance literary types and illustrative of Renaissance critical principles and ideas; and instances of its illustrative and representative character have repeatedly been pointed out; but no previous critic has made the situation so detailed and vivid as Mr. Renwick has done in the book before us, relating to the work of Spenser not only the dogma of the *Pléiade* but the doctrines of such Italian critics as Cinthio and Pigna. Since the author was not strictly bound by relative chronology, his concern being not primarily with sources and influences, but rather with what was in the air of critical inquiry, he might profitably have extended his view to take in the *Discorsi* of Tasso which contain many interesting suggestions for students of Spenser.

In his chapter on Verse and Metre, Mr. Renwick takes up a position not quite so obvious as are the general contentions elsewhere met with in his book. It concerns the relation between Spenser's verse and Elizabethan music. There is not only a problem but, as the author says, a "profound problem." To be sure Mr. Renwick takes his lead from contemporary criticism, particularly from Minturno; but his amplification of the suggestions there found is an important contribution to the critical literature of his subject. He states his position on p. 111: "The modern application of musical mechanism to the construction of verse consists in replacing the metrical scheme by a time signature and the feet by bars, but it must be remembered that neither of these inventions were [*sic*] known to Elizabethan music. If, then, we consider music in relation to Elizabethan verse we must divest ourselves of the notion of equal barring and the regular accent it suggests and think of a sequence of free (but related) rhythms, whose form is not controlled in advance by a time signature, but has to be recognized by the executant as he sings or plays. . . . The absence of strict time forced the musician's attention on his rhythms. . . . Every singer, which means every educated man of that happy time, had his ear for rhythm strengthened by the practice of music, the more that that music was polyphonic, so that every rhythm had to be related not only to those before and after in sequence, but to other and often very different or contrasting rhythms accompanying it. We therefore get "the conception of verse as a sequence of variable rhythms, whose variation is controlled and whose relation is preserved by constant reference to a strict pattern which we call the metre," which "is an implied or silent ground bass over which the poet plays a descant." Mr. Renwick applies to a few selected passages the principles of criticism here laid down; stanza 72, canto xii, Book II beginning "The joyous birdes, shrouded in cheareful shade," he describes as a brilliant transference into words of the effect of polyphonic music."

Taking up forms of imitation other than that of music Mr. Renwick touches lightly but suggestively upon the relation of Spenser's descriptive art to wood-engraving, illumination, and tapestry; further, to illustrate our poet's share in the genius of Renaissance art, he indicates the parallelism between Spenser's pictorial passages and the paintings of French and Italian schools. Then, too, he considers, though all too hurriedly, the imitative element in his Petrarchism and allegory.

Chapter VI offers a broad treatment of Spenser's philosophy. It is well to call attention to the Lucretian and particularly the Ciceronian element in his thought; but the feeling that it was Lucretius, not Plato, with whom the English poet had the deeper communion will not, one suspects, be generally shared.

Where philosophy and poetry meet together in Spenser, the resultant atmosphere or spirit is Platonic.

Considered as a whole, Mr. Renwick's book is a substantial addition to Spenser criticism. Although the author has in the cases of several topics, such as Spenser's philosophy, given us a hurried and inadequate treatment of what invites full elaboration, the book deserves high praise as a readable and instructive survey of a large field of scholarship.

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CHIEF PRE-SHAKESPEAREAN DRAMAS. Edited by Joseph Quincy Adams. Pp. 712. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Boston: 1924.

THE CHIEF BRITISH DRAMATISTS. Edited by Brander Matthews and Paul Robert Lieder. Pp. 1,084. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Boston: 1924.

These two books are late additions to a notable series of anthologies of which the best known examples are Neilson's *Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*, Dickinson's *Chief Contemporary Dramatists*, and Professor Matthews' own *Chief European Dramatists*. The purpose of each volume is clearly to provide suitable texts for class-room use, with few explanatory notes, thumbnail biographies of the authors, if they are known, brief introductions to the individual plays, and, where necessary, short reading lists and an index of characters. Both these books are closely packed, with double-column pages, narrow margins, fairly thin paper, and print that is less trying to the eye than is, for example, the Cambridge Poets edition of Shakespeare.

Professor Adams' work is of necessity better adapted to the use of the specialist in a narrow field than is the larger, more general volume of Matthews and Lieder. The nature of the plays printed demands far more editorial apparatus and greater help for inquisitive graduate students. For their sake Adams gives the Latin text of many of the early liturgical plays, with English translation in parallel columns as a concession to latter-day linguistic ineptitude. He also includes several liturgical texts from the continent, such as the Orleans *Sepulchrum* and *Herodes* and the Rouen *Peregrini* and *Pastores*, for which no satisfactory English equivalent is now extant. Owing to the wealth of medieval drama included in the book and the undoubted closeness of these plays to others once staged in England, no one will begrudge the space so occupied. Nearly seventy pages are devoted to this section, comprising a dozen liturgical Latin plays, followed by three vernacular texts of much the same type. Some twenty plays from the cycles, four longer non-cycle "miracles," as *Dux Moraud* and the *Sacrament*, four of the best moralities, two Robin Hood, two

St. George, and two Sword plays, three of Heywood's interludes, and a half dozen early Elizabethan comedies and tragedies complete the collection. In fullness of material and thoroughness of editorial scholarship, this anthology of early English plays will stand alone among many rivals.

But the very fact of Adams' secure reputation as a scholar has seemingly led him into certain mistakes of judgment that would not be charged against a fledgeling editor. His bold substitution of "N. Town" for the slightly objectionable term, "Coventry Cycle," albeit explained in a footnote, is for the average student likely to darken counsel. Much the same might be said against his unexplained preference for the word "farce" in place of the conventional "interlude" of John Heywood. More annoying is his constant habit of inserting his own stage directions, even though they are properly bracketed, on almost every page, even among the speeches of such a flavorful Elizabethan play as *Gammer Gurton*. The modern dress of Adams' direction: "Enter from Gammer's house Hodge with a piece of barley bread in one hand, and an empty milk pan in the other," fits ill in the same scene with the author's forthright English: "Which bacon Diccon stole as is declared before," and "Here he kysseth Diccons breeche." On the other hand, if Adams had provided at one end of the book even a brief glossary, many a plodder would have called down blessings on his head.

For one disappointment in the book Adams is probably not responsible. "Plays of the professional troupes" are represented by *Cambises*, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, and *George a Greene*. That the entire work of Marlowe, Peele, and Kyd, not to mention the acknowledged plays of Greene, should thus be ignored to make room for three such crude pieces, can be explained only by the fact that each author is represented in Neilson's anthology already mentioned. The publishers have evidently wished not to have the two collections overlap each other, though Lyly's *Campaspe* is in Adams and the *Endimion* in Neilson. Still it is regrettable to have the student believe for one instant that in "a selection of plays illustrating the history of the English drama from its beginnings to Shakespeare," the latest dramas to be written should be no better than these.

Not to end this comment with a note of cavilling criticism, let it be said that American scholars have long regretted the failure of Professor J. M. Manly to redeem his promise of a third volume of commentary to accompany his *Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, and that the present book of Adams, with its sixty-odd texts and its rich explanatory and illustrative material, will go further than any other American work to compensate for that loss.

The second work under review will be used chiefly by undergraduates in a rapid survey course, where plays are expected to speak for themselves. In place of textual notes, the editors present a brief, adequately illustrative sketch of "The Theater in England," wherein the form of the stage and the manner of dramatic representation in different periods of English history are stressed as one expects them to be stressed by Professor Matthews. The point most clearly developed is that the stage in present use takes the form of a picture-frame, remote from the audience, who approach it from only one side. By this novelty in stage history dramas now being written for stage presentation are tremendously affected.

In their choice of plays for this book the editors have removed Shakespeare from consideration, and then have limited their selection to "the work of the professional playwrights who were able to establish themselves in the theater and whose plays 'kept the stage' for years." This means that they do not include the more "literary" plays of Dekker, Addison, Steele, Fielding, Shelley, or Browning, whose work is usually presented in similar anthologies, but among nineteenth century authors they prefer Boucicault, T. W. Robertson, Pinero, and Henry Arthur Jones. To this principle that has excluded *The Cenci* and *The Blot in the 'Scutcheon* in favor of *The Liars* and *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, there will be some dissent among English teachers. But accepting the principle, it will be difficult to understand why *Everyman* has been left out, and the Brome *Abraham and Isaac* included. Yet that is largely a matter of taste, and the twenty-five plays in the volume do represent in the large the history of English drama to the end of the nineteenth century.

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ITALIAN LANDSCAPE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. A study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700-1800. By Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring. Wellesley Semi-Centennial Series. Oxford University Press, American Branch. New York: 1925. \$3.00.

The student of literature who turns to Dr. Manwaring's study of Italian landscape in eighteenth century England for an account of the influence of Italian painting on the love of nature in English poetry is likely to be disappointed. Although in its original form the book was a Yale doctoral dissertation in English, it is not in its present form primarily a literary study. It is accurately described in the sub-title as a "study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English

taste." Dr. Manwaring notes that although critics from Thomas Twining in 1789 to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1915 have observed the influence of these painters on landscape painting, landscape poetry, and landscape gardening in England, there has been no examination of the "relation of landscape painting to the view of nature in the eighteenth century." She has therefore built up a substantial structure of fact behind their casual observations, collecting evidence from poetry and fiction, from travelers' journals and letters, discourses on painting, treatises on landscape gardening, magazines and essays on taste. She has thoroughly substantiated their assertions that these artists were admired in England and helped to form English taste in landscape, especially when it was painted, or created by the landscape gardener, or when, as occasionally happened, it naturally resembled the prospects of Claude or the wilder scenes of Salvator Rosa.

What the reader expects but does not find is the interpretation of this influence. He wants to view it in relation to other factors in the transformation of the eighteenth century view of nature. He wants to see its connections with the classical ideal of art as imitation of the universal or ideal; with the conservative tendencies to imitate rather than to create, to judge by rule and on authority, and to commend with reason and moderation; and with the radical movement to throw away the Claude-glass and fix the eye on the object, to form new and independent judgments, to seek the strange and unfamiliar whether remote or near at hand, and to admire with enthusiastic rapture. He wants to know, that is, the relation of the Italian landscape to English romanticism. But with all her array of quotations the author of this study scarcely goes beyond the statement she quotes from a history of painting that the landscapes of Salvator Rosa "were freely bought by the English, greatly admired, and had their part in producing the literary enthusiasm for wild nature in the eighteenth century." That she has not undertaken to show the significance of the facts she has collected only increases the reader's dissatisfaction. He has a right to expect that intensive study will yield more definite conclusions.

Dr. Manwaring has, however, compiled a mass of valuable and interesting material. She shows that travelers in Italy became more and more interested in painting and landscape, especially in such landscapes as resembled their favorite paintings. Struck by the "softness" of Claude and the "wildness" of Salvator, eighteenth century gentlemen made them their models for landscape in painting, poetry, and gardening. Men of fashion became collectors of originals—authentic or faked, of copies and of prints, and enthusiastic connoisseurs without much knowledge or discrimination. Professional land-

scape artists flourished, and everyone dabbled in paint. Poetry abounded in pictorial descriptions after the manner of the reigning favorites. Gardeners threw themselves into the business of creating Italian landscapes in England and were extremely proud of their success. "All who wish, in their gardens, to realize the conceptions of the great landscape painters, imitate the English," says the *Critical Review* in 1783. Most English owners of large estates did so wish and, in spite of the protests of a few admirers of more natural scenes, cut down trees to make vistas, built grottoes and temples and ruins, and even set up dead trees in imitation of Salvatorian pictures. There developed a cult of the picturesque, and a host of gentlemen and ladies, commencing with the Bishop of Bangor in 1738 and Thomas Gray, traveled about exclaiming over "romantic" precipices, torrents, cascades, valleys, forests, and ruins, and often enhancing the beauties of prospects by viewing them reflected in darkened convex pocket-mirrors. Sometimes they found views—as at Windermere—"as elegant as ever fancied by Claude himself." Fiction displayed the prevailing fashion. Tom Jones had a relish for moonlit prospects and artfully improved landscapes. Jane Austen's heroines went into raptures over picturesque scenes, though we credit the author with smiling at their extravagances. Mrs. Radcliffe filled her novels with admiring descriptions of Italian views she had never seen. And so did Charlotte Smith and Miss Williams and Mrs. Robinson and Henry Mackenzie. But Fanny Burney in the 1770's was not addicted to the picturesque, and Peacock satirized it while Scott was still describing "a true Salvatorian scene."

It is possible that Dr. Manwaring's unwillingness to use the words "romantic"—except as it is freely used in her quotations—and "romanticism" until her conclusion of less than five pages, is one cause of the inconclusiveness of her study. The meaning of the vogue of Italian landscape in England is bound up with the meaning of that unfortunately "nebulous" word, and, though unspoken, its obscurity hangs like a cloud over the pages. We could wish that she had seized the opportunity her subject offers to work towards a sharper definition. She might have found significant the answers to such questions as these: What did the eighteenth century admirers of "romantic" scenes mean by the term? Did they find the landscapes of Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa equally romantic? Did the romantic quality belong to the scene itself or to the artists' treatment of it? Was their own admiration romantic, or was it as conventional and formalistic as their admiration of the pastoral or the heroic couplet?

Even the short conclusion avoids defining the term, and it is not easy to see what definition it implies. The author says

"the feelings with which the English in the eighteenth century regarded . . . landscapes" representing "remote and extravagant Italian scenes—surely a world of dreams and romance" must be included in the definition. And "the attempts to reproduce on English ground these visions of the distant and ideal Italy" must be "accounted romantic." It may well be that that is romantic which is "removed noticeably from the world of reality," but surely there was more than a dash of unromantic practicality in those romantic dreamers who developed a new art making over the actual English scene in imitation of pictures or idealized Italian landscape so that it might deserve the admiration of gentlemen and ladies of fashion.

With respect to the effect of all the admiration and imitation of Italian landscape on the eighteenth century attitude toward nature, Dr. Manwaring concludes that the appearance at the end of the century of poets and painters who saw and admired the English landscape as it really was, was due to "a long training in seeing landscape pictorially" in the wild mountainous scenes of Salvator and the "superb and unreal form of Claude's landscape." This conclusion is somewhat surprising after the quotations that precede it. They fully show that the popularity of such scenes affected the lesser poets and novelists as it did the *virtuosi*, and that a conventional literary landscape formed on those models flourished well into the nineteenth century. But it was not universal nor unopposed. Collins, Goldsmith, Cowper, and of course Burns and Blake, Coleridge and Wordsworth are admitted to be independent of the Italian pictorial school. Of the important poets of the mid-century Thomson is the only one who is called a "poet of pictorial landscape." He is shown to have had friends who admired and collected landscape paintings and prints, to have made the grand tour after he had written *The Seasons*, and to have written a stanza on landscape painting in *The Castle of Indolence* that was much quoted. He wrote descriptions that suggested paintings, and, as Joseph Warton said, was "very influential in diffusing a general taste for the beauties of *nature and landscape*." But he is less truly a poet of nature in his vistas and prospects than in his bits of English scene and scent and sound. Though Cowper admired Italian pictures and dabbled with painting, he preferred quiet natural scenery. While the vogue of Italian landscape was at its height, he condemned the sacrifice of fine trees to "clumps and lawns, and temples and cascades."

The truth seems to be that although the artificial landscape was much admired and imitated in England throughout the eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century, an appreciation of the natural English scene was simultaneously

developing and finally superseded it. It seems likely that pre-occupation with the exotic ideal hindered and delayed the general enjoyment and poetic representation of nature as it lay about the English poets rather more than it promoted and prepared the way for it. The imitation of Claude and Salvator at second and third hand seems to have become such an incubus upon painting and nature poetry as that of the "ancients" on epic poetry and criticism. It is even possible that at the beginning of the century the authority of the Italian painters may have been used as a justification of a budding taste for nature. How else can we interpret the author's statement that the first travelers in Italy, though they took little interest in either pictures or scenes and never associated them, yet, when they did admire a landscape, showed the same taste in scenery that the picturesque tourists had? The tangle of pseudo-classical respect for authority and romantic enthusiasm, admiration of idealized scenes,—sometimes romantic, sometimes classical,—classical expression of the universal and romantic longing for the unreal, realistic representation and conventional idealization of nature, conformity to standards and pursuit of the novel, is not loosened in a single thread by the study before us.

CLARISSA RINAKEK

THULE. ALTNORDISCHE DICHTUNG UND PROSA

Band 18: *Norwegische Königsgeschichten* (Sverris- und Hakonssage). Übertragen von Felix Niedner. Band 20: *Die jüngere Edda* mit dem sogenannten ersten grammatischen Traktat. Übertragen von Gustav Neckel und Felix Niedner. Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1925.

Als im Jahre 1250 Friedrich II. starb, kam unter anderen auch König Hakon von Norwegen als Anwärter für den deutschen Kaiserthron in Betracht. Er hatte in freundschaftlichen Beziehungen zu Kaiser Friedrich gestanden. Das Aufblühen Norwegens unter seiner Regierung, aber auch seine persönlichen Vorzüge veranlassten die europäischen Staaten, ihr Augenmerk auf das ferne Reich im Norden zu richten. Schon Hakons Vorgänger, König Sverris, war von Geburt ein Held und König gewesen. Diese beiden schlichten, grossen Herrscher verherrlicht die Sverris- und die Hakonssaga. Die Sverrissaga ist in knappem, chronikartigem Stil erzählt; sie ist auf Anordnung des Königs geschrieben und später überarbeitet worden. Das Werk ist in der vorliegenden Übertragung gekürzt. Aber alle wesentlichen Züge treten hervor. Den Staatengründer, den eindrucksvollen klugen Redner, den kühnen Kämpfer und Seefahrer lernen wir kennen. In der ausführlicheren Hakonssage kommt auch die Poesie zu ihrem Recht.

Der Verfasser, Sturla Thordssohn, in dem sich die altisländische Skaldendichtung zu neuer Blüte entfaltet, schmückt die Erzählung mit prächtigen, klangvollen Strophen aus. Wie ein Heldenlied wirkt auch die Schilderung in Prosa, der Kampf Hakons um sein Königtum, seine Kriegsfahrten und Feste. Kein Wunder, dass dieser Stoff Ibsen zur dramatischen Gestaltung reizte. In seinen "Kronprätendenten" hat er die alte Zeit mit modernem Geist erfüllt. Wie schön ist der Abschnitt, in dem Sturla Thordssohn berichtet, dass König Hakon auf dem Sterbebette sich die Sverrissaga vorlesen lässt! Da mag er sich noch einmal an dem Heldentum seines Vorgängers berauscht haben—aber auch wir lauschen ergriffen den herrlichen Klängen jener versunkenen Zeit.

In dem Band "Die jüngere Edda," liegt zum ersten Male eine vollständige Übersetzung des Kunstwerkes Snorri Sturlusons in einer lebenden Sprache vor. Eine Einleitung Neckels behandelt die Geschichte der Forschung altgermanischer Literatur und gibt klare, allgemeinverständliche Erklärungen zur jüngeren Edda. Das Werk ist die älteste germanische Poetik; aber kein trockenes Lehrbuch, wie es später Martin Opitz geschaffen hat. Es birgt zugleich wertvolle Sagen und bezaubert mit seiner Mythologie und Poesie noch nach Jahrhunderten den Leser. Wer die alten Skaldenlieder laut liest, wird ergriffen die klangvolle Schönheit und den hinreissenden Rhythmus empfinden. Die Skaldenkunst, ihre vielfach dunkle Ausdrucksweise, der schwierige Strophenbau, musste von den älteren Dichtern den jüngeren gelehrt werden. Solche Anweisungen enthält Snorris Werk. Aber die Sagen, die alten Skaldenstrophen und sein eigenes Preislied auf König Hakon und Jarl Skule sind nicht nur als Belege niedergeschrieben; die Freude am Erzählen und die dichterische Begabung haben ihn dazu getrieben. Und herrliche Kunstschöpfungen hat er somit der Nachwelt überliefert.

H. WOCKE

Liegnitz in Schlesien

THE FAERIE QUEENE AND THE MEDIÆVAL ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION

It has been said that every man is either a Platonist or an Aristotelian; perhaps it would be nearer the truth to remark that most men are both. To modern speculation it has sometimes appeared that the apparent differences between the two leaders of Greek thought have been stressed to the neglect of their kinship. Without entering upon this speculative question one might remark that in Renaissance controversies between Platonists and Aristotelians there is, as in the work of Bessarion and others, a spirit of compromise; and that however uncritical from the modern point of view such attempted reconciliations of Plato and Aristotle may seem, these testify at least to that eclectic or synthetic spirit which is so important an element in Renaissance culture. The true humanist is more interested in being cultivated than in being classified; and in the interest of poetry it was well that a man like Spenser, whose thought took color from the mediæval past, for whom the quickened religious consciousness of the time was bodied forth in the patterns and symbols of the Platonic tradition, and who found a light for his path in the reasoned morality of Aristotle,—that such a man was as much concerned to diversify as to unify the life of the spirit. So, missing from his work as a whole any systematic philosophy of life, we might inquire under what influences or under the stress of what traditions have been molded the various elements of his thought. Of these elements we may set down as primary: Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Christianity; but the three are so interdependent that we are not likely to understand any one of them without frequent reference to the other two. Spenser's Aristotelian virtues, for example, must sometimes be taken in a Platonic sense; and it is his Platonism that gives wing to his Christian sentiment. Furthermore, in the ethical system of the *Faerie Queene*, while critics and commentators recognize an interestingly exact knowledge of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, they seem sometimes to have forgotten that we have here to do with Aristotle not primarily as he was known in ancient Athens but rather as he had come to be in the cloisters and schools of the Middle Ages.

Those who have studied the ethics of the *Faerie Queene* with Spenser in one hand and Aristotle in the other have debated the question of the exact correspondence between Spenser's total of private virtues and that to be found in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. But I for one cannot regard this matter of grave import: because where the doctors disagree a poet may be permitted to be a little wrong. It will be admitted by all that as between twelve and thirteen there is little to choose.¹ Nor, apart from a suggestion to be made in a moment, have I time here to enter into the much more interesting problem of the correspondence of particular virtues in Spenser with similar virtues described by Aristotle. I would only recall as pertinent to the present paper that of Spenser's six virtues Holiness is one that it has been difficult to associate with any of the virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

However strictly we seek to interpret Spenser's declaration that his twelve private virtues are those that Aristotle has "devised," it is inconceivable that our poet in Christianizing his Aristotle or in Aristotelianizing his Christianity should have been uninfluenced by the tradition of Christian Aristotelianism that carried over from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. This influence in its main lines lies clearly on the surface for anyone who will give the matter thought²; but for all that no one seems yet to have traced the ethical tradition which leads up to the *Faerie Queene*. Such an undertaking can be carried out here only in a broad and general way; but at the end it should be clear that Spenser's ethics make in the period of the Renais-

¹ Mr. De Moss in his University of Chicago dissertation (*Mod. Phil.* XIV, Nos. 1 and 3) compares in detail the ethics of Spenser and of Aristotle. Like Miss Winstanley, whom he does not quote, Mr. De Moss finds thirteen virtues listed in the *Nicomachean Ethics* corresponding to Spenser's Magnificence and twelve other virtues; but whereas Mr. De Moss lists the mean concerning ambition, which as Aristotle says in Book II, Chap. VII, is a "moral state which has to do with petty honour and is related to high-mindedness which has to do with great honour," Miss Winstanley gets her total by making separate items of *σωφροσύνη* (Book III) and *ἐγκράτεια* (Book VII). Her list has a certain advantage over that of Mr. De Moss in that Spenser's distinction between Temperance and Chastity, as Mr. Winstanley has shown, corresponds to Aristotle's distinction between *ἐγκράτεια* and *σωφροσύνη*.

² See section III of Miss Winstanley's edition of *Faerie Queene*, Book I.

sance a close contact with a line of ethical thought that, beginning with Aristotle and passing through the system of St. Thomas Aquinas, brings up at the Christian philosophy of the Protestant Melanchthon.

The approach to Christian ethics based upon Aristotle lies through the later peripatetic treatises entitled the *Eudæmian Ethics* and the *Magna Moralia*. Already in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, to be sure, the religious element is present. It is, one need not say, far removed from the religion of Spenser; but it is the element in Aristotle's ethical system which as later developed furnished an easy point of contact with Christian thought. If we are not austere interested in demonstrably immediate sources to the strict exclusion of everything else, we may think of Spenser's blended rationalism and mysticism, more particularly of the symbolic friendship between the Red Cross Knight and Sir Guyon, when we read the following from the *Aristotelian Ethics* (X, X): “Some people think that men are made good by nature, others by habit, others again by teaching. Now it is clear that the gift of nature is not in our own powers but it is bestowed by some divine providence upon those who are truly fortunate.” In another place Aristotle says: “He whose activity is directed by reason, and is in the best, i.e., the most rational state of mind, is also, it seems, the most beloved of the gods. For if the gods care at all for human things, as it is believed, it will be only reasonable to hold that they delight in what is best and most related to themselves, i.e., to reason, and that they requite with kindness those who love and honour it above all else, as caring for what is dear to themselves and performing right and noble actions.” More particularly, Aristotle's distinction between the speculative and non-speculative virtues anticipates a familiar mediæval distinction between the contemplative and the active life of which Spenser makes use in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*. “Happiness,” we learn, “consists in the activity of the best part of our nature, the most divine part of our being, and this activity takes the form of contemplation. The activity of God, being preeminently blissful, will be speculative, and if so, the human activity which is nearly related to it will be most capable of happiness.”

The religious element already present in the *Nicomachean Ethics* is further developed in the *Eudæmian Ethics*. In in-

vestigating the subject of good luck, the author argues that right desire is not chance but something divine. To the question, What is the "commencement of movement in the soul"? he replies, "As in the universe, so in the soul, God moves everything. The starting-point of reasoning is not reasoning but something greater. What then could be greater even than knowledge and intellect but God? Not virtue, for virtue is an instrument of the intellect. And for this reason, as I said a while ago, those are called fortunate who, whatever they start on, succeed in it without being good at reasoning. And deliberation is of no advantage to them, for they have in them a principle that is better than intellect and deliberation, while the others have not this but have intellect; they have inspiration, but they cannot deliberate. For, though lacking reason, they attain the attribute of the prudent and wise, so that their divination is speedy; and we must mark as included in it all but the judgment that comes from reasoning; in some cases it is due to experience, in others to habituation in the use of reflection; and both experience and habituation use God. This quality sees well the future and the present, and these are the men in whom the reasoning-power is relaxed. Hence we have the melancholic men, the dreamers of what is true. For the moving principle seems to become stronger when the reasoning power is relaxed."³

We are here, of course, still some distance from Spenser, who substitutes a scholastic synthesis of reason and religion for the sharply defined peripatetic dualism. The right desires of the Red Cross Knight are no match for the wiles of the devil. It cannot be said of this Christian "dreamer of what is true" that he succeeds in whatever he undertakes without being good at reasoning; nor that he attains, though lacking reason, the attributes of the prudent and wise. The fellowship of the Red Cross Knight and Sir Guyon, celebrated at the beginning of the second book of the *Faerie Queene*, symbolizes the kinship of reason and religion which is at the basis of both scholasticism and Spenser's ethical philosophy. However, it should be noted that the author of the *Eudemian Ethics* traces the moral sense or the power of divination to experience in some people and to habituation in the use of reflection in others, and both ex-

³ Works of Aristotle, translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xii f.

perience and habituation, he declares, "use God." Divine inspiration, then, not only has its place in the practical life, according to both Spenser and the author of the *Eudemian Ethics*, but the moral sense to which it gives rise is not to be wholly dissociated from experience and the habits of reflection.

In these peripatetic treatises, therefore, we find a treatment of religion and practical morality significant in the development of Christian ethics and particularly interesting to students of Spenser. Even if we should suppose that Spenser dealt independently with Greek ethics we should have to suppose that he singled out elements in Aristotle's system which naturally and strongly appealed to Christian thinkers throughout the Middle Ages. But as we shall see he was no more independent of the traditional ethical culture of the Western world than other Protestant humanists with whom his kinship is obvious.

I concede of course that to the Greek philosopher the rational state of mind beloved of the Gods is something very different from the deep fervour and the boundless hope of the Christian hero. As Dr. Ross has said, "the worshipping and contemplating God' is to be understood as no more than the earnest prosecution by the mind of the search for truth."⁴ But nevertheless we have a point of view in Aristotle comparable to that of our Christian poet. Moreover, Spenser⁵ has not neglected to apply to Holiness as to his other virtues the Aristotelian diagram. Holiness, it would appear, is a mean between infidelity (Sansfoiy) on the one hand and blind superstition (Corceca and Abessa) on the other. And finally in Spenser's emphasis upon the place of the emotions in the moral life we may draw a parallel with a passage from the *Magna Moralia*, the third of the peripatetic treatises which I am here considering,—a passage which has been called "the crowning word of peripatetic ethics, for which we wait in vain in the *Nicomachean Ethics* or even in the *Eudemian Ethics*."⁶ "Speaking generally," says the *Magna Moralia*, "it is not the case, as the rest of the world think, that reason is the principle and guide to virtue, but rather the feelings. For there must be produced in us, as indeed is the case, an irrational impulse to the right, and then later on reason

⁴ Ross, p. xiii.

⁵ In agreement with Melanchthon as I shall indicate in a moment.

⁶ Ross, *op. cit.*, Introduction xxi.

must put the question to the vote and decide it. One may see this," continues the writer, "in the case of children and those who live without reason. For in these, apart from reason, there spring up first, impulses of the feelings towards right, and reason supervening later on and giving its vote the right way, is the cause of right action."⁷ So Spenser introduces us in the first book of the *Faerie Queene* to the subject of the religious emotions before taking up in the legend of Sir Guyon the theme of the temperate life under the guidance of reason. It is then by developing the religious element already present in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and by giving ethical value to irrational impulse that the peripatetic treatises approximate that view of the moral life, at once religious and rationalistic, which is so richly illustrated in the *Faerie Queene*.

Granted then these correspondences between Spenser on the one hand and Aristotle and his immediate successors on the other, we may pass to an inquiry into our poet's indebtedness to the tradition of Christian ethics that derives from the Greek philosopher. Now the two main currents of ethical thought in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are respectively stoic and peripatetic. The former arising in the Ciceronian *De Officiis* is best represented in mediæval literature by the *De Officiis Ministrorum* of Ambrose. The second derives from Aristotle, with Thomas Aquinas and Melanchthon as its chief expositors for Catholic and Protestant Europe respectively.⁸ The comprehensive ethical system of Aquinas and Melanchthon, however, has absorbed that stoic conception of law which, built firmly into the structure of Roman jurisprudence, has profoundly influenced the trend of both Catholic and Protestant thought. Any study of the ethical system of Aquinas, a system which accommodates the stoic law of nature and Aristotle's system of speculative and non-speculative virtues to the requirements of Christian philosophy, must deal with both of the two great traditions of which I have spoken.

Aristotle's distinction between the life of contemplation, in which true happiness consists, and the life of action lies at the foundation of the ethical system of Aquinas. "The words of

⁷ *Magna Moralia*, 1206b.

⁸ Sidgwick, *Outline of the History of Ethics*.

Aristotle," writes Professor Caird,⁹ "remind us of a saying of Emerson that the consciousness of man is a sliding scale, which at one time seems to identify him with the divine spirit, and at another with the very flesh of his body. The rift that runs through the philosophy of Plato seems here to have widened till it rends human nature asunder. The result is a division of the contemplative from the practical life, which has momentous results in the history of philosophy and theology. It is the source of what has sometimes been called the 'intellectualism' of Greek philosophy, which passed from it into the Christian church in the form of the exaltation of the monastic above any life that can be lived in the world. And Thomas was only following Aristotle when he exalted the contemplative above the moral virtues, and maintained that the latter related to the former *dispositivè sed non essentialiter*. This transition of thought," Professor Caird continues, "was already made easy by the religious turn of expression which Aristotle and his successors often use." And then he refers to the passage in the *Eudemian Ethics* of which I have already spoken and of which he gives Professor Burnet's translation, "to glorify God and to enjoy him forever."

We may say, then, that the peripatetic dualism which I have compared with Spenser's treatment of reason and religion, was accommodated by Thomas Aquinas to the requirements of Christian thought. For more detailed knowledge of the Thomist ethics we turn to the *Summa Contra Gentiles* (third part) and the *Summa Theologica* (second part). There we find the Aristotelian classification of the virtues into moral and intellectual, and the contemplative life is placed above the practical life, provided that the contemplation be theological, for the ultimate and perfect happiness can exist only in a vision of the divine essence. Of the intellectual virtues there are three: *sapientia*, *scientia*, and *intellectus*. Aquinas makes a further classification of the moral virtues into those that regulate action and those that regulate passions, the former comprised under the general head of justice and the latter classified as prudence, temperance, and courage. Now all of the moral virtues here listed Thomas denominates acquired virtues and regards them as

⁹ Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, I, 313-314.

subordinate to those that he calls the infused virtues; viz., faith, hope, and charity.

If Aristotle could remind Professor Caird of Emerson, Aquinas at this point might remind us of Spenser, whom Milton with critical penetration compared with the famous schoolman. The legend of the Red Cross Knight is really the book of the virtues—cardinal or acquired, infused, and intellectual—because it is the book of the pilgrimage of human life. In putting on the armor of the Christian man our hero had of course become a knight of Faith, Hope, and Charity, but in the letter to Raleigh it has been made clear that he was without experience of the world. His excellent intentions cannot save him from mistakes of judgment. Prudence for him is at most a mere dwarf who may run his errands but could never be the grave counsellor directing him as the Palmer directed Sir Guyon in the way of right living. Now since prudence is the *ratio recta agibilium* its neglect is a vice of the mind rather than of the will. Obviously the mistaken judgments of the Red Cross Knight are the root of all his evil just as prudence is the root of the cardinal virtues. The faith of the Knight of Holiness becomes a misplaced faith and he becomes a victim of credulity. In spite of the warnings of Fradubio he becomes in his relations with Archimago and Duessa blind in heart like Corceca and in his relations with Una lacking in Faith like Sansfoy. He therefore so far as faith is concerned has sinned both the sin of deficiency and the sin of excess, sins from which the *ratio recta agibilium* might have saved him. From a Knight of Faith he has become a Knight of Credulity. Having failed to give in his life the position to prudence to which it was entitled, the Red Cross Knight proceeds to violate the other cardinal virtues which it is the office of prudence to foster. He is, for example, intemperate in his anger with Una and in his dalliance with Duessa; he has lacked fortitude in Aquinas's sense of *firmitas mentis* in his encounter with Despair; he has of course violated justice, that virtue which like prudence penetrates the others, in his condemnation of Una, and it is Una who has to instruct him in the true meaning of justice. The Catholic ethic here abundantly illustrated is in full harmony with the Catholic spiritual discipline of the House of Holiness. But there, carried beyond the cardinal and infused virtues, the system of Catholic ethics is made complete

by giving us a glimpse of that life of contemplation in which there will be full exercise for the intellectual virtues of *sapientia*, *scientia*, and *intellectus*, which lead the aspiring soul beyond the sphere of human responsibilities and human perplexities to ecstatic union with the divine.

The Aristotelianism of the great Catholic schoolman corresponds then in its main lines to the Aristotelianism of the Protestant Spenser. In each we find a recognition of the higher life of contemplation and of a practical morality under the guidance of the infused and acquired virtues. The interest of this general correspondence may perhaps be accentuated if we advert for a moment to the textual Aristotelian tradition; for, as Marchesi has pertinently observed, "in the transmission of classical literature one should think not only of the accidents of fortune but of the ideal needs of the time."¹⁰

The Ethics, not included in the thirteenth century collections of Aristotle's works, followed a tradition of its own. Of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Marchesi lists five Latin redactions for the thirteenth century, three of these being based directly upon the Greek. The complete work, which went under the name of the *Liber Ethicorum* and which forms the basis of Aquinas's commentary was preceded by two partial translations, designated respectively the *Ethica Vetus* and the *Ethica Nova*. The former comprises books two and three and the latter consists of book one only. Now the point here is that the distinction in the textual tradition between the *Ethica Vetus* and the *Ethica Nova* served to emphasize the dual conception of the active and contemplative life. The second book lays down the principle that virtue is acquired by habit, and the third develops the doctrine of the mean and offers practical rules of conduct. "The second part more than any other," Marchesi remarks, "suited the logical and rhetorical schematism of the mediæval schools. But," he continues, "more than anything else, we may note as the probable reason for the isolation of these books the fact that they set forth the two principles of the irresponsibility of nature and our personal responsibility in doing good and evil. The second and the third books constituted in themselves a moral treatise which comprehended, unified, and ex-

¹⁰ Concetto Marchesi: *L'Etica Nicomachea nella tradizione latina medievale*, Messina, 1904, p. 33.

plained the rational elements, so to speak, of which Catholic ethic availed itself, with its infinite fear of personal responsibility and its great terror of the future life, its further purpose being all the while to dominate the world and to show to the people the way to salvation. The books from four to ten in their more subtle distinctions and analyses did not offer any of those fixed, circumscribed principles for reason to cut its teeth on; and the first book dealing with the *summum bonum*, that is to say, happiness which consists in the operation of the mind in accordance with perfect virtue, though it was undoubtedly vital to faith, was of less immediate interest, because to place in God the concept of happiness and to point out that as the *summum bonum* was surely the more necessary foundation in the theory of religious thought. . . . Later the first book is added to the second and third when the ethical conscience has made progress and ideal needs are enlarged."¹¹

We may say then in the terminology of the textual tradition that Spenser has treated both the *Ethica Vetus* and *Ethica Nova* and that in this respect as in others his ethical system is clearly mediæval. So far Spenser like his contemporary Richard Hooker adopts the accepted Catholic modifications of Aristotle's *Ethics*. Whatever might have been his distaste for political Catholicism, whatever might have been his disgust for morally corrupt Catholicism, Spenser shows unmistakable sympathy for the conservative Catholic culture of the English Reformation and the English Renaissance. The mediæval symbolism of the *Faerie Queene* is an appropriate garment for the body of Spenser's thought because this thought is itself mediæval.

But, after all, Spenser was a Protestant poet. We should try then to find among Protestant scholars illustrations of his Christian ethics. I have already mentioned Hooker, who was not so much of a Protestant that he might not adopt the Thomist system of laws. But for our purpose quite as interesting as Hooker is Philip Melancthon, the so-called Preceptor of Germany, who adopts, as Heinrich Maier has demonstrated, many of the fundamental ideas of the angelic doctor.¹² The

¹¹ Marchesi, *op. cit.*, 33-35. Jourdain, *Recherches, Nouvelle Edition*, 1-43; 179-181.

¹² Maier, "Melancthon als Philosoph," *Archiv für Philosophie*, XL and XII. See further *Realencyklopädie f. protest. Theologie*, XII, 544.

Thomism of Melanchthon is, of course, quite in accord with the career of the man who was the author of the Augsburg Confession, who made large concessions to Romanist opinion in the negotiations connected with the so-called Leipsic interim, who was called by some of his opponents the crypto-Catholic, and of whom it has been more charitably said that "he stood toward the past history of the church in an attitude of piety and reverence that made it much more difficult for him than for Luther to be content with the thought of the impossibility of a reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church." And then his eirenic temper naturally disposed him to compromise. Justly known as "the father of Christian humanism and as the heir of the south German humanists who represented an ethical conception of the humanities,"²⁸ he must be credited too with communicating to the Christian culture of the English Renaissance the ethical fruits and something of the *Weltanschauung* of the great scholastic tradition.

Like Thomas Aquinas, Melanchthon notes as the highest activity that of knowing God and obeying him. This is of course the Catholic version of the speculative virtue of Greek philosophy. "If Aristotle," says Melanchthon, "had considered the fundamental distinctions among actions he would have placed virtue in relation to this knowledge of God. But," he continues, "one can always attach himself to the Aristotelian view if one only remembers that knowing God is the highest virtue and that all virtues are to be related to God." Here clearly stated is the Thomist principle followed by Spenser as well as by Melanchthon; for Spenser not only gives Holiness first place in his treatment of the virtues, but in the person of King Arthur he links his several virtues to God. Furthermore, the English poet, the German Protestant humanist, and the Catholic schoolman, not to mention the Anglican apologist, all invoke the concept of a sanctified rationalism and naturalism. Reason is a spark of the divine fire and by the *vinculum naturae* the whole world is bound to the throne of God. It is only natural, then, divinely natural, that Truth (Una) should be protected from dishonor by Nature (the lion and the satyrs) and that the judgment of Jove in the Mutability cantos should approve the law of nature as contrasted with the lawlessness of

²⁸ Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, XII, 533, 544.

Mutability. Justice, too, that fundamental virtue, is on earth only a reflection of that eternal justice by which "Jove contains his heavenly commonweal."¹⁴

Reserving for more detailed consideration elsewhere the relations between the Christian humanism of England and that of such ports of refuge for English exiles as Strassburg and Frankfort, I pass to an interesting correspondence between the *Faerie Queene* and Melanchthon's *Enarrationes* upon the *Ethics* of Aristotle. In view of what has been set forth above and in view too of Melanchthon's relations with the leaders of the English Reformation, the parallel may have more than a curious interest. In seeking to bring the Aristotelian system in line with the Bible, Melanchthon like Aquinas has much to say about the stoic concept of the law of nature, which was expounded for the English Reformation by Hooker. As has been intimated above, scholasticism declared that the precepts of the classical moralists, insofar as they do not conflict with the teachings of the Bible, sprang from the seeds of divine wisdom planted by providence in the minds of men. The classical moralists, it was maintained, not only supplement scripture but by the discipline to which they subject human conduct they prepare the spirit for the truths of revelation. But St. Thomas believed that in the decalogue the Bible itself contained a codification of the *lex naturae*.¹⁵ "Moral precepts," he writes in the *Summa*, "have validity from the mere dictate of natural reason, even if they were nowhere enacted in the law. Some are of the widest generality. . . . Some go more into detail; any ordinary man can see the reason of them; and yet because in some exceptiona]

¹⁴ *Summa Theologica, Prima Secundae, Questio XCIV, Article III.* Melanchthon, *Ethicae Doctrinae Elementa* II (C. R. XVI, 167-168). Compare Dilthey, "Das natürliche System der Geisteswissenschaften im siebzehnten Jahrhundert," *Archiv. f. Phil.*, VI, 225 f.: "Melanchthon ist für Deutschland das Mittelglied, welches die alten Philosophen und deren Tradition in dem mittelalterlichen Schriftstellern verbindet mit dem natürlichen System des 17 Jahrhunderts. Dies natürliche System ist bei ihm schon in allen Grundzügen fest verzeichnet. Gerade darin lag nun aber während des 16 Jahrhunderts in Deutschland seine grosse Position, dass er dasselbe zu der protestantischen Theologie setze." Spenser, following familiar educational doctrine, treats the theme of Nature progressively as he passes from the lion to Satyrane: the lion = Nature; the Satyrs = Nature + training; Satyrane = Nature + training + experience.

¹⁵ *Summa Theologica, Prima Secundae, Questio C, Article XI.*

cases human judgment happens to go astray on them, precepts like these require publishing; such are the precepts of the decalogue." With the decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, and other Scriptural sources of ethical precepts or prohibitions the bibliolatry of the Reformation was content. But Christian humanists in their love of ancient learning not unnaturally sought some particular accommodation of Christian and classical codes of conduct. This is what Melanchthon has done in his *Enarrationes* upon the Aristotelian *Ethics*.¹⁸ The interesting result of his crossing Aristotle with the Ten Commandments is a list of virtues corresponding closely with those which Spenser has celebrated in the *Faerie Queene*.

Following a review of Aristotle's doctrine of the mean, Melanchthon remarks that theologians discuss the question how the love of God can be regarded as an Aristotelian mean, since the most ardent love of God should be considered a virtue in the highest degree. St. Thomas himself, having raised the question in the *Summa (Prima Secundae, Question 64, article 4)* had declared that "in regard to ourselves a mean and extremes may be made out in a theological virtue incidentally." The explanation, Melanchthon says, is that virtue may receive increments of the same kind and that the mean is of a different nature from the extremes. Melanchthon notes as the extremes of which the love of God is the mean, Epicurean contempt and superstition,—we might say the Sansfoy of the *Faerie Queene* as contrasted with Abessa and Corceca. Then our commentator proceeds to the ten commandments with the remark that we get from the decalogue the best arrangement of the virtues. Since man is made in the image of God and since his chief end is to know God and to serve him, the first virtue is reverence toward God, which the Latins call *reverentia* or piety but which the Christians doctrine names faith, the fear of God, the love of God. The second is concerned with the offices and ceremonies of the church by which a knowledge of God is communicated to others, what the Latins call *religio* or *pietas* but which we call *praedicatio, invocatio, gratiorum actio, confessio*. Aristotle, says Melanchthon, says nothing of these virtues of the first table. We are then to see in scripture the true and unchangeable doctrine in these matters. For although human reason has a certain

¹⁸ *Corpus Reformatorum*, XVI 322 ff.

acquaintance with God there is need nevertheless of another doctrine, that concerning reconciliation which the son of God has brought from the bosom of the father. Now this is of course the ground covered by the first book of the *Faerie Queene*.

Passing to the second table which lays down rules for society, we come to the commandment that we should honor father and mother. This stated broadly, says Melanchthon, is the virtue of obedience and should be applied to political as well as to domestic relations. The first table reminds the ruler of his obligation to God; the second, beginning with the obligation of the subject to those in authority, proceeds to lay down rules for the government of society. The commandment rightly understood is a commandment of universal justice and universal justice means obedience to God's law. "Thou shalt not kill," deals, on the other hand, with particular justice. But here Melanchthon by inverting the commandment, that is by translating its negative injunction into a positive precept of virtuous living, suggests the broad foundation of good will upon which its efficacy must rest. Thus considered, the commandment against murder becomes a commandment of kindness, of mercy, of friendship. Similarly treated the negative commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," becomes a positive precept of continence or chastity; and "Thou shalt not steal" deals with the Aristotelian virtue of distributive justice. Then "Thou shalt not bear false witness" positively inculcates truthfulness and candour; that in word and act we should avoid deceit and that whatever we have to do we should do justly, seriously, openly and so that our thoughts, our words, and our conduct should all be in full agreement. Treating this virtue in an Aristotelian way we get according to Melanchthon stolidity as one extreme and zeal for slander as the other. Clearly this virtue is the Courtesy of Spenser, one of those virtues which we have heretofore found it so difficult to associate with Aristotle. Although Melanchthon does not mention the last commandment in either table, that against breaking the Sabbath and that against covetousness we should of course associate the first of these with the exacted observances of the church and the second with the commandment against theft for which covetousness prepares the way. To sum up then, what we have in Melanchthon's commentary upon Aristotle as a result of bringing to bear the Aristotelian method and categories

upon the decalogue is Holiness enjoined in the first table of the Law and celebrated in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*; Continnence and Chastity enjoined in the seventh commandment and celebrated in F. Q. books 2, 3; Friendship enjoined by implication in the sixth commandment and treated in Book 4; Justice in its various forms enjoined in commandments 5 and 8 and treated by Spenser in Book 5; and Courtesy enjoined in the ninth commandment and celebrated by Spenser in the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene*.

My association of Spenser and Melanchthon may gain in point and interest if I recall besides the general influence of German humanism at Cambridge Melanchthon's friendship for prominent Anglicans of the sixteenth century. It should be remembered that Henry VIII and Cranmer not only opposed the efforts of France to win the celebrated Protestant over to Catholicism but repeatedly attempted to bring him to England.¹⁷ Later Edward VI sought to appoint him as Martin Bucer's successor at Cambridge; doubtless this would have come to pass had it not been for the death of the king.¹⁸ At any rate the exchange of letters between Henry and Melanchthon, the dedication by the latter of his commentary upon the Romans to the king, and the king's present of two hundred crowns will testify to the esteem in which the German humanist was held at the English court. Then Cranmer and Melanchthon were close friends. The archbishop invites the criticism of the German humanist upon disputations that had been held at Oxford and Cambridge; Melanchthon sends Cranmer his *Enarratio* upon the Nicene Creed; and the two exchange letters on the subject of the union of all Protestant churches.¹⁹ Considering the esteem in which Melanchthon was held by the leaders of the Anglican movement, it is not surprising to note that the king's injunctions to Cambridge promulgated as early as 1536 include the article, "That students in arts should read Aristotle, Rodolphus Agricola, Philip Melanchthon, Trapezuntius, etc."²⁰ If they read both Aristotle and Melanchthon what more natural than that they should have read the *Enar-*

¹⁷ Strype, *Memorials*, ,, 231.

¹⁸ Strype, *Annals*, I, 234; Cooper, *Annals*, II, p. 70.

¹⁹ Strype, *Memorials*, I, 231; Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, III, Chapters 23 and 24.

²⁰ Strype, *Memorials*, I, xxix; Appendix No. lvii and lviii; Cooper, *Annals*, I, 375.

ratio. Ascham, too, seems to have agreed with the king in recognizing the educational importance of Melanchthon's treatises. From one of his letters to Sturm we learn that he prescribed for the Princess Elizabeth's reading "Saint Cyprian and Melanchthon's Common Places, etc. as best suited after the Holy Scriptures, to teach her the foundations of religion, together with elegant language and sound doctrine."²¹

There is a still more definite reason for Spenser's interest in German humanism as represented by Melanchthon. Grindal, the Algrind of the Calendar, was one of that distinguished company of English scholars—including Sir Anthony Cook and Sir John Cheke—who during the Marian persecutions were hospitably received in such centers of humanistic culture as Strassburg and Frankfort. According to Strype, Grindal "made Strassburg in Germany his sanctuary; the magistrates of which town did freely and Christianly give harbour to divers English Protestants of the best rank, both of the laity and the clergy; and allowed them a Church for the exercise of their religion, according as they professed it in England." Further on in the same passage Strype furnishes very interesting testimony to Grindal's knowledge of German.²²

All the probabilities then are in favor of Spenser's knowledge of the Christian philosophy of Melanchthon. But this philosophy is not only Aristotelian but scholastic. It thus brings the intellectual culture of the Protestant poet in line with the great tradition of the Catholic schools. Taking root easily in the congenial soil of the Anglican Reformation the scholastic philosophy of Melanchthon and Aquinas bore fruit in English prose and poetry; and drawing on this source the conservative culture of Spenser and Hooker illustrates the vitality of mediæval thought. In the fabric of the *Faerie Queene*, woven of so many strands, there appears not only the rich and varied symbolism of mediæval romance but something as well of the web and woof of mediæval ideas. In spite of his political Protestantism and his sympathy with reform, the culture of Edmund Spenser, like that of the Anglican Church, however abundantly it might have used resources of Renaissance art, is fundamentally conservative, mediæval, and Catholic.

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²¹ Works of Ascham, ed. Giles I, lxiii-lxiv; compare letter 116, Giles I I, 259.

²² Strype, *Life of Grindal*, pp. 8 ff.

OLD NORSE *FRÁNN* 'GLEAMING'; ORKEDAL DIAL.
FRÆNA, 'TO RAIN.'

A STUDY IN SEMANTICS.¹

§1. Old Norse *fránn*, which prevailingly exhibits a semantic complex in which the element 'gleaming, shining,' is either the main or an associated element, we derive, with Professor Torp, through the stages *fránR* < *fraanaR*, from Primitive North Germanic **frahanaR*² (Gmc. **frahanaz*). The meaning of the N.Gmc. basic word must have been 'spotted,' 'mottled,' 'BESPRENGT.' Old Norse uses, and modern dialectal ones, both require the assumption of this as the Prim. N.Gmc. sememe. *FrahanaR*, then, corresponds formally and semantically to Cl. Greek *πεκνός* (also *πεκνός*), 'of darkish color,' and further to Skr. *पृचयि*, 'sprinkled over,' 'variegated,' 'checkered.' See Persson: *Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung*, II, 875, Uppsala, 1912, and Hirt: *Der indogermanische Ablaut*, §593. The corresponding vb., if it existed in Prim. Scand., would have been *frahanian*, modern Norwegian dial. *fræna*; this vb. must originally have had the meaning(s) 'sprinkle,' 'spatter,' *sprute*, *sprøite*, SPREIZEN, BESPRENGEN, and 'cause to form spots.' By the side of the collective adj. *fránn*, 'having many spots,' 'spotted,' may, in various places and at various times, have come into use a noun *fránn*, or other form, in the meaning 'spot,' 'speck,' 'drop,' 'particle,' etc., or perhaps used only in the plural. Of this we have examples in Faroese *frænvir*, pl., 'news' (< the sememe 'bits,' 'pieces'),³ and in the singular in ancient Greek *πρώξ* 'drop.'⁴

§2. The word *fránn*, 'spotted,' could presumably be applied to any surface characterized by spots; so, no doubt, the ground that has been made spotted by a light sprinkle of rain. Or it would be applied to spotted (or striped) wood, or animals with spotted fur or skin, or certain kinds of spotted fish, and thus

¹ The meaning development represented is tabulated at the end of the article.

² A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, under *fraanen*; 'kanske grf. *frahana*-til idg. rot **perc*'; see also van Blankenstein, *IF*, xxiii, p. 134.

³ *Færøske folkesagn og eventyr* ved J. Jakobsen. Copenhagen, 1898-1901. p. 459.

⁴ *Hirt*, l. c., *Torp*, l. c., but especially *Persson*, 874-875.

give rise to names for these, as Norw. *fjærsing*, 'trachinus draco,' OHG. *forhana*, 'salmon trout,' MHG. *vorhen-visch*, *forhen*, 'trout.'⁶ But *frahanaz*, etc., would no doubt early have suffered a certain meaning change. There inheres in the meaning 'spotted' a comparison between the spot and the rest of the surface; the spot stands out, and is noticed, because it is darker, or lighter, than the rest. From the color contrast came then the meaning 'variagated,' which at one stage is nearly always evidenced in the words belonging here.

For the idea 'striped' there were, of course, different words; but in later times the words based on *frahanaR* and the sememe 'spotted,' are often seen used for striped objects, or for objects that are characterized by stripes rather than spots. Here the color contrast brought about the semantic change from 'striped' > 'variagated,' where it met the change 'variagated' < 'spotted.' A good illustration of such a change from 'spotted' and 'having many colors,' to 'striped' and 'having many colors,' 'with different colored stripes,' appears in the Norwegian Telemarken dialect term *fjersing*,⁸ 'dark-striped pine wood.' Here may be compared also the Greek *πέρκη*, Latin *perca*,⁷ 'bass,' which etymologically belongs here, and English 'perch.'

§3. *Frahanaz* goes back to IE *perék*, 'spotted,' 'variagated.'⁸ Of this ON *frahanaR* exhibits the grade Null, 1, and Full, 2, while the corresponding OHG. *forhana*, shows grades Full, 1, and Null, 2. This condition characterizes the majority of occurrences in the two Germanic divisions, North and West: the West Gmc. cognates have grade Full, 1, while the Scand., occurrences show grade Null, 1; *fjersing*, above, with grade Full, 1, is not directly connected with *fránn*.

Words belonging here are rare in English. For OE there is the word *forn*, in Wright's *Vocabularies*, defined 'trutta,' but this with a ?, and left so in Bosworth-Toller.⁹ There are occurrences in English dialects; these will be dealt with below. The stem is not recorded in Gothic, where *filu-faihs* is the near-

⁶ Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, Schade, *Alteutsches Wörterbuch*. These words and *fjærsing* with different vowel grade, as below.

⁷ H. Ross. *Norsk Ordbog*, 172.

⁸ A. Walde: *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*.

⁹ *Hirt*, l.c., 593.

⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.

est equivalent.¹⁰ There is a large body of cognates in German, High and Low, from OHG. down.

‡ No equivalents of *frðnn* appear in Old Danish or Old Swedish,¹¹ but, to be sure, modern literary Danish and Swedish have them, as also modern Riksmåal Norwegian.¹² Landsmaal literary Norwegian have words of the group,¹³ revived in part from ON, in part taken up from the dialects. There are some occs. in East Danish dialects; there are many in Swedish dialects and from all parts of Sweden, and in Finnish Swedish. The stem lives on in many Norwegian dialects north and south, as well as in other parts of West Scandinavian: Iceland, the Faroes, and 'Norn' of the Shetlands.

§4. There is in Scandinavian a considerable body of simple forms with different vowels, and some derivatives and compounds; the meaning development is of wide range and great interest. In ON there are fifty-two occs., all in poetic texts, none in prose. There is one personal name and one place-name.

The fact that the word in question belongs today only to dialectal speech, and in ON is found only in the language of poetry is something that merits being noted. It was extensively employed as we see, in the picturesque language of poetry, especially of the skalds, in *heiti* and kennings, epithets and metaphorical combinations, and the poets found many terms in popular speech that suited these purposes. Many of the kennings and name variations appearing in poetry are coinages in the vernacular, often, no doubt, *noa*-terms that were substituted for the usual terms of ordinary conversation.¹⁴

The earliest representatives of the group, speaking from the point of view of semantics, are found in modern dialects; the next in Eddic poetry. I shall turn first to some of the occurrences in the dialects.¹⁵

¹⁰ Occurs once and means 'manifold.'

¹¹ Söderwall: *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids språket*; Kalkar: *Ordbog til det ældre danske Sprog*.

¹² Swedish *från*, 'rancid'; see on this Hellquist: *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*. Also Falk-Torp: *Etymologisk ordbog over det norske og det danske sprog*. and Schjøtt: *Dansk-norsk ordbog*, p. 251.

¹³ *Torp*, l.c., various places.

¹⁴ In connection with taboo practices.

¹⁵ I shall employ the usual abbreviations for grammatical terms, etc. The word occurrence(s) will be written occ. or occs., sg., and pl. Dictionaries and

§5. *Fræna*, 'to rain.' Aasen¹⁶ gives this word for the Orkedalen dialect in S. Trondhjem Province; he defines '*regne eller drive i smaa Draaber.*' For the same region there is the noun *Fræn*, m., 'Vindbyge med Smaaregn eller Støvregn.' Similar is the meaning of the derivative *Fræning*, m., defined 'Drev,' used in Søndmøre, somewhat to the south. This word is also defined 'Vandperler somprelle tilbage fra Jorden, naar det regner stærkt,' and the example is given: *det regnde so det stod Fræningarne.* The definition is of great interest, retaining as it does in the noun the sememe of the IE root¹⁷; render: 'it rained so that the drops bounded back from the ground.' In this example *fræning* means 'a drop of rain'; cf. §1 above. The Orkedalen vb. is used of 'heavy mist,' 'fine rain,' 'drizzle.'

There is finally with different vowel form the noun *frona* (open *o*), *f.*, 'Vindbyge af nogen Varighed,' which is listed by Ross from Aurland and Sogndal in Sogn, hence considerably farther south. For the expected vowel -*æ*- we have *o*, i.e., vowel 3 (4) of Gradation series IV, where the modern vb. regularly belongs. The vowel may in part be due to that of the semantically related *Froa*, 'Vindstød' (a gust of wind), which is recorded for Sogn in the districts immediately to the east of Sogndal.

§6. I regard the Finnish dialectal *fræning*, 'skumvåg,' 'störtsjö,' as belonging here.¹⁸ It is used in Borgå and Pärna parishes, eastern Nyland; the word is pronounced *fræniŋ*. Vendell says 'Kanske *fræpninger*, jfr. *frada v.*' But this cannot be the source for here the *d* regularly remains today: *frad*, *frada*, *fradsjö*, etc., and a *fræpning*, would have given *frædning*. Finnish *fræning*, 'störtsjö ('heavy sea')' is apparently identical with the Norwegian dial. *fræning*, discussed above; the meaning 'skumvåg' is a derived one by later emphasis upon a meaning element that was present in the word.

other works will, after the first mention, be referred to by author's name. Dialect districts, as Norwegian, Swedish, northern English, will usually be referred to by the abbreviations in *Aasen*, *Ross*, *Rietz*, *Wright*, etc.

¹⁶ *Norsk Ordbok*.

¹⁷ *Persson*, p. 875, note 2. Also for the specific meaning 'rain' cf. e.g., Cechish *prši*, 'es sprüht, regnet,' Trautmann: *Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch*, p. 206.

¹⁸ Vendell: *Ordbok öfver de östsvenska dialekterna*, p. 234.

§7. Shetlandic 'Norn' *fronet*, 'speckled,' 'having dark spots,' *Frona*, 'a spotted cow.'¹⁹ The Norn word is pronounced *froənət* the vowel *oə* being one of the equivalents of ON *ǫ* in this much disintegrated modern Norse dialect. The source is, therefore, *fránóttlr*. According to Jakobsen it is said of an animal, especially a cow, as a *fronet coo*. We are told further that it designates a cow with a white head and black spots on the forehead, around the eyes. It cannot be regarded as certain that *fronet* goes back to ON *fránóttlr*, though *fron-* is surely *frðn-*. The suffix *-et* may very well be the Shetlandic adj. suffix *-et*, *-it*, so common in Norn and Scottish words, and the formation may be relatively modern (*fron+et*). However, on account of the Faroese parallel (see below) the ending *-et* should be regarded here perhaps as <ON *-óttlr(-úttlr)*. With *Frona* cf. the Norwegian cow's name *Dropla*, literally 'Spotted One,' Sogn, Norway, and in Sogn settlements in Wisconsin.

§8. *Fernet*, 'spotted,' 'brindled.' *Ferna*, 'name of a brindled cow.'¹⁹ Shetlandic *Fernet*, pronounced *feərnət*, exhibits metathesis of *r*, hence *frenet*, which goes back to ON *frænóttlr*.²⁰ The name *Ferna* is preserved only in a ballad fragment, which contains a list of cows' names, and it is there paired with the name *Flekka*. The same two cows' names are paired in a Faroese folk-tale, *Færøisk Anthologi*, I, 337, where the forms are *Flækka* and *Fræna*. This makes it likely that we have in Norn *Ferna* and *fernet* loans from Faroese; the ballad is perhaps based on the tale. And as the meaning of *Ferna* was perfectly transparent, the adj. *fernet*, 'spotted,' 'brindled,' was formed. It is to be noted that in the meaning 'brindled' and in its *-æ-* vowel it is identical with the Faroese word *frænottur*, 'broget' ('brindled'), though *fernet* also means 'spotted,' as *fronet*. I shall add that *fernet* occurs, however, only in North Shetland (North Roe), and is not found in the dialects that lie nearest to the Faroes, as e.g., Foula.

Jakobsen does not comment any further upon the metathesis but seems to regard it as a Norn development. I do not think it is. The metathesis is an instance of Scottish influence upon

¹⁹ J. Jakobsen: *Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*. The Norse language was called 'Norn' in the islands, and Jakobsen uses this term. An English translation of Jakobsen's dictionary is now in press (Oxford).

²⁰ *Jakobsen, l.c.*

the pronunciation of the word. The ON *fránn* is found as a loanword also in Scotland proper in the form *fern-* (also spelled *fairn-* in dialect writings) in cpds; see below. And the Scotch settlers in North Roe, recognizing the identity with their own *fern-* pronounced the new word in the same way.

§9. Faroese *frænottur*, *frænuttur*, 'spotted,' 'variagated,' 'brindled.' *Fræna*, name of a brindled cow. The derivative *frænottur*, which appears only in Faroese and in the Norn *fernet*, has its vowel, perhaps, from the vb. *fræna*, but the vb. is not used in Faroese, it seems; hence it is best to assume an ON *frænóttur*, with the derivatives formed on the basis of the stem *frahina-* (as well as on *frahana-*, which gave *fránóttur*). The cows' names *Flekka* and *Fræna* have been noted above; they literally mean 'Spotted One' and 'Brindled One.' The two names are paired in the Faroese folk tale about *Sæneyt og hulduneyt*, *Færþisk Anthologi*, I, p. 337; the names in the list are mainly alliterative, and closely related in meaning.

I shall mention here also the serpent name *Frænur*, which appears in the Faroese ballad of *Regin Smiður*, stanza 20, as the name of the dragon Fafnir. To be sure, the meaning of the name in the ballad is more complex, *Frænur* does not mean to the balladist only 'The Spotted One,' or 'The Many-Colored One,' but this is surely the main element in the meaning to one who otherwise only knew *frænn*, *frænottur*, and *Fræna*, in the meaning 'spotted,' 'brindled,' 'variagated.' However, this group of Faroese occs. rather belongs with other serpent terms, and will better be considered below.

§10. *Frained*, 'freckled,' *freaned*, 'dappled'; also *fraint*, *blue-freaned*. Cumberland, England. It will be in order to take these and other northern English occs. next. In his *Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect* Robert Ferguson gives *frained* and defines: 'freckled,' 'marked with small-pox.' *Fraint* is defined 'marked with very small spots.' The source of the stem syllable is ON *fránn*, though the suffix *-d* may be English. Possibly the form *fraint*, however, is to be regarded as deriving directly from ON *fránóttur*. ON-OE *ā* appears variously as *ē* (usually written *ai*, or *ay* in dialect works), or as *eā*, *i*, *iā*, *ia*, or *ja*, in northwestern England (but these are now in many places evidenced only in certain words). The form may, therefore, also be *freaned*, and cpd. *blue-freaned*, defined 'ticked with a modification of the

same ground colour which is not white,’ as, ‘my frayned gray troting gelding’; this cited from *Will of R. Maddox, 1550, English Dialect Dictionary*, p. 483.

§11. *Fran-freckle, fran-frecked, fren-freckle, frawn-feckle*, etc., ‘freckled.’ Yorkshire, England.²¹ These words are today merely pleonastic compounds of the kind that are so commonly found in northern English dialects, generally with some iterative or intensive force, also often with pejorative force. But in their origin they are not that, since *fran, frawn*, etc., mean ‘spotted’; hence the cpds. mean ‘freckled and spotted,’ ‘spotted with freckles,’²² ‘freckle-marked.’ Other forms of the words given are: *fran-freckled, fren-feckle*, and *frown-freckle*, the last for Nottingham, directly south of Yorkshire. The Nottingham word, and Yks. *frawn-*, are without doubt to be connected with the other forms, but appear to show the influence of standard pronunciation, of the kind seen in Wright’s *English Dialect Grammar*, pp. 39, 89, 96, 105, and elsewhere. North Yorkshire *frantickle*, ‘a freckle,’ shows our stem in the first part. A Scottish word of quite different use will be spoken of below.

§12. *Fern-freckled*, ‘freckled,’ ‘sun-burned,’ *fern-freckles, fen-freckles*, ‘freckles,’ ‘sun-burn.’ The adj. is recorded in *EDD*, from W. Yorkshire, and, with the Cumberland words, belongs distinctly to the Norwegian colonization area, in northwestern England, as opposed to the Danish area with its center in Lincolnshire. *Fern-freckles*, with the English noun as the second element, is of the same origin; reported as used in Yorkshire, and Derby. Of the last there is also the variant *fen-freckles*, showing a form of dissimilation with which the Yorkshire adj. *fran-feckle* (from *fran-freckle*) may be compared. The etymology given of all these words in the *EDD* is erroneous; but in modern times the ‘fern’ may be associated with *fern-freckled* to some extent in the popular imagination.

§13. *Fern-tickled*, ‘marbled with sun-spots,’ *fern-tickles*, ‘freckles,’ ‘sun-burn’; also *fairn-tickles*, and *faan-tickles*. A dialectal distortion of the above with Eng. *tick*, ‘dot,’ ‘speck,’ ‘mark’ (*tick* vb. ‘to dot,’ ‘to mark’), as second element. Used in Cumb. Westm. Lanc., W. York, Derby Durham, Northumb., and S. Scotland, and thence has come into use south in Somer-

²¹ *EDD*.

²² Defined ‘spotted with freckles,’ once.

set, and across in Ireland. The Scotch form *fairn-tickled* represents, of course, the same vowel-form. See §8 above on the North Shetland forms.

§14. We must now turn to the dialect of Søndmøre in northwestern Norway again. Aasen records the cpd. *Raudfræning* and defines, 'En rødladen og fregnet Person,' 'a ruddy and freckled person.' Observe the semantically similar *fern-freckled* above. Our word seems to presuppose in this region the use of *fræning* in the sense 'freckled one,' and *fræn* in the sense 'brown spotted'; cf. above the meanings 'spotted darker than the ground color,' and 'darkish.' Schøtt's *frænen*, locality Romsdal, seems to belong here.

From Lister in southwestern Norway there is recorded a similar use in the district of Fljotland; one says *fraan* of a ruddy-faced fellow (Aasen uses the adj. 'rødmusset'). The simplex corresponds semantically in every way, it seems, to *Raudfræning*, above; the grammatical ellipsis of the qualifying first term has left *fraan* with a somewhat different meaning. But it is not a narrowing in meaning that has taken place here, as was the case above when *fræning*, and *fræn*, from the meaning 'spotted,' came to mean 'having brown spots,' or 'having dark spots.' In *fraan*, 'ruddy-faced,' the word *fraan* ('freckled'), has assimilated, so to speak, the additional meaning of the omitted qualifier, *raud*, which must commonly have been used in applying the term *fraan*, *fræn*, to freckled persons (i.e., 'freckled' and usually also at the same time 'ruddy of complexion'). Aasen gives the example *æn fraane Kar*, where the *-e* represents, of course, the vocalization of the masc. nom. ending *-r* (though *nr* in such cases was assimilated to *nn* in ON, locally in many words the *-r* was restored again by analogy to other words).

It is finally to be noted that the word *fraan* is also used in the sense 'rød og fyldig,' 'red and round,' 'red and well filled out,' with further meaning development; this use is not evidenced anywhere else, I believe, in the case of the stem *frånn*, *frænn*. But possibly Swedish *fråna*, vb. 'kjende Bedring, spore Tegn til Helbredelse,' and the noun *Frånad*, 'Bedrings Mærkelse,' which J. Kragh Høst gives in his *Svensk Haandordbog*, Copenhagen, 1799, p. 29, belongs here; further *fråna sig*, 'komma sig,' 'kvikna

vid efter dåning,’ used in Hälsingland (Delsbo and Bjursaker) and recorded by Rietz.

§15. *Gulfræning*, name of a serpent. Søndmøre. The name means ‘the yellow-spotted one,’ ‘yellow spotling.’ According to S. Nielson, it was the name of a female viper.²³ Aasen seems not to have known the term at first hand, had not heard it used in Søndmøre in his day, for he quotes it on the authority of H. Strøm’s *Søndmørs Beskrivelse*, 1762. Strøm’s description is unusually full and of great interest; I shall therefore quote here the larger part of it (in translation):

‘It’s length is 1 ell less the width of two fingers, and its thickness that of the middle finger. The head is flat, and the tail is sharply pointed. In his mouth there are above and below rows of slender teeth, and in front in the upper jaw, further, two movable teeth, shaped like cat’s claws. On the upper part of the body the scales lie in several rows, 21 scales in each row all oblong and marked by a raised stripe. Between the eyes are three scales, that are larger than the rest, and under the chin two somewhat smaller ones, though they too are quite large. The *scuta abdominalia* are, on one of my specimens 146, on the other 148; and the *squamæ caudæ* on the first specimen 34, but on the other only 30. On the upper part of the body the color is for the most part reddish-brown, except that on the head there is a dark or iron-colored spot of shape like a heart, and on the back there is a stripe of the same color, which extends clear from the head to the tail, is barbed on both sides and has, moreover, a row of black spots along the lower part of both sides. On the under part of the body the color is blue-black and glistening, with a number of face-colored spots on the sides. The under part of the head is quite face-colored; and the upper jaw has on each side eight white scales or spots.” Strøm identifies the *Gulfræning* with the *Aspis*, and refers to the serpent *Æsping*, described by Linnaeus in the Transactions of the Swedish Academy, for 1749, 4, 2.²⁴ Elsewhere it is identified as the *anguis fragilis*.

It is thus a very complex picture which the serpent, that gave rise to the often quoted name *Gulfræning* exhibits. But the description does not wholly account for the name that seems

²³ Aasen, p. 221.

²⁴ Strøm, l.c., pp. 192–193.

to mean 'yellow spotling,' for distinctly yellow spots are not mentioned. No doubt the term *fræning* connoted something besides that of spots to the mind of the one who coined the term and applied it to the serpent in question. However, it was surely the yellow spots that prompted the name.

The *anguis fragilis* is known by various names in Norway: *Slo*, *Slöja*, *Slöga*, etc., *Sleva*, *Ormslo*, *Sloeren*, and *Staalorm*. In Østfold, se. Norway, it is known by the last two. Of it Wilse, in speaking of the fauna of Spydeberg, says: 'men skulde man regne efter Farverne, bleve her fleere Arter, i sær er her et Slags af glindsende guul Farve, som er nok den Herr Strøm har beskrevet under Navn af Guld-Fræning.' It is, therefore, no doubt, the variety characterized by 'glistening yellow color,' that gave rise to the name *Gulfræning*. But the variety that Strøm describes has as its most pronounced features on the upper part of the body the stripes and the reddish-brown color, and on the head the iron-colored spot. These are the features that have prompted the name *Staalorm*, 'the steel-colored serpent,' used in Østfold. They may also have been an influence in the tendency sometimes seen to change the first part of the name to *guld*, so that the name becomes *Guldfræning*.

It may be noted finally that other prominent features about the variety described was the conspicuous black spots on the sides, the glistening dark blue under-side, the eight white spots on the upper jaw, and the fact that the head has the color of the human face. The meaning-elements 'many-colored,' and 'glistening,' are elements that seem of almost equal prominence in the semantic complex with those of 'yellow-spotted' or 'spotted in steel color,' which gave rise to the two names. In Søndmøre *Gulfræning* (or *Guldfræning*) is the name, whatever the variety.

§16. For the nearest parallel to *Gulfræning* we turn next to the Faroese *frænarormur*, which is defined 'Orm med gule Flekker' by Jakobsen.²⁵ In the Norwegian ballad of *Franar ormen og Yslands gatten* the serpent is called *franar ormen*, without other adj. in stanzas 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. In the Faroese *Ragnars tattur*,²⁶ Faroese version of the same ballad, it is *tann frænarorm*, st. 24, *tu frænarorm*, 32, *tann fræna orm* in

²⁵ L.c.

²⁶ *Sjurðar kvæði*, ed. V. U. Hammerschaimb, 1851.

15, 44, and 45, while in the beginning of the ballad, st. 8, and st. 9, it is *hin frána orm*. The corresponding Danish ballad, *Ormekampen*, is in the 1st stanza:

Ieg var mig saa lidenn enn barnn,
ieg giennnd thett fæ unnder lyde:
ieg fannnd paa then spraglitt orm,
y gresset saa mon hannnd skride.

Danmarks gamle Folkeviser, I, 347. For the last two lines the Norwegian ballad has:

Eg var meg saa liten ein gut,
eg gætte fe under lide,
sa kom fride franar ormen,
han mone i grasi skride.

Again in the Faroese *Reginsmiður*, st. 125, Fafnir is called *tann fránaorm*. The Norwegian ballad has the variants *flanar orm* and *tranar orm*, which seems to show that to these balladists the meaning of *franar* was not clear.

It is to be noted that in the Norwegian ballad the serpent is named *fride franar ormen* at first, i.e., st. 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, where *fride*, ‘beautiful,’ no doubt is in reference to the serpent’s gleaming colors. Thus this element is here specially expressed; elsewhere with *frænn* or *fræni* alone, the other elements are perhaps equally prominent in the complex. In Norwegian the forms *fraanarorm* and *frjaanarorm* are also found.²⁷ A sense for the remarkable coloring and the beauty of the serpent is well evidenced in the line *fride franar ormen*, as in other passages. So in OE even the monster-serpent Grendel is described *wrallic wrym* in *Beowulf*, 892.

In all these cases the use of the name is a continuation of the use of the term *fránn*, or *inn fráni ormr*, applied to Fafnir in the ON *Fáfnismál*. By the side of the term *fránaorm* in the Norwegian ballad and the Faroese ballads, there was the popular name of the serpent, as *fræning*, *frænur* (‘the spotted, many-colored one’). Similarly in ON there was, beside the poetical application of the term in the old and with new meaning elements, also the ordinary ‘heiti’ *fræning*, for serpent, no doubt also purely a popular noa-name for the serpent in the meaning ‘the spotted, many-colored one.’

²⁷ *Maal og Minne*, 1924, p. 170, and Hægstad-Torp: *Gamalnorsk ordbok* p. 99, defining ‘orm med gule flekker.’

§17. ON *fránn* and *fræning*, words for serpent, in the *ormá heiti*, Snorra Edda.²⁸ The list of exactly fifty names and epithets of the serpent is of exceeding interest. There are several that are clearly popular terms based on some characteristic of the serpent, made names which were used in place of the tabooed real names. There are *grafvitnir*, *holtskriði*, *grábakr*, *grasþvengr*, *heiðbúi*, *steinbúi*, *sneldingr*, *snillingr*, *reimir*, *seimir*, etc. Some are old names or mythological terms, *Niðhoggr*, *Miðgarðsormr*, or of foreign origin, *skorpion* (Gr.). But the major part of the words, and this includes some of the above, are descriptive epithets, in which some prominent thing in the appearance of the serpent has suggested and given rise to the name. This is, indeed, indicated in the first two verses:

Skalk eitrfáa
ormá telja.

'I shall tell (the names of) the poisoned-stained serpents,' i.e., 'the serpents, colored with poison-marks.'²⁹ Such descriptive names are *fánn*, *náinn*, *bráinn*, *móinn*, *holdvarinn*, *holdvari*, *feginn*, etc., besides our *fræningr*. Some of them are identical with, or are ablaut forms of names of other animals or objects with more or less similar features in their appearance. Here belongs also the use in the kenning *fræninga jörð*, as a kenning for gold in a verse of the *Ragnarssonar þátt*, and that of *fráns stígr*, 'gold,' in the *Gyðingsvísur*, 3 (*LexP.*, 150). In other cases it is possible that the meaning of the stem *fránn* in the skalds has faded to such an extent as to retain simply the force of an appellative for 'serpent.' So evidently in the kennings for 'sword': *úrfræningr*, in a *vísa* of Grímr Droplaugarson (date 1005), and *sóknar fránn*, in the *Plácttús drápa*, 45.³⁰ This is rather

²⁸ Egilsson's ed., 1848, p. 226, Magnussen's ed., 1848, II, p. 458. Haldorson's *Lexicon isl-lat-danicum* has *fræningi* also.

²⁹ Where, therefore, the spots and the sheeny colorings of the serpent are definitely connected with his nature as a poisonous serpent.

³⁰ The use of a word for serpent in metaphorical designations for the sword, as in *sóknar fránn*, 'the serpent of attack,' can readily be understood. They are the expression of real or imagined similarities between the two as 'long,' 'slender,' 'shining,' and 'flexible, bending,' etc. In the ballads this is carried farther still, when the sword is the subject of a verb that is commonly used of the serpent, and so the behaviour of the serpent is imagined also as that of the sword. In the Norwegian ballad *Alf lüten* it is said of the sword *Birling* in verse 1, st. 32; *Og birling skreið otor skeiðe*, which in 1, 33, is varied: *Og Birling skreið otor slive*.

likely to be the case in such a cpd. as *fránbóls Freyr* for ‘man’; and, perhaps, in other late skaldic uses (the *Plácídús drápa* belongs to the XIIth c.); for the adj. *fránn* would seem to have gone somewhat out of use in Iceland after a while, and appears to have survived only in the cpd. *fráneygður* in modern Icelandic. When in the *Merlínús spá*, II, 17, the serpent is called *fránn enn rauði* it would be possible to take *fránn* as ‘serpent,’ hence ‘the red serpent,’ but this does not seem very satisfactory. The meaning is without doubt ‘the red-spotted serpent’ (*rauð-fræning*).

§18. Since ON *fránn* could become a common noun in the meaning ‘serpent’ the adj. must have been used chiefly in reference to the serpent; and an examination of the ON material shows this to be the case. Of the fifty-two occs. of the stem (simplex, cpds., derivative), twenty-two have reference to the serpent, twelve to the sword, five to the human eye, eleven miscellaneous, one is a personal name, and one the name of a waterfall.

For our purpose it will be convenient to take the Eddic occs. first. They are twelve in number, eight relate to the serpent,²¹ two to a sword; the other two are the names mentioned above.²² All but one are of the simple adj. *fránn*; the exception is *fráneygr*, *Fáfnismál*, 5. In skaldic poetry, the simplex *fránn* appears seventeen times, cpds., etc. twenty-one times. In all the Eddic occs. the meaning remains a purely physical one. The development to abstract application is seen in some instances in the skalds. Further, the physical meaning of the Eddic occs. retains, in all but two cases apparently, the meaning ‘spotted,’ ‘many-colored’; but in a few cases in an application where new meaning-elements would readily attach themselves, or are already present. In the skaldic uses this older signification has largely given way, either to a semantic complex in which it is

²¹ Six of these are with *ormr*.

Eddic references will give stanza numbering of R. C. Boer’s edition; *Die Edda*, 1922; for three lays cited the Bugge numbering varies, where for *Vsp.* it is 66, for *Vol.* 18 and for *Hym.* 23.

²² The personal name is *Fránmarr*, which occurs in the prose of the *Helgakviða Hj*; further the name *Fránangrs fors* in the prose at the end of *Lokasenna*. Cf. also the clan name *Fjǫrsungar* in *Helgakviða Hu.*, II, 23, and the noun *fjǫrsungr*, a heiti for ‘hawk’ in *SnE*, and also for a fish. On the last see *MoM*, 1912, p. 54, article by O. Nordgaard.

still a more or less important element, or else there has been a rather definite meaning transfer.

§19. Some Eddic occurrences. In *Völuspá*, 65, verses 1-4 are:

þá kómr inn dimmi,
dreki fljúgandi,
naðr fránn, neðan
frá Niðafjöllum.

Here, as so often in Eddic poetry, it is difficult to find adequate English equivalents for descriptive terms, for the elements in the meaning-complex correspond so imperfectly. *Dreki* is a winged serpent and the adj. is here taken with reference to the dragon's wings. But the qualifying *dimmi* means 'dark.' *Fránn*, however, is taken with reference to the body of the dragon (i.e., the serpent), and means here 'many-colored' and 'shining.' We might render:

Then comes the dark-winged
dragon flying,
adder, spotted, shining,
from Niðafjöll.

Fránn is a favorite word with the author of the *Fáfnismál* occurring no less than four times. He uses it in the sense 'shining.' Stanza 19 is of special interest:

Inn fráni ormr,
þu górfir frás mikla
ok galtzt harðan hug;
heipt at meiri
verðr holða sonum,
at þann hjalm hafi.

The picture is that of Fafnir lashing about in rage. I should render:

Oh sheeny serpent,
you sputtered much
and made quite brave;
anger waxes the more
in the sons of men,
if they but get a helmet.

In *Fáfnismál* 26, in and of itself, there need be assumed no emphasis on the element 'shining'; what we have is possibly simply *inn fráni ormr*, 'the spotted serpent.' However, the meaning 'shining,' in which the word is used elsewhere in the lay, is also that intended here, perhaps. The other two occs.

are in stanza 1, where *fránn* qualifies the word *mækir*, 'mace,' and in st. 5 in the characterization *inn fráneygi sveinn*, with which Fafnir addresses Sigurd. In the last of these *fránn* has passed over entirely to the meaning 'shining' ('boy of the flashing eyes'); similarly in the former in reference to the mace which had 'flashed' but a minute before as Sigurd swung it and reddened it upon Fafnir. Here belongs also the first *Guðrúnarkviða's* *fránnar sjónir*, 'sparkling eyes,' in reference to Sigurd's eyes, stanza 1. Like that in *Fáfn.* 19, is the use in *Grípisspá* 11 (*orm inn frána*, acc.); and that in *Guðrúnarkvot* 17: *er (þeir) Gunnari fránnir ormar til fjors skrtðu*, 'when the (poisonous) glistening serpents, gliding upon him, pierced his life.'²³

In the *Skirnismál*, 27, the meaning is 'sheeny,' apparently.²⁴

In the *Völundarkviða* 17 *fránn mækir* also has reference to the appearance of the mace, and not its sharpness as sometimes rendered. The stanza reads:

Skinn Níðaði
sverð á linda,
þat er ek hvesta,
sem ek hagast kunna,
ok ek herðak,
sem mer hægst þótti;
sá er mer fránn mækir,
æ fjarri borinn.

That which stands out most prominently in this picture is the shining sword at Níðað's belt. The stanza begins with that

²³ Of the semantic connection of 'vari-colored,' 'quick movement,' and 'shining,' the ballad line *har brá ein fagur litur*, 'there flashed a shining color,' gives a good example; *brá*, of *bregða*, 'to swing.' The line is well rendered by Hammerschaimb 'der skinnede en fager farve; der kastede en fager farve sit skjær,' *Fær. Ant.*, 195, 5. I shall here also note the use of *let brjá*, 'made gleam,' for 'swung,' in the ballad *Stolt Margit og Iven Eringson*, st. 13, 1: *Stolt Margit hon let sit sverð brja*. The singer maintained that the last word should be *brja*; but Landstad felt it should be *bra*, and he so edited it; ed., l.c., p. 249.

And on the other hand, a word where the outstanding element in the meaning complex is 'shine,' 'gleam,' may come to mean 'quick movement.' A most interesting instance of this is discussed by J. Brøndum-Nielsen in an article on Icel. *glíma*, *Festschrift: Eugen Mogk*, 1924, pp. 460-62.

²⁴ Skirnir threatens Gerd with a curse, that food shall become more loathesome to her than was ever *enn fránni ormr* among men; and further that *she* shall be doomed to drink foul water

and it ends with that. In verse 3 Volund says that he sharpened it as best he could, and hardened it as best he knew;—then he adds: ‘but the gleaming mace is ever borne far from me.’ There is one more occ. of *fránn*, namely in *Fófn.* 32, where it qualifies *fjörsega*, again in the meaning ‘shining’; the heart is named *fjörsega fránan*, acc., ‘the shining (quivering) life-muscle.’

That exhausts the occs. in the Elder Edda. *Fránn* is used of the spotted, many-colored, serpent, whose mingled dark and lighter colorings glisten as he lashes his body about in anger or glides swiftly to an attack; it is said of the mace that gleams when it is brandished; and finally it is said of Sigurd’s proverbial ‘sparkling,’ ‘flashing’ eyes.

§20. But it deserves to be noticed that in the Eddic lays when *fránn* is used of the sword it is the word ‘mace’ that is named.²⁵ In the case of the use of *fránn* in reference to the eyes, the meaning element ‘spotted’ has dropped out and only that of ‘shining’ (and the play of colors in the sparkling, flashing eye), remains. It is possible that also in reference to the mace the word *fránn* carries mainly only the meaning ‘shining,’ the reflection of the blade as it is being swung. But it is also possible that the adj. *fránn* has attached itself to *mækir* in a more or less standing expression because of something in the appearance of the *mækir*. Of-course the application of the adj. to nouns for sword was natural and easy after the word *fránn* had passed from the semantic stages ‘spotted’, ‘spotted and many-colored,’ ‘many-colored (and ‘shining’), to ‘shining.’ But the coming into use of the combination *fránn mækir*, with nowhere in ON poetry a corresponding *fránn hjörr*, *fránt sverð*, or *fránt spjótt*, and only in a late Icelandic poem *frön lind* (with mainly a different meaning) is, perhaps, significant.

It is likely that the *mækir* was, par excellence, the ornamented sword, that its blade was adorned with figures painted in various colors. And hence the use of the word *fránn*, ‘of many colors,’ ‘shining with bright colors.’ It is to be noted that by the side of *fránn* as an epithet for the serpent there is also the epithet *fánn* so used; both mean ‘the one of many colors.’ And just so we also have the combinations *fránn mækir* and

²⁵ There is no case, on the other hand, either of *bjartr mækir*, or some semantically similar adj., except that Gunnlaugr ormstunga once wrote the line: *loks, ljósúm mækum*.

far mækir (*mæki*, *málfánn*, ‘mace, painted with magic signs,’ *Skirn*, 23, 25.),²⁶ *Frónn* and *fánn* are elsewhere quite similarly applied, as *frónn fjórsegi*, ‘life-muscle,’ Fafnir’s ‘glistening’ heart, so in the *Rígspula*, 31, *fáin fleski* (‘hams’shining with their fat’).

One of the three Eddic occs. of the combination *mæki*, *málfán*, is that in the *Sigurðarkviða sk.* 4: *seggr inn suðræni lagði sverð nekkvit, mæki málfán, a meðal þeira*,— . . . laid the bare sword, a figured mace, betwixt them.’ *Frónn mækir* and *mæki málfán* both mean ‘the figured mace,’ ‘the many-colored mace.’ And the semantic change has been exactly the same as in the case of *frónn ormr*, where the change to ‘shining’ is due chiefly to the appearance of the contrasting colors when the serpent is in motion. So in the case of the color-decorated mace, *frónn mækir*; when swung it becomes the ‘shining mace.’ See also §19 and Note 33.

§21. There is, perhaps, also another idea association between the spotted serpent and the figured mace. In the *Brot of Sigurðarkviða*, 19, the sword is thus described (here the *heiti*: *benvönd*, ‘wound-wand,’ is used):

Benvönd of lét
brugðinn gulli
margdyrr konungr
á meðal okkar;
eldi vóru eggjar
útan görvar
en eitrdropum
innan fáðar.

‘The glorious king laid between us a sword adorned with gold; with fire were the edges wrought without, with venom-drops colored within.’ With the last cf. *eitrherðar eggjar*, ‘edges hardened with poison,’ verse in *Katils saga hængs*, 37. But in the *Hymiskviða*, 24, it is the serpent that is designated *eitrjár*:

Dró djarfíga
dádtrakkr þórr
orm eitrfán
upp at borði.

²⁶ Cf. OE *næderfáh*, ‘colored like the adder,’ ME *fage neddren*, ‘(the many-) colored adders’; and OE *fægum mæce*, ‘with ornamented mace,’ *Judith*, 104. On the mace see Hj. Falk: *Allnordische Waffenkunde*, Oslo, 1915, p. 15.

'Drew then boldly the doughty Thor the poison-marked serpent up to the edge.' The spots of the serpent are themselves thought of as spots of poison, like the venom markings of the mace.

§22. Skaldic occs. of *fránn* and compounds. In the major number of skaldic occs. the meaning-complex is one in which the element 'gleaming,' 'sparkling,' 'shining,' is dominant. So in Ulfr Uggason's *Húsdrápa*, 6, *af frqnum naðri*, and in the cpd. *fránleitr* in Þorbjörn hornklofi's *Haraldskvæði*, 2, where *enu frángleitu*, dat., 'the one of the flashing eyes,' is used of a Valkyrie. Further occs. are *Vanar fránskið*, 'the shimmering ski of the Vangod,'³⁷ *Pláctúásdrápa*, 9, and *jarðar fránbaugr*, kenning for serpent, in stanza 50, and the kenning *fránkolltingr rtar*, 'sword,'³⁸ in a verse in the *Grettis saga*. Similarly also in Gisli Illugason's *Erfikvæði*, 19, *fránn huginn*, 'shining raven,' in reference to the raven's shining wings, not his eyes. In Þjóðolf Arnórson's *lausavísa*, 18, *fax fráns orms* ('ship's dragon'), that is also the case (the vb. used is *glóar*), and in Arnórr jarlaskald's *frón merki*, 'shining banner,' *Magnúsdrápa*, 18.

§23. The kennings *fránþvengr* and *fránqlunn*. In these two kennings for the serpent the basic term names something that bears, in some respect, a resemblance to the serpent; in both it is, however, the qualifying first term that defines the application to the serpent. Egil Skallagrímsson employs the first in a verse of the *ES saga*: *lyngva fránpvengr*, 'the spotted shining strap of the heather.'³⁹ The semantic background is, of course, the long slender body of the serpent, and the darkish colors, viewed from the back. Cf. the serpent name *gráðákr*, *Grtmismál* 34 (and as a serpent heiti in *SnE*); further *Lainge-Suik*, 'long-switch' in Jenssón's *Norske Dictionarium*,⁴⁰ and such a name as *Reimir*, 'strap,' 'the strap-like one,'⁴¹ Other parallels are: *fjalla þinull* ('rope'), *mold-þinorr*, 'earth-girdle,'⁴² *seil grundar*, 'ground-cord,'⁴³ *sefþvengr*, 'thong of the reeds,' *hjarlþvengr*, 'earth-strap,' *citþvengr*, 'poisonous strap,' and others given

³⁷ *LexP.* 104.

³⁸ i.e. 'Frey's ship.' With *fránkolltingr rtar*, 'sword,' cf. *rtormr*, 'sword.'

³⁹ Ed. F. Jónsson, 1924, p. 97.

⁴⁰ Ed. Hannaas, Christiania, 1915, p. 48.

⁴¹ Others of similar import, *MoM*, 1924, p. 170.

⁴² The Midgard Serpent, *Vqluspá*, 59.

⁴³ *Íslendingadrápa*, 2, ed. Möbius, Kiel, 1874, p. 5.

with *þvengr* and *þráðr* in Meissner: *Die Kenningar der Skalden*, p. 115.⁴⁴

Some of these and others given in Meissner are in themselves sufficient as names for the serpent, by reason of the first element, as *eitrþvengr*, and our *fránþvengr*; these call to mind at once the poisonous and the many-colored serpent, without the other element of the kenning (*öldu eitrþvengr*, *lyngva fránpvengr*). Others, however, are by no means transparent without this other term. And some of the bolder kennings, of especially later skalds, are not at once clear, as having reference to the serpent, even with all the parts of the name before us; e.g., *rastar reyrvþvengr*, in a *lausavísa* by the XIIth century poet Hallar-Steinn.⁴⁵ While *þvengr* is used for 'ring' in its earliest recorded occ., Brag's *Ragnarsdrápa*, 17, all later poetic occs. in ON are in kennings for the serpent; and there are many such uses among the skalds. And so at last it alone, or a synonym, could be used and understood as designating the serpent. Cf. also the heiti *seimír*, *SnE*,⁴⁶ and the kenning *jarðar þráðr*, *Meissner*, p. 115.

The term *fránqlunn* is employed once, namely in *þórmóðr kolbrúnarskáld*, *NISkj*, II, 262. It is one of a large number of expressions for serpent in which the basic word names some fish; see *Meissner*, 112–116. It means 'the spotted mackerel,' and requires a further defining element as a kenning for 'serpent,' since the adjectival first part characterizes the mackerel about as well as it does the serpent. The passage in which it is used is difficult, and left with a conjecture by Jónsson, *Lexicon*, p. 150, and recorded with a ? by Meissner, l.c., p. 112. It appears as part of the, syntactically clear enough, lines 3–4 of a *lausavísa*, which Jónsson transposes into prose order as follows: *þu lézt mér enn vónir merkr fránlunnis mærar* (the last word changed by Jónsson from *mæri*), and translates 'du gav mig fremdeles háb om guld.' *Mærr*, 'land,' is regular enough, of course, in kennings for gold. But *merkr fránlunn* is troublesome and seems to require assuming the genitive *merkr* used here instead of the regular *markar*, of *mǫrk*, 'forest' (as in such other expressions for serpent as *markar myrkdreki*, and *markar myrk-*

⁴⁴ And *LexP.*, p. 651, under *þvengr*.

⁴⁵ See also *Lex P.*

⁴⁶ See, too, §17 above.

aurriði ('dark trout'). This seems justified in view of the cpd. *merkhræun*, *Landnama*, 118, 8.⁴⁷

Also the word *qlunn* appears a number of times in kennings for the serpent, as *sjalla qlunn* (in a *lausavtisa*, date, 985),⁴⁸ *qlunn jarðar*, *Háleygjatal*, 12,⁴⁹ the cpds. *grjótqlunn*, in a *lausavtisa* by the Norwegian skald, Gísli Súrsson,⁵⁰ and *lyngqlunn*, in the *Krakumál*, XII century, and finally the formation in *-ir*: *grjótqlnir*, 'serpent.'

§24. *Haukfránn*, 'sparkling like the hawk's colors,' 'shining with many colors like the hawk,' said by Kormak the skald in reference to a woman's eyes; *fránn huginn*, in Gísli Illugason's *Erfikvæði*, 19.⁵¹ In the second of these the shining black plumage of the raven is called *fránn*, which here then means 'shining'; the idea of color is hardly present. *Huginn*. does not appear in cpds., but cf. *hrafublár*, 'ravenblack,' *hrafnsvartr*, do. This XIIth c. poet, then, uses the word *fránn* purely in the sense 'shining.' But in the cpd. *haukfránn*, *fránn* means 'sparkling,' 'radiant,' and the idea of the play of color is distinctly present. *Haukfránn* was, semantically, a perfectly natural formation, that may often have been said, and accidentally recorded but once. It was prompted by the appearance of the plumage of the hawk with its varied coloring, modified anew at every moulting. Cf. *Strengleikar*, 75: *hinn friðasti góshaukr . . . sem hann væri fimm sinnum eða sex mútaðr, hinn fegrasti fugl* (*Fritzner*, under *mútaðr*). See now also *Germanica*, 1925, p. 241, of article by Hj. Falk on 'Die altnordischen Namen der Beizvögel.'

§25. *Fráneygr*, 'sharp-eyed'; *fránleitr*, 'sharp-eyed'; *ormfránn* 'with piercing eyes.' The adj. *fránn* is applied to the eye first in the sense of 'sparkling,' 'shining,' which becomes 'flashing,' with a certain change of emphasis, then finally takes on the meaning 'sharp,' 'penetrating' (in the occs. usually with the

⁴⁷ See *Meissner*, p. 238. *Fritzner* gives gen. *merk* as well as *markar*. On the stanza in its entirety see now also Ernst A. Kock's *Notationes Norræne* (1925), §710.

⁴⁸ *NISkj*, p. 111.

⁴⁹ Date 985.

⁵⁰ Died, 978.

⁵¹ Date, 1104.

idea of hostility). In Sigvatr Þórðarson's *Knútsdrápa*,⁵³ stanza 7, verses 3-4: *fríð fylkis niðr fráneygr Dana*, means 'the handsome and sharp-eyed son of the king of the Danes.' In the *Húsdrápa* we have the same use of the word *fránleitr* in reference to the eyes of the Midgard Serpent, in that splendid four-verse stanza 5:

En stirðpinull starði
storðar leggs fyr borði
fróns a folke reyni,
fránleitr, ok blés eitri.⁵⁴

'But the Midgard Serpent with piercing eyes, near the boat's edge, stared at Thor and belched forth venom.'

The cpd. *ormfránn* occurs four times in skaldic poetry, earliest in Egil's *Arinbjarnarkviða*, 5⁵⁴; the meaning is not that which we should expect the word to have. The cpd. might early have been coined for the meaning 'many-colored like the serpent,' or 'shining like the serpent,' but none of the skaldic occs. have this meaning. All four have reference to the serpent's 'shining,' or 'piercing' eyes. *Lex. P.* defines merely 'skinnende som slangen (: dens øjne),' and in the *NISkj*, p. 38, the word is translated 'ormglinsende' as Egil uses it, and that seems satisfactory for the passage in question. However, in the other cases the meaning is rather 'piercing,' 'penetrating'; as in Sigvatr Þórðsson's *erfiðrápa* (XI cent.) 13: *þrænskir virðar þorðat sea i qrnfrón augu honum*, 'the men of Trondheim dared not look into his serpent-sharp eyes.' The lines merely vary the content of the first half of the stanza, where King Olaf's eyes are described as *hvaðssar sjónir*. There are two other occs. of the combination *ormfrón augu* with similar use, listed *LexP*, p. 439.⁵⁵

⁵³ Date 1080. Perhaps *fráneygr* in this case also is rather 'flashing-eyed,' as above, in §19.

⁵⁴ *NISkj*, p. 129. The other stanzas are of eight verses.

⁵⁵ Date 962.

⁵⁶ For the comparison with the piercing eyes of the serpent the following stanza (4) from the Norwegian ballad of *Harald kongen og Hemingen*, may be quoted:

Og saa er hesten at Hemingen
hor de han i veginne møter,
augo er som rennandes ormen
og ellen or nasanne frøser.

§26. *Eggfránn* and *fránn* with the nouns *egg* and *lind*: *frænuskammr*. The meaning is 'sharp,' with transfer of meaning from abstract to purely physical sense. That 'sharp' is in ON a derived sememe in the word *fránn*, and not the original ON meaning the above discussion will have shown, I think. Otherwise, however, *LexP*, ed. 1913-16, differing from ed. 1860; the former, thus agrees with a suggestion of Hellquist, in his study "Den nordiska nominalbildningen."⁶⁶ *Eggfránn* appears twice, namely, in the combination *eggfránn hjórr* in stanza 71 of the *Hrokskviða*, at p. 129 of the *Hálfs saga*, where Andrews translates 'dem scharfen und blitzenden schwerte,' and in a verse in the *Þórðar saga hrēðu*, also used with *hjórr*. The lay by Hrokr is dated 1250-75 by Andrews⁶⁷; and in a poem of this late date *eggfránn* may no doubt have taken on the meaning that in early lays would have been expressed by other words, *eggvass*, *eggskarpr*, *eggbitr*,⁶⁸ etc. The above quoted translation of the *Hálfs saga* occ. takes *egg*, 'edge,' in the meaning 'sword,' as in *eggleikr*, 'sword-play,' *Hávamál*, 6, and *egglog*, 'drawing of swords,' *Höfuðlausn*, 14. But if *egg* be taken as simply 'edge,' as nearly always used in ON, *eggfránn* would seem to have to be taken in the meaning 'sharp.' However, *eggfránn hjórr* (so both times) is, no doubt 'sharp sword,' as opposed to *fránn mækir*, 'shining mace.' The combination *frón egg*, found four times (dates 1046-1104), all have reference to the sharpness of the edge. Similarly that with *lind*, *NISkj*, 108, date 983-984. The adj. *frænuskammr*, 'with a sharpness that is of brief duration,' contains the one occ. of a noun *fræna*, 'sharpness.' Cf. §28. It is to be observed that where the sememe is 'sharp' the noun used is either *egg* or *hjórr*; the original meaning of *hjórr* is 'edge.' See also Collinder, *NT for Föl*, 1921, pp. 26-27, and E. Noreen: *Studier i fornvästnordisk diktning*, III, p. 11.

Line 3: 'his eyes are as piercing as the running serpent's' (i.e., 'vicious,' or 'attacking serpent'). The physical sense "sharp" could have come from 'shining' by way of 'blank geschliffen' as Blankenstein *IF*, XXIII, p. 133; but the use in physical sense need not be derived exclusively in that way, of course.

⁶⁶ *Arkiv f. n. F.* X, 1891, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Einleitung, p. 47, of ed. *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, Halle, 1909.

⁶⁸ So *eggvass* *earn* in the *Sigurðarkviða skamma*, 68; *eggjumskarpi*, 'the sharpened one,' name for a sword, a *heiti* in *SnE*.

§27. *Fránlyndr, fránn*, 'fearless,' 'brave.' The adj. *fránlyndr* means 'doughty of mood,' 'brave-minded'; cf. ON *lund*, 'mind,' *lyndi*, 'disposition,' Norw. *lynne*, do. The cpd. occurs only once, *Jómsotkingadrápa*, 25, *fránlyndr Bui*.⁵⁹ The simplex *fránn* seems to appear in this meaning only once, namely in Þjóðolf Arnórsson's *Sexsteffa*, where it is used with *sveit*, 'troops.'

§28. *Fránn*, 'ferocious.' There is one occ., *Pláccúásdrápa*, 22.. The adj. is used in reference to the lion: *ei frána dyr fróns*. *Frón* means 'land'; as the lion is a land-animal the addition of the last term in the kenning has no particular meaning, or else is intensive in force. It is surely the latter, and in that case is to be read: 'that most ferocious of all land animals.' In the stanza in question two boys are seized and carried off to the woods, the one by *ei frána dyr fróns*, the other by a wolf (where the word *vargr* is used). The boys are rescued; in telling of how this was accomplished the lion is referred to in stanza 23, as *hugskæðr léð*, 'the fierce lion (*skæðr*, 'bent on harm,' 'dangerous'), and in 53 as *frækn dyr*, hence a milder term here (the brothers are, in stanzas 52-53, recounting the happening years afterwards).

§28. Modn. Norw. dial. *fræna*, f., 'great ardour'; 'anger.' Aasen's definitions are '*Hidsighed*,' and '*Opbrusning*'; the expression is cited from Valdres with the illustrative sentence: *dæ rann i me ei Fræne*, 'det tog til at syde i mig; jeg blev oprørt, vred.' From Mora, Dalarne, Sweden, Rietz gives *fræn*, 'ondsint, snarsticken, heftig och lättrelig,' also listed so used in Delsbo, Hälsingland, Sweden; Hellquist, cites *frään* in this meaning from date 1597; no localization.⁶⁰ There is the variant form *frön*, meanings as above, given for Jämtland, and this is in use south of there in Medelpad, and in Hälsingland, where the forms *fræn* and *frön* meet. On the form *frön* see below. There is a third form, *från*,⁶¹ as above, used in Blekinge, southw. Sweden.⁶²

§29. *Frändish*, adj., 'obstinate'; 'passionate,' Given for North Country, and Westm., in *EDD*, with further "?obs." ON *fránn*, which appears in the form *fran* and *frän* in e. Lanc., and *frand* in Oxfordshire, in this case has the further adj.

⁵⁹ Wisen, *Carmina norræna*, I, p. 70.

⁶⁰ *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 160, *frään* (om bockar), hence 'vicious'?

⁶¹ Rietz, p. 168.

⁶² Rietz, p. 168.

ending *-ish*. Several other mainly central and southern Engl. words of similar form are possibly hybrid forms or do not belong here at all. Nor do I venture to include Roxburghshire Scottish *frenn*, 'to rage,' on account of the short *e*. See also the *Roxburghshire Word-Book* by George Watson, p. 139. Possibly *to frenn* is *to fraine*, with contamination of *frennishin* (Eng. 'frenzy'). The east Lancashire word *fran* means 'to frown,' 'to complain'; Oxford, *to frand*, 'to be restless,' is quoted in *EDD* from Halliwell.

§30. The Swedish dialect word *från*, 'snille, förstånd,' cited for Värmland by Rietz, also belongs here. The meaning is apparently 'initiative,' 'push,' as well as 'talent,' and 'good sense'; Rietz illustrates the use by the sentence: *dä ä inle från i honom*, 'det er ingenting värdt med honom.' The semantic development is from 'aggressiveness,' through 'initiative,' to 'ability.'

§31. The use of words meaning 'sharp' in reference to the sense of touch transferred to the domain of taste and smell is exemplified in many Norwegian dialect words, including *fran*. It corresponds then to English 'sharp,' 'strong-tasting,' 'bitter,' 'sour'; and also to 'ill-smelling,' 'foul'; or it may be used in a neutral sense: 'having a decided odor,' and from that comes to mean 'very fragrant.' *Fræn*, m., means 'strong fragrance,' (Ross, but without localization; presumably northern Norway). Correspondingly there is the vb. *fræna*, wk., defined 'lugte stærkt,' especially said about leaves and flowers.⁶³ The form is *freen* in Selbu; a form with *e*, *fren*, said of taste, 'bitter,' appears also in Swedish dialects in widely separated regions (Upland, Småland, Kalmar). The form *freen* is further recorded in nw. Norway (Nordmøre); in Fosen it is *fran*, 'sharp,' 'rancid.' For Swedish Ihre gives *frän*, 'rancidus,' no locality mentioned.⁶⁴ For Finland Vendell has *frant*, *frantär*, 'besk, amper,' but only in the province Egentliga Finland, with other forms and meanings elsewhere.⁶⁵ In southeastern Sweden again the form is *rån*, *osten ä så från*, Blekinge. In Öland one calls mustard *fräne*, n., in Stranda, Kalmar, *fränt*, thus the noun here with different vowel.

⁶³ Listed for Gudbr., Østerd., and S. Trondh. (Uppdal).

⁶⁴ *Glossarium Sui-Gothicum*, 17, column 589.

⁶⁵ L.c., 229.

§32. The use of *fræn*, ‘sharp,’ in reference to the cold air, seems to be evidenced only in Sweden, as *då ä så fränt i lufta*, ‘the air is raw and cold,’ Småland. For Småland, and Kalmar Rietz cites the *ø*-form: *frøna händer*, ‘cold hands.’ In some Norwegian dialects the form with *øy* has this sense, as *frøyen*, ‘sensitive to cold’: *Aakern æ frøyen for Kalla*.

Frøne, ‘stridt græs.’ Of grass that has become dry, hard, and ‘sharp.’ For the meaning cf. Norw. *skarp*, ‘1 hvass, 2, haard, knudret’ (Aasen); further *skarp*, ‘tør og udsat for at briste,’ given by Ross for Voss and Sogn: *Havren æ skarpe*, ‘the oats is hard and breaking’; *Hoie æ skarpt*, ‘the hay is so dry that it breaks.’

§33. It is now to be noted that the words *från*, *fræn*, in the meanings ‘strong-tasting’ and ‘ill-smelling,’ came semantically in contact with another word-group, namely that connected with ON *fáinn*, ‘decayed,’ *fúi*, ‘rottenness,’⁶⁸ and *fyja*, ‘to let rot,’ and modn. dialectal *føyne*, ‘to mould,’ which is found in many Norwegian dialects today. The word appears in *Føyne-smak*, ‘Smag af Muggenhed eller begyndende Raaddenhed.’ Cf. OE *fyne*, ‘mould,’ and with *-k* suffix: *funk*, ‘stench.’ To this *u*-vowel form (*fú*-, *fún*-) there is in ablaut relation the dialectal⁶⁹ *faun*- in the word *Fauna*, *f.*, ‘Skimmel paa Mælk eller anden Vædske,’ and in the same region the *i*-umlaut form *Føyne*, *f.*, of the same meaning. *Fauna* is also used in Lister, and here also the cpd. *Faunesmok* (*u*), ‘skimlet eller muggen Smak’ (Mandal); further *Faunelukt*. (var. *-lukt*) in reference to smell, and *Føynelukt*, in Honnes, Sætersdalen. The distribution of the morpheme *faun* is southwest Norwegian, and adjacent Sætersdalen; possibly also occurs in Telemarken. For the last Ross gives *føyne*, ‘to mould,’ but with a ? mark. *Føne*, ‘moulding residue,’ is to be cited for Valdres, however, about which Aasen says it is often heard in the expression *Fausk* og *Føne* (*Fausk*, *m.*, ‘rotted or worm-eaten wood’). Apparently the same is *Fønne*, ‘det Græs som har staaet Vinteren over,’ given by J. N. Wilse in his *Norsk Ordbog*, 1780; but the author’s orthography is often inexact, and he probably should have

⁶⁸ I.e. ‘stinging with cold’(?); perhaps ‘stiff with cold.’

⁶⁷ ‘The field is sensitive to the cold,’ Nordm. S. and N. Trondhj.

⁶⁸ Also modn. Icelandic *fúi*, ‘rottenness.’

⁶⁹ In Aaserall, Sætersdalen.

written *Føne*.⁷⁰ (Here also *Føsk*, 'Tønder of raaddent Træ'). In Swedish dialects we seem to have the same in the noun *fjunske*, variant *fønske*, 'den hinna eller jordskorpa, som ligger kvar öfver marken om våren, sedan snön smält undan,'⁷¹ *Fønske* might be otherwise explained, or may be in part of other origin, but *fjunske* is a *û*-ablaut of the *au-øy* group; and so probably both words belong here. The meanings are very similar; it is here also 'a layer of decaying matter,' said of the crust of dirt and grass lying on the ground and beginning to rot, after the snow has melted away in the spring.

§34. In addition to the group in *u-au(øy)* discussed, there is also a small group of words of the same vowel series but with initial *fr-* in place of *f-*. There is especially the vb. *frøyna*, 'dufte, give Lugt,' which is a hybrid of *fræna* and *føyna*. Sometimes this simply means 'have odor,' elsewhere, 'have a pleasant odor.' In general the meanings are nearest to *fræn*, etc., but sometimes take on that of the *faun-føyen*-group. *Frøyna* has the meaning 'fragrance' in the same general regions where the vb. *fræna* is found in the sense 'be fragrant.' But the hybrid group also shows a considerable semantic range. In Aamotsdal, Tel., one says *det frøyner godt*, 'it is fragrant,' and correspondingly there is the noun *Frøyen*, m., 'odor.' Cf. *fræna*, above. *Frøyna*, 'dufte stærkt,' is recorded by Ross for various parishes in Telemarken.

Now if we bear in mind that *føyna* means 'a mouldy or rotting layer,' hence the meanings 'ill-tasting,' and 'ill-smelling,' as in *føynesmak*, and *føynelukt*; and further that *fræn* 'of pronounced odor,' comes to mean 'very fragrant' in one region, and 'strong or ill-smelling,' or 'ill-tasting' in another, we can easily see why the hybrid form *frøyna* will exhibit all these related meanings, differently in different regions, perhaps, according as *føyna* or *fræn* is the strongest influence in fixing the use of the word, where, as in southern Norway *fræn* usually shows the meaning 'fragrant.' Where, however, as usually in northern Norway and in Sweden, the group *fræn*, etc., meant 'ill-smelling,' *frøyna* also shows prevailing only this meaning. In various north Norw. districts⁷² *frøyen*, adj., means 'morken,

⁷⁰ Thus *traale*, 'fordrage,' is later also spelled *traalle*.

⁷¹ *Riets*, 178.

⁷² Namd., Indh., Helg., and Nordm.

tørraadnet ('dryrotted'),' of which there is also the *-sk* formation *frønsk* in Trondhjem (with monophthongation before consonant group). In Namd. and Helg. there is in use also the vb. *frøyast*, 'to rot.' We may here compare the Swedish *från*, adj., widely used in the sense 'damaged by dryrot,' also defined 'worm-eaten,' 'brittle,' 'easily broken,' all of which meanings *från* and *fren* also seem to show. The area of the Swedish *frön*-forms is more particularly northern and Baltic Swedish; in the latter they are used especially in Egentliga Finland, Nyland, and the island of Åland. See further below.

§35. Norw. *frøyen*, 'dry-rotted,' 'easily-broken,' 'brittle,' 'crisp,' *frøen*, 'brittle.'⁷³ In Trondhjem and Nordmøre *frøyen*, adj., is used in these various meanings, and others to be noted below; the form is *frøen* in Guldalen, N. Trondhjem. The distribution of this use is, therefore, rather wide in northern Norway; but it is rarely evidenced elsewhere. In Spydeberg Parish, Vestfold, in the southeasternmost corner of Norway, one says *frøen* about a tree that is easily split.⁷⁴ This is of course a perfectly regular development, applying *frøen* just as the adj. *skjøer*, 'easily broken,' 'brittle,' 'crisp,' is so used. Cf. English, 'crisp.' The *ø*-form appears also in the Østlandet dialect word *frøen*, 'partly decayed,' 'tender,' 'crisp,' with the ending *-en* instead of *n*, which we also find in the diphthongal form in *frøyen*,⁷⁵ defined 'skjøer,' by Ross. The ending *-en* in this region is due to contamination with another word *frøyen*, of entirely different origin, and of prevailing south and southwest Norwegian distribution, but appearing as far north as Vaagaa, Gudbrandsdalen. I shall not consider this influence any further here.

§36. Swedish dial. *frön*, 'dry-rotted,' 'easily broken,' 'brittle,' 'crisp'; Finnish Swedish dial. *frön*, *fren*, *frönog*, *fröun*, *fröyn*, *fröin*, *fryön*, 'brittle,' 'crisp.'⁷⁶ The distribution of the peninsular Swedish terms is mainly northern, and along the eastern coast districts (indicated from Västerbotten to Skåne in Rietz). In the Delsbo dial., Hälsingland, *fren* and *frön* mean 'brittle,' 'crisp,' etc. There is rarely if ever any semantic

⁷³ Cf. derivation of the meaning 'brittle' in §32.

⁷⁴ *J. N. Wilse*, l.c.

⁷⁵ *Søndm.*, and *Gudbr.*

⁷⁶ *Vendell*, l.c.

differentiation between the different forms, the same word has the meanings 'sharp,' 'rancid,' etc., and also that of 'dry-rotted,' 'easily broken,' 'crisp,' as *frön* in Jämtland; but there is a conspicuous difference in distribution. The *frön*-form, as said, is northern; in the southeast the forms *från*, *frän*, *fren*, and *frön*, are all found. In Finland the forms *frön*, *fröyn*, and *fröun*, which connect up with north Swedish ones, prevail, and the meaning is everywhere 'brittle,' 'crisp,' as the northern Swedish *frön*, but in Esthonian Swedish one says *fren*, 'brittle,' and this is also the form in eastern Nyland⁷⁷ (perhaps there is in this case southeastern Swedish connections). Further in Hitis, Kimito, and Nagu parishes in Egentliga Finland we have *frant*, 'besk, amper' ('bitter'), which goes back to OSw. *fránn* (= ON *fránn*), and this seems to suggest connection, again, here with southeastern Sweden. I shall note further, merely that the form *fröyn* belongs to Vasa Län., *fröun* to Malax Parish in southern Vasa Län, while it is mostly *frön* in Egentliga Finland, and Nyland. But in parts of these two provinces the form is *fröyn*, as especially in eastern Nyland, and in Hitis, and Kimito parishes in Egentliga Finland. (Is the diphthongal development here Finnish influence, present only in Swedish-speaking Finnish racial communities?).

§37. Bornholm Danish dial. *frönn*, *frönnner*, 'brittle,' 'crisp'; Skåne dial. *frönnel*, 'skjør af Ælde og begyndt Raaddenhed'; Danish (obsolete, or poetic), *frønnel*, 'dry-rotted,' 'weak.' These are used only of wood, and the form *frönnel* is a generalization of the neuter form *frönt* in the form *frönnel*. The Bornholm and Skåne forms are listed in Esperson, *Bornholmsk Ordbok*, p. 90, who derives from older Danish *fornet*, which Moth lists, according to Molbeck.⁷⁸ Molbeck adds: 'Maaske

⁷⁷ Vendell puts *frën* under *frön*, p. 235. The form *frën*, pronounced *fräinor*, 'brittle,' is given by Vendell for Åland.

⁷⁸ *Dansk Ordbog*, 1833, p. 325. This etymology was also offered by E. Jessen, who under *frönnel* says: 'vel for *fronnet* (*fyrnet*), uden Omlyd *fornet* (se Molb.)', *Dansk etymologisk Ordbog*, 1893. Differently Falk-Torp: '*frönnel* er vistnok particip af et vb. *freyðna*, dannet af adj. *freyðinn*. *Etym. Ordbog over det norske og det danske Sprog*, I, 1893, p. 202, which is retained verbatim in *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1910. Also Torp in *Nynorsk etymologisk Ordbok*, 1919, says: 'da(nsk) *frönnel*, kanske particip til et vb. *freyðna*,' p. 138; but under *frøyna*, 2, says 'synes at bero paa et germ. **fraw-*. Maaske til grundroten *fru* i *frusa*, egtl. stænke, blaase.' These suggestions would all then separate

af *forn*, gammel.’ So also Rietz, who regarded *frön* as an ‘Omkastning i st f. *forn*,’ which of course it cannot be. Cf. *frant*, ‘amper,’ above where the neuter form has been generalized (and here also in the noun *frant*, ‘bad boy’). That the word *frauð*, *froða*, ‘foam,’ has influenced the use of *frønnet* sometimes is possible, but there is no definite indication of that. On the other hand the use of *frønnet* indicates a survival in it of the sememe ‘spotted,’ ‘striped.’ I cite: ‘Den tørre Forraadnelse viser sig derved, at der fremkommer brogede Pletter og Striber i Løvtræernes Ved, det mister efterhaanden al Saft og Styrke, kaldes *frønnet*.’⁷⁹

§38. The hybrid *frøyna* also exhibits the meaning of *fræn*, ‘sharp,’ ‘penetrating,’ in reference to feeling.⁸⁰ This appears in the Norwegian ballad of *Ivar Erlingen og Riddarsonen*, stanza 54, the two first verses of which read:

Den fjerde drykkin han af honni drakk
den tottest i nasane frøyne.⁸¹

The strength of the drink was such as to cause a ‘pricking,’ ‘tingling,’ sensation in the nose. The expression *frøyna i nasane*, literally, ‘to tingle in the nose,’ then comes to mean ‘make a wry face,’ and ‘turn up one’s nose,’ finally ‘frown,’ ‘scowl.’ In these meanings the expression appears to have been widely used. In the ballad the word *drykk* is the subject; but the verb may also be used personally. Ross cites for the form *fryna* today the illustrative sentence: *Han drakk Brænneviine o inkje fryynte aad*, Dalane, southwestern Norway; here *han* is the subject, hence with meaning change from ‘tingle’ to ‘make a wry face.’ Similarly in the following, Ross, p. 211: *Hu fryynte aa grein aa ville ikkje ha det*, where *fryne* and *grine* are synonymous, ‘made a wry face’ (Ryfylke dialect).

frön and *frønnet* from *från*, *fræn*, and ON *fránn*, but such separation is not necessary nor permissible, as it is hoped the above discussion has shown. This Falk-Torp, *EO*, and Torp, *NeO*, both feel apparently; and so Hellquist clearly, when under *frön* he says in regard to *frön* merely: ‘Förhållandet till sv. dial. *frön* ävensom no, *frøyna*, dofta, är oklart; möjl. avljudsformer **frewn*-, **fraun*-. Dunkelt,’ l.c., p. 161. H. adds doubtfully, however, ‘Knappast besl. med isl. *fránn*, *frænn*, glänsande, skarp.’

⁷⁹ *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, VI, 141.

⁸⁰ Cf. the use in 31 above. In the Norwegian ballad *Herr Byrting og elvekvinna*, the 1st line of st. 21 is: *Han drakk ein drykk, og den var skarp*.

⁸¹ *Landstad*, p. 167.

§39. In the ballad of *Harald kongin og Heming unge*, stanza 5, *frøyne* is found in a use that may be mentioned next. The four verses must be given entire:

Og ded var Harald kongin
han uti nasane frøyne;
liver eg dagin etter denni notti
kempa den skal eg røyne. *Landstad*, p. 181.

The expression in lines 2–4 might be rendered ‘frowned in anger’ (as he said), ‘if I live the day after this night I shall challenge the champion.’

This more active force is the one that we usually find in modern dialectal use. It is said perhaps exclusively of animals, and especially of the horse, as when he becomes frightened by something; so in *Hestn frøyner i Nasane, fysst han æ voonde*, Ross, quoted from Mo, Telemarken. In this use *frøyne* is the same as dialectal *frøsa*, ‘snort’ (word not recorded in ON, but cf. the noun *fræs*, in *Fáfnismál*, 19, and the modn. vb. *frasa*). It is possible, but hardly necessary to assume, that *frøsa* has been an influence in this meaning of *frøyne*, that is in the change from ‘make a wry face,’ ‘frown in anger’ (said of a human being), to ‘snort’ (said of a horse). I shall leave out of account other meanings of *fryna* in Norwegian dialects, as ‘turn up one’s nose,’ ‘look sour,’ south Swedish dialectal *fryne*, do., Bornholm dial. *fryne*, do., where both formal and semantic parallels of other origin are, perhaps, to be reckoned with as influences, but which cannot be assumed to have been operative in the development of the meanings above considered.

In conclusion I shall add the following table as showing the apparent semantic development, from the basic sememe ‘sprinkle,’ Germ., *besprengen*, Norw., *spratte*.

1. to rain, to drizzle, to mist, to drift, *Drev* n., fine rain, heavy mist, rain with wind, rain shower, gust of wind, heavy sea, breakers.

2. drops of rain bounding back from the ground, rain-drops, a drop of rain, a drop, particles, bits; bits of news; news, Faroese *frænir*.

3. spotted, mottled, dappled, flecked, *Frænur*, ‘serpent’; freckled, marked with small-pox, *broget*, brindled, variegated.

4. ticked with a color darker than the ground color, brown-spotted, dark-spotted, of darkish color.

5. red-spotted, brown-spotted, freckled, freckles.
7. russeted, freckled and ruddy, ruddy-faced, to grow ruddy, to improve in health.
8. variegated, many-colored, reflecting lighter and darker colors, shining with various colors, *Frånn*, 'serpent,' Sw. *skimrande*, coruscating, Norw. *funke*, sparkle, glitter, glisten, shine, sheeny, adj., flashing, bright-hued, of fair complexion.
9. flashing, dashing, fearless, brave, illustrious.
10. (In reference to the eyes) sparkling, flashing, sharp, piercing, fierce, ferocious.
11. easily aroused, sensitive, irritable, irascible, anger; ill willed, hostile, evil; stubborn, troublesome, bad, *frant*, 'bad boy.'
12. aggressive, having initiative, daring, energy, ability.
13. penetrating or sharp in taste, bitter, rancid, sour.
14. penetrating or strong of smell, ill-smelling, smelling as of decayed matter, stench.
15. smelling of rot, rotten, having spots and stripes showing rot (of wood), to rot, damaged by dry-rot.
16. dry-rotted and worm-eaten, rotted and weak, easily falling apart, brittle, crisp.
17. penetrating or pronounced in odor, strong odor, odor, odoriferous, very fragrant, to be fragrant.
18. penetrating (of the air), biting, raw, cold; in reference to the effect), stinging with cold; sensitive to cold.
19. penetrating, hard, rough, stiff; dry and breakable (of grain).
20. penetrating (in reference to sensations in the nerves of the nose) to prick, to sting, to tingle; Norw. *rynke nâsen*, turn up one's nose; make a wry face, frown, scowl; Norw. *fynse*, snort.

GEORGE T. FLOM

THOMAS MANN, EINE PHILOSOPHISCH- LITERARISCHE STUDIE

Ein Exponent deutscher Dichtung in der Gegenwart ist unstreitig Thomas Mann. Seine Werke sind ausgezeichnet durch den hohen Rang und die individuelle Eigenart ihrer Leistung. Abseits von der Bücherflut, die alle Länder mit seichter Problematik überschwemmt, hat sich dieser massvolle Künstler eine Stellung geschaffen, in der er mit aesthetischer Freiheit den tiefsten Stimmungen und Sehnsüchten unserer Tage lebendigen Widerhall verleihen kann. Thomas Mann könnte schwerlich Unterkunft finden in einer der literarischen Schulen, deren Sein und Wirken für die geistige Bewegung in der Geschichte deutscher Dichtung so bedeutsam gewesen sind. Auf Dichterkreise deutscher Gegenwart bezogen muss man sagen, dass weder die schattenkühle Symbolik Stefan Georges noch die esoterische Lyrik eines Hugo von Hofmannsthal und eines Rainer Rilke ihn zu den ihrigen zählen können. Mann selbst nennt sich einen Schüler von Fr. Nietzsche, gesteht aber damit nur eine besondere Dankbarkeit für das grosse Wagnis auf dem Altare der Erkenntnis, dem fast alle deutschen Künstler unserer Zeit unauslöschlich verpflichtet sind. Darüber hinaus hat er viele Beziehungen zu den literarischen Kräften der Gegenwart in Deutschland und sogar zu den führenden Schriftstellern des europäischen Kulturkreises. Und das ist auch natürlich. Nicht erst seit dem Erscheinen von Oswald Spenglers "Untergang des Abendlandes"¹ ist sich der europäische Mensch bewusst, dass unser Weltsystem einem Organismus zu vergleichen ist, in dem Kulturen eine vegetative Existenz führen, die entsteht, blüht und vergeht gemäss ihrer morphologischen Gesetzmässigkeit. In der deutschen Literatur waren es Herders "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit,"² die diesem schöpferischen Gedanken Werbekraft verliehen haben. Die genialen Konzeptionen Spenglers stützen

¹ Oswald Spengler: Der Untergang des Abendlandes, . Bd.: Gestalt und Wirklichkeit 1923. 2. Aufl. . Bd.: Welthistorische Perspektiven 1922. 1. Aufl. cfr. Bd. ' . 6 f. 53-63, 127-147, 148 ff. Bd. II, 11-24.

² Johann Gottfried Herder, 1744-1803. Ideen (1784-1791).

sich hauptsächlich auf den organischen Vitalismus Goethes³ und betonen mit allem Nachdruck, dass eine rein kausale Auffassung nicht hinreichen kann, den geschichtlichen Prozess der Menschheit zu erklären. Mit dem Aufkommen einer morphologischen Betrachtung als Ergänzung naturkausalen Denkens hängt es zusammen, dass fast in jedem Bereich von Kunst und Wissenschaft die methodische Haltung sich verändert hat. Infolge dieser neuen Auffassung der Dinge finden wir den Naturalismus, der während der letzten Jahrzehnte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Blüte war, mehr und mehr im Schwinden begriffen, aus der Landschaft sowohl wie auch aus der Lebensstimmung Europas. An seine Stelle tritt ein organischer Kritizismus, der die impressionistische Anschauung mit synthetischer Verstandeskritik zu verbinden trachtet. So ist es gekommen, dass ein geborener Naturalist von der Art eines Gerhart Hauptmann nach seinen dramatischen Anfängen "Vor Sonnenaufgang" und den "Webern" in den Gebieten des Symbolismus sein Glück versuchte mit "Hanneles Himmelfahrt," der "Versunkenen Glocke"⁴ und "Pippa tanzt." Auf dem Gebiete der Novelle hat Hauptmann die gleiche Schwenkung vom Naturalismus zur romantischen Kunst vollzogen in "Emanuel Quint," in der "Atlantis" und im "Ketzer von Soana." Diese Wandlung scheint niemals eine innere Notwendigkeit gewesen zu sein, jedenfalls beweisen die neuesten Werke von Gerhart Hauptmann: "Der weisse Heiland," "Die Insel der grossen Mutter" und "Indopohdi" die Wahrheit unserer Behauptung, dass er ein geborener Naturalist ist.

Fast jeder Dichter und Schriftsteller unserer Generation begann mit Problemen, wie die europäischen Bühnen sie darstellten in Ibsens "Gespenstern," Strindbergs "Fräulein Julie" und Tolstois "Macht der Finsternis." In der Form des Romans fanden die gleichen Probleme ihren Weg in weiteste Kreise. Besondere Hervorhebung verdienen hier Flaubert's "Madame Bovary," Zola's "Rougon-Macquart," Dostojewskis

³ cfr. Spengler Bd. I. 34 ff. Dazu: Ed. Meyer, Spenglers Untergang des Abendlandes. Berlin 1925.

⁴ Die "Versunkene Glocke" ist wohl das beste Werk Hauptmanns. Cfr. A. Rode, Hauptmann und Nietzsche, Beitrag zum Verständnis der Versunkenen-Glocke (Hamburg 1897). J. Lütgert, Einfluss des Zarathustra auf Hauptmanns Versunkene Glocke: ZfdU 20, 22.

“Raskolnikow” und “Brüder Karamasow,” Tolstois “Krieg und Frieden.”

Wie Thomas Mann in den “Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen”⁶ schreibt, ist er im “geistig Wesentlichen” ein rechtes Kind des 19. Jahrhunderts, in das auch sein erstes Menschenalter fällt. Die Verbindung mit den literarischen Mächten dieser Zeit ist ganz natürlich und nicht etwa durch Michael Georg Konrad oder Arno Holz anerzogen. Das unbestimmt exotische Blut der Mutter trieb ihn zu den Italienern und Franzosen, in die “laue, süsse, duftgeschwängerte Luft eines beständigen Frühlings, in der es treibt und braut und keimt in heimlicher Zeugungswonne.” Das nordische Temperament des Vaters aber: “betrachtsam, gründlich, korrekt aus Puritanismus und zur Wehmut geneigt” erzwingt Abkehr von dieser “impulsiven Liederlichkeit” und erregt eine beständige Sehnsucht nach dem bürgerlichen Künstlertum eines Keller, Meyer, Mörike und Storm, nach dem “Dänemark Bangs und Jacobsens, nach dem Norwegen Kiellands und Lies.”⁶ Am meisten entzückt ihn die Meisterlichkeit der deutsch-bürgerlichen Erzählungskunst des 19. Jahrhunderts. Es freut ihn, dass diese Männer des Wortes einen bürgerlichen Beruf mit strenger Künstlerarbeit verbunden haben, wengleich sein skeptisches Gemüt an eine solche Verbindung von Kunst und Leben heute nicht mehr glauben mag. “Bürgerlicher Beruf als Form des Lebens” bedeutet ihm nach dem ungarischen Essayisten Georg von Lukács: “das Primat der Ethik im Leben: die Herrschaft der Ordnung über die Stimmung, des Dauernden über das Momentane, der ruhigen Arbeit über die Genialität, die von Sensationen gespeist wird.”⁷ Damit stellt sich Thomas Mann in schroffen Gegensatz zu dem Mönchsästhetizismus Flaubert’s, dessen nihilistische Maske auch er in manchen Teilen seines Jugendwerkes trägt und bekennt sich rundweg zum deutsch-bürgerlichen l’art pour l’art. “Mein Werk—sit venia verbo—ist nicht Produkt, Sinn und Zweck einer asketisch orgiastischen Verneinung des Lebens, sondern eine ethische Äusserungsform meines Lebens selbst: dafür

⁶ Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen, S. Fischer, Berlin 1918. Einleitung XXIII.

⁶ Betrachtungen, 54, lazu: Tonio Kröger.

⁷ Betrachtungen, 69 ff.

spricht schon mein autobiographischer Hang, der ethischen Ursprungs ist, aber freilich den lebhaftesten ästhetischen Willen zur Sachlichkeit, zur Distanzierung und Objektivierung nicht ausschliesst, einen Willen also, der wieder nur Wille zur Handwerkstreue ist."⁸ Neben diese ethisch-bürgerliche Kunst tritt konzentrisch die philosophisch-spekulative Gedankenwelt der Romantik mit ihrem grossen Meister Fichte, dem würdigsten Vertreter des Primates der Ethik im Leben.

Thomas Mann betrachtet sein Jahrhundert mit dem Späherauge Nietzsches.⁹ Von einem "Geist im Dienste der Wünschbarkeit," den das 18. Jahrhundert mit seinen "Reformen sozialer und politischer Natur" besessen habe, ererebt das "redliche aber düstere" 19. Jahrhundert wenig oder nichts. Dafür sei es "vor der Wirklichkeit jeder Art unterwürfiger und wahrer." Von der "Domination der Ideale" habe es sich frei gemacht, um einer fatalistischen "Unterwerfung unter das Tatsächliche" zu leben. Nur Goethe, so meinte Nietzsche, habe dem "Willen zur Vergöttlichung des Alls und des Lebens" gehuldigt, "um in seinem Anschauen und Ergründen Ruhe und Glück zu finden." Goethes Religiosität sei von einem fast freudigen und vertrauenden Fatalismus, "der nicht revoltiert, der nicht ermattet, der aus sich eine Totalität zu bilden sucht im Glauben, dass erst in der Totalität alles sich erlöst, als gut und gerechtfertigt erscheint." Dieser organische Vitalismus Goethes hat den eigentlichen Charakter der modernen Dichtung erst ermöglicht und begründet. Schopenhauers Philosophie ist nach Mann ohne jeden Willen im Dienste der Wünschbarkeit, durchaus unsozial und unpolitisch. Sein Mitleid war nur ein Erlösungsmittel, kein Besserungsmittel in geistespolitischem Sinn und wenn er vom ästhetischen Zustande redet, so meint er das verzaubernde Glück der reinen Anschauung, die nur flüchtig befreit von den Begierden des Willens. Flaubert's Aesthetizismus füge zum pessimistischen Lebensgefühl das nihil als Fazit und höhne noch: "Hein, le progrès, quelle blague!"¹⁰

Das ist der historische Hintergrund, auf dem Thomas Mann 1901 eine Familiengeschichte abrollen liess, "ganz ohne jenen

⁸ Betrachtungen, 71.

⁹ Betrachtungen, XXIII-XXV.

¹⁰ Betrachtungen, XXV.

Geist im Dienste der Wünschbarkeit, ganz ohne sozialen Willen, pessimistisch, humoristisch und fatalistisch, wahrhaftig in seiner melancholischen Unterwürfigkeit als Studie des Verfalls."¹¹ Der Roman "Die Buddenbrooks" eröffnet uns alle Einsichten und Fernsichten in das künstlerische Schaffen seines Verfassers. Das Werk handelt in philosophischer Hinsicht von der antithetischen und pessimistischen Selbstverneinung, die das Erbe des 19. Jahrhunderts darstellt. Die Geschichte ist ein Epos des deutschen Mittelstandes, der nach einem grossen Aufstieg in der Bahn zielsicherer Traditionen biologischem Verfall entgegengeht,¹² während sein Geist in der Kunst eine Hochblüte erlebt. Die Meisterschaft, mit der Thomas Mann in sympathischer Strukturverwandschaft Farben und Töne zu dirigieren versteht, um die innersten Lebensvorgänge natürlicher und geistiger Art in diesem Familienorganismus auf einen Gesamteindruck zu konzentrieren, ist höchst erstaunlich. In der Form einer städtischen Chronik, die sich oft zum naturalistischen Roman¹³ umgestaltet, schildert er die Geschichte einer Lübecker Kaufmannsfamilie. Vorbilder einzelner Charakterportraits finden sich in der Familiengeschichte Manns. Johann Buddenbrook und seine Frau Antoinette sind ganz im Geiste des 18. Jahrhunderts gezeichnet. Der Senior der Familie und Begründer der Getreidefirma stammt aus Nürnberg und wanderte zunächst nach Mecklenburg und dann nach Lübeck, wo er durch Getreidelieferungen an die Napoleonischen Armeen seinen Wohlstand begründete. Er ist ein aufrechter und nüchterner Charakter, dem es an der moralischen Chemie und an dem skeptischen Deismus der Aufklärung nicht mangelt. Sein Sohn Johann wird durch eine pietistisch veranlagte Gattin in den Bann des dogmatischen Protestantismus gezogen. Seine Frömmigkeit hindert ihn nicht, puritanisches Geschäftsgebahren zu zeigen und die Verwaltung seiner Firma als gottgewollten Lebenszweck zu betrachten. Konsul Buddenbrook ist auch politisch ein konservativer Bürger. Als 1848 die Revolution auch in Lübeck radikalen Einfluss gewinnen

¹¹ Betrachtungen, XXVI.

¹² Georg von Lukács: "Die Seele und die Formen" nennt Buddenbrooks eine Monumentalisierung jener Verfallsstimmung, welche Storms bürgerliche Welt umgibt; nach Mann: Betrachtungen 73.

¹³ Cfr. Betrachtungen, 83.

wollte, rettete er das Patriziat vor drohendem Umsturz. Seine Tochter Antonie wird gezwungen, eine unglückliche Ehe aufzugeben. Ihr Scheidungsprozess ist ein öffentlicher Skandal und das erste Anzeichen drohenden Verfalls gleich nach der höchsten privaten und öffentlichen Machtentfaltung. Der Verfall des Familienorganismus nimmt bedenkliche Formen an, als Thomas Buddenbrook die Erbschaft antritt. Geistig ist dieser Mann auf voller Höhe. Die wirtschaftliche Macht seines Hauses erfährt einen starken Zuwachs durch die Heirat mit einem südamerikanischen Mischblut. Das ist der zweite Bruch geheiligter Familientradition. Politisch bleibt Thomas in Führerstellung und gewinnt grossen Einfluss auf die Gestaltung der Geschehnisse der Stadtrepublik. Der äusseren Würde entspricht nicht die innere Haltung. Mehr und mehr befällt den kritischen Beobachter seiner selbst das Gefühl, dass er seinen Aufgaben nur mit halber Seele dienen kann. Grauen überkommt ihn, wenn er an die Zukunft denkt. Seine Frau bleibt trotz edler Rücksichtnahme fremd in der Fremde und der Sohn Hanno ist ein schwächliches Geschöpf bei vortrefflicher geistiger Veranlagung, besonders für Musik. Wie aber soll ein Künstler in fester Bürgertradition einer Grosshandelsfirma vorstehen? Der Verfall wird offenbar. Thomas versucht eine Flucht vor der Wirklichkeit in die Geisteshöhe der Philosophie. An einem trüben Tage, wo Ungewissheit und Verzweiflung über die Zukunft ihn martern, findet er Schopenhauers "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung." Er schlägt ein Kapitel auf, dessen Titel allein ihm eine Offenbarung dünkt: "Der Tod und sein Verhältnis zur Unzerstörbarkeit unseres Wesens." Schon am nächsten Tage schämt er sich der geistigen Extravaganzen, und er ahnt etwas von der Unausführbarkeit seiner schönen Vorsätze. Die bürgerlichen Instinkte regen sich und die Furcht vor einer wunderlichen und lächerlichen Rolle, die ihm, dem Senator und Chef einer Getreidefirma, nicht ziemt.

Die "Buddenbrooks" gewannen in kurzer Zeit die Herzen einer gewaltigen Lesergemeinde, in Deutschland sowohl wie im Ausland. Es gab Kritiker, die es mit Freitags "Soll und Haben" verglichen. Natürlich habe der moderne Hanseat den alten Stoff geistesgeschichtlich neu umkleidet. Auch fehlte es nicht an Stimmen, die das Werk mit gleichstrebigem Romanen des Auslandes in innere Beziehung brachten. Man dachte an

Balzac's "Comédie humaine," an Zola's "Natürliche und soziale Familiengeschichte der Rougon-Macquart" und an Dostojewskis "Brüder Karamasow." Es hiesse jedoch die individuelle Leistung künstlerischer Persönlichkeiten in unmöglichen Vergleich bringen, wollte man solche Werturteile unterstützen. Die philosophische Fakultät der Universität Bonn ehrte den Verfasser der Buddenbrooks gelegentlich ihrer Jahrhundertfeier im Jahre 1918 durch die Verleihung des Ehrendoktors. Der Grund für diese Auszeichnung liegt über die Erklärungen der Fakultät hinaus in der Überzeugung, dass ein Künstler ersten Ranges ein Werk geschaffen hatte, das im Geistigen wie im Künstlerischen ein typisches Gemälde nationaler Wesenheit entwarf. Gewiss wäre ein solches Unternehmen gescheitert, wenn Thomas Mann sich ohne innerste Bezo-genheit naturalistischer oder romantischer Technik verschrieben hätte. Er vereinigte die künstlerischen Bindekräfte beider. Die naturalistische Methode dient ihm als Rüstung, in der er romantische Ideen im rhythmischen Leben seiner Wortgefüge verteidigt. Es ist wahr, im Grunde seines Herzens ist Mann ein Romantiker. Jede Empfindung seiner überwachen Seele gewinnt organischen Ausdruck, der in der Totalität menschlichen Naturlebens verdämmert. Trotz der Einsamkeit dieses reich begabten Hanseaten inmitten der europäischen Landschaft ist seine Abhängigkeit von dem morphologischen Begriff europäischer Lebenskultur unverkennbar. Schon in der Familie ist die morphologische Bedingtheit durch seine Mutter nachzuweisen. Ehrfurcht vor den Geheimnissen von Natur und Kunst wird uns abhalten, in Gerda Buddenbrook das Portrait von Julia Bruhn da Silva zu erblicken. Aber ist es verwegen, wenn wir dem Einfluss dieses tropischen Wesens in einer norddeutschen Hansastadt hohe Bedeutung zuerkennen? Thomas Mann tut es selbst, indem er seine Abstammung als Grund anführt für seine Vertrautheit mit der romanischen Literatur.¹⁴ In dem Hause des Grossvaters, wo die ehrwürdige Tradition patrizischer Grösse den Knaben mit stillem Stolze erfüllte,¹⁵ genügte schon die Gegenwart einer Mutter, die in Brasilien geboren war, um die Phantasie eines Knaben mit den literarischen und sozialen Möglichkeiten in der deutschbürger-

¹⁴ Betrachtungen, 32.

¹⁵ Betrachtungen, 83 f.

lichen und weltbürgerlichen Heimat vertraut zu machen. In dieser Vegetation exotischer und kongenialer Formen liegen die romantischen Grundgedanken seines Feudalismus sowohl wie seiner liberalen Demokratie. Kein Wunder, dass ein Knabe, der seit frühester Kindheit von einer Unzahl von Eindrücken bestürmt, dem Druck der Masse erliegen muss, wenn nicht geistige Bewusstheit die verwirrende Fülle der Einzeldinge sammelt in den Zauberspiegel des Symbolismus. Das ist der kritische Punkt in der literarischen Wirksamkeit von Thomas Mann.

In den "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen," einem Werk, das in mancher Beziehung der originalen Gestaltung dem Jugendroman gleichkommt, gibt uns Mann einen aufrichtigen Einblick in sein Künstlerleben. Er sei von jung auf durch sein latein-amerikanisches Blut mehr europäisch-intellektuell als deutsch-poetisch gerichtet. Und wenn er die Kunstform des Romans als seiner synthetisch-plastischen und analytisch-kritischen Begabung gemäss nehme, so sei ihm bewusst, wie schwer es ein Schriftsteller, ein Prosaist und Romanschreiber habe, um zu repräsentativer Stellung in der deutschen Nation aufzusteigen, die nur Poeten, reine Synthetiker, Lyriker oder Dramatiker kenne. "Mein Blut bedurfte europäischer Reize. Künstlerisch, literarisch beginnt meine Liebe zum Deutschen genau dort, wo es europäisch möglich und gültig, europäischer Wirkungen fähig, jedem Europäer zugänglich wird." Schopenhauer, Nietzsche und Wagner sind die drei Namen, die seine geistig-künstlerische Bildung bestimmen, sofern sie nicht intim deutsche, sondern europäische Ereignisse darstellen. Um die Wende des 19. Jahrhunderts war Schopenhauers "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung" sein tägliches Lesebuch. Er schlürfte den Zaubertrank dieser Metaphysik, deren tiefstes Wesen Erotik ist, und in der er die geistige Quelle der Tristanmusik erkannte. Zur gleichen Zeit, als Mann sich meistern liess durch die herbe Ethik und den düsteren Pessimismus Schopenhauers, befahl ihm auch eine leidenschaftliche Liebe zu Wagners Musik. Nur durch die Schriften von Nietzsche, die wohl die feinste und schärfste Kritik Wagners darstellen, näherte er sich dem musikalischen Dramatiker.¹⁶ Nietzsche war es, der in Wagner das *Phaenomen des Künstlers* erblickte. Das Wagnerproblem

¹⁶ Betrachtungen, 32 ff.

Nietzsches ist das Künstlerproblem bei Thomas Mann. Wie Nietzsche Wagner, so sieht Mann den Künstler überhaupt in doppelter Optik, der aristokratisch-demokratischen, der artistisch-bürgerlichen Optik.¹⁷ Der Berührungspunkt mit Wagner ist für Mann die Tatsache, dass auch jener ein Deutscher und Europäer im besten Sinne des Wortes war. Zeugen dessen sind ihm Baudelaire, Barrès und besonders W. Peterson-Berger. Deutsch sind die romantischen Botschaften des Lohengrin-Vorspiels. Welch süsse Erinnerung ist für ihn jene Stunde, in der Vessala in Rom die Totenklage um Siegfried interpretiert. "Es war ein überdeutsches Geisteserlebnis, ein Erlebnis, das ich mit dem intellektuellen Europa gemeinsam hatte." Später entdeckte Mann die tiefe Verwandtschaft zwischen Wagner, Zola und Ibsen. Der westliche wie der nördliche Vorkämpfer der tyrannischen Formel des Naturalismus waren gleichzeitig Herren und Meister des romantischen Symbols. Auch Wagner wirkte auf Thomas Mann als der grosse musikalisch-epische Prosaiker und Symboliker.¹⁸ In den "Buddenbrooks" finden sich feinsinnige Bekenntnisse zu Schopenhauer, Wagner und Nietzsche. Gerda bekehrt den Organisten Pfühl zur programmatischen Idee der neuen Musik, deren Kunstmoral im Gegensatz stehe "zu allem Hedonismus" und ihrem Gatten verwehrt sie den "faden Optimismus" und den "läppischen Idealismus" seines Geschmacks an "hübschen Melodien."¹⁹ Der Einfluss der pessimistischen Ethik Schopenhauers auf Wagner wird danach verantwortlich gemacht für die grosse Wandlung in der musikalischen Form seit Bach und Beethoven. Das kontrapunktische System, das durch die kosmische Gestaltung eines Beethoven die klassische Höhe logischer Schönheit erstiegen hatte, wird umgewandelt in ein Drama stimmlich-naturhafter Organik mit romantisch-alogischer Schönheit. Die Musik ist die metaphysische Gebärdensprache des Willens. Sie ist die unmittelbare Objektivierung der Welt, sie ist die *Wirklichkeit* des Willens als Idee der Welt.

Im 5. Kapitel des 10. Teiles schildert Thomas Mann die Schicksalsszene Thomas Buddenbrooks, der ihm dreifach

¹⁷ Betrachtungen, 36. 76/77.

¹⁸ Betrachtungen, 43/45.

¹⁹ Buddenbrooks, 8. Teil: 6, und 8. Teil: 7.

mythisch verwandt ist als Vater, Sprössling und Doppelgänger.²⁰ Der Senator war bisher ein Opfer des Pessimismus gewesen. Nun führt ihn Schopenhauer zu Nietzsche, aus Todessehnsucht wird Lebenssehnsucht, die einen herrlichen Hymnus anstimmt, dessen Refrain: "Ich werde leben" eine Umwertung seines Lebensbegriffs verkündet. "Ich trage den Keim, den Ansatz, die Möglichkeit zu allen Befähigungen und Betätigungen der Welt in mir" "Organismus! Blinde, unbedachte, bedauerliche Eruption des drängenden Willens. Besser wahrhaftig, dieser Wille webt frei in raum- und zeitloser Nacht, als dass er in einem Kerker schmachtet, der von dem zitternden und wankenden Flämmchen des Intellektes notdürftig erhellt wird." "In meinem Sohne habe ich fortzuleben gehofft?" "Was soll mir ein Sohn!—Wo ich sein werde, wenn ich tot bin? Aber es ist so leuchtend klar, so überwältigend einfach! In allen denen werde ich sein, die je und je Ich gesagt haben, sagen und sagen werden: *besonders aber in denen, die es voller, kräftiger, fröhlicher sagen.*"

Hier hören wir Nietzsches dithyrambische Lyrik verbunden mit dem Allegro maestoso der Leitmotive in Schopenhauer und Wagner. Und das Finale? Es ist der Unterschied von Gebirge und Meer, von Gesundheit und Krankheit. "Man klettert keck in die wundervolle Vielfachheit der zackigen, ragenden, zerklüfteten Erscheinungen hinein, um seine Lebenskraft zu erproben, von der noch nichts verausgabt wurde. Aber man ruht an der weiten Einfachheit der äusseren Dinge, müde wie man ist von der Wirrnis der inneren."²¹ Es ist ein rein logischer Schluss, der Sieg der Dekadenz. Dem Tatendrang eines Heroismus trotz allem folgt die gähnende Monotonie sinnlosen Daseins. Es wird wahr, was Thomas Buddenbrook in Schopenhauer gelesen hat. Die Auslöschung der Individualität in der Meeresstille des Gemütes, im Nirvana,²¹ ist der einzige Weg aus irrer Verzweiflung. Nur ein naturalistischer Kontrapunkt dieses Pessimismus ist der Tod von Thomas Buddenbrook. Er, der Senator von Lübeck und der Chef einer altberühmten Getreidefirma, stirbt an einem bösen Backenzahn in einer Regenpfütze auf offener Strasse. Wahrhaftig, dieser

²⁰ Betrachtungen, 35.

²¹ Buddenbrooks, 10. Teil: 6. cfr. A. Schopenhauer, Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung 1819. bes. 4. Buch: 41.

Tod ist eine grosse Desillusion aller Existenz. Und Hanno, diese dämmernde Frühe eines neuen Tages, stirbt am Typhus, einer Krankheit, die für Lebenserschöpfung so recht bezeichnend ist. Mann nimmt nicht die Folgerung Nietzsches an, die in dem Willen zu einem machtvollen Leben die Belohnung einer jeden Taterkennt. In der positiven und optimistischen Organisation des Lebens liegt nach Nietzsche der Sinn und der Wert des Daseins. Mann ist zu sehr ein Künstler in Spannung und Lösung von dekadenter Struktur. Wie Schopenhauer zieht er sich zurück vom Leben, als einem Prozess illusionärer Ziele. Er ist kein Asket, sondern ein Aesthet, er ist kein Schauspieler im Drama, aber ein sehr künstlerischer Zuschauer.²¹

Auf dem Instrument, das sich Thomas Mann in seinen Buddenbrooks²² geschaffen hatte, werden seine Novellen und seine Romane gespielt. Die Novellen "Tonio Kröger," "Tristan," "Fiorenza" und der "Tod in Venedig" behandeln in mannigfachen Melodien das Thema der Kunst im Widerstreit von Erkennen und Leben. Die Problemstellung kommt ihm in organischer Verbindung mit der deutsch-bürgerlichen Dichtung aus der Philosophie der Romantik. Es ist die innere Krise des Idealismus, die auch in der Romanliteratur Russlands gewittert, mit der einzigen Ausnahme vielleicht von Tolstoi, in dem oft der Sentimentalismus Rousseaus über Herder und Goethe hinweg zu ergreifendem Ausdruck kommt. Die Philosophie des deutschen Idealismus wurzelt in der Autonomie der Vernunft bei Kant. Durch Fichte wird diese Autonomie eine Sache der ethischen und durch Schelling eine Sache der ästhetischen Vernunft. Die ganze Problematik des Lebens findet ihr tragisches Widerspiel in der dialektischen Methode, die in Thesis, Antithesis und Synthesis einen progressus in infinitum erlebt. Die romantische Ironie Schlegels erkennen wir in verblüffender Wiederkehr bei Nietzsche. "Ironie ist klares

²¹ Cfr. Oskar Walzel: Die Deutsche Dichtung seit Goethes Tod 1920, 2. Aufl. Walzel hat es besonders auf eine Untersuchung der künstlerischen Technik bei Thomas Mann abgesehen. Cfr. Georg von Omptedas Roman: "Eysen," 345-347. Walzel findet auch ein gutes Stück Heimatkunst in Buddenbrooks, 356. Buddenbrooks fanden Nachfolger in einer Reihe von Familienromanen, von denen Georg Hermann mit seinen Romanen des jüdischen Berlins hervorragt. Cfr. Walzel 380 f. und R. M. Meyer u. H. Bieber: Die Deutsche Literatur des XIX und XX. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1923. 7. Aufl. S. 638.

Bewusstsein der ewigen Agilität, des unendlich vollen Chaos.²³ Ironie ist die Form des Paradoxen,²⁴ Ironie ist transzendente Buffonerie,²⁵ stete Selbstparodie,²⁶ polemische Totalität.²⁷ Aus Selbstvernichtung und Selbstschöpfung im unauf löslichen Widerstreit des Bedingten und des Unbedingten erwächst der Lebensbegriff Nietzsches, der in der Tat zum Schlüssel aller modernen Weltanschauung geworden ist.²⁸

In der Novelle "*Tonio Kröger*" (1903) wehrt sich dieser Lebensbegriff gegen den nihilistischen Geist der Literatur. Die Schönheit, nach Schelling Unendliches endlich darstellend, gestaltet ihre sinnliche Erscheinung in der Welt der liebenswürdigen Bürgerlichkeit. Tonio Kröger sagt von sich selbst: "Ich stehe zwischen zwei Welten, bin in keiner daheim und habe es infolgedessen ein wenig schwer." Schon in der bürgerlichen Welt des Nordens, wo Tonio Kröger seine Jugend verbringt, deutet sich das Schicksal seines Künstlertums an, wohin er verbannt ist. Diese Antithese zwischen Kunst und Leben wird ihm zur qualvollen Gewissheit, als er im Süden weilt unter Menschen, die ganz anders als er leben und denken. In seiner inneren Zerrissenheit flüchtet er sich in die Dialektik der Ironie, die Ruhe sucht in der Freundschaft mit einer russischen Malerin. "Sagen Sie nichts von Beruf, Lisaweta Iwanowna! Die Literatur ist überhaupt kein Beruf, sondern ein Fluch." Es folgt eine wehmütige und tiefe Untersuchung des Künstlertums, die vollständig an Nietzsches funkelnden Aphorismen orientiert ist, ohne das dionysische Endziel alles Leidens genugsam zu betonen. Die Künstler sind morituri, die an der Hybris ihrer Erkenntnis verbluten. Das Leben aber in seiner harmonischen Plattheit erzeugt jene resurrecturi, die in der Einfalt ihres Herzens das reine Glück genießen, das den komplizierten Aestheten ewig verloren bleibt. Rettung kommt Tonio Kröger durch ein Traumgesicht seiner Kindheit, in dem

²³ Fr. von Schlegel: *Ideen*, 1799. I. 69.

²⁴ Schlegel: *Lyceumsfragmente*, 1798. L. 48.

²⁵ Schlegel: L. 42.

²⁶ L. 108.

²⁷ nach Rudolf Haym: *Die Romantische Schule*, Berlin 1920. 4. Aufl. besorgt von Oskar Walzel. S. 258. Polemische Totalität ist für Schlegel Kriterium des echten philosophischen Systems.

²⁸ Cfr. *Betrachtungen*, 47., nach Georg Simmel: *Schopenhauer und Nietzsche*. 1906.

er seinen Schulfreund Hans Hansen mit seinem klar blauen Blick auf die Banalität des Lebens als Symbol innerer Freiheit erkennt. Er verlässt das ferne unbeteiligte Verhältnis zu den elementaren Dingen und eilt in die nordische Heimat. Seiner Freundin schreibt er: "Ich bin am Ziel, Lisaweta, ich liebe das Leben" "nicht als eine Vision von blutiger Grösse und wilder Schönheit" "sondern als die verstohlene und zehrende Sehnsucht nach den Wonnen der Gewöhnlichkeit!"

Mann nennt Tonio Kröger einen Spätling der Romantik. Er ist eine Mischung "aus Wehmut und Kritik, Innigkeit und Skepsis, *Storm und Nietzsche*, Stimmung und Intellektualismus."²⁹ Stimmung schwebt wie in Immensee über dem Traumleben von Tonios Kindheit, um voll zu erblühen in dem Augenblick, da er die, "winklige Heimatstadt verliess, den Springbrunnen, den alten Wallnussbaum im Garten, die Vertrauten seiner Jugend und das Meer, das er so sehr liebte." Nun kommt die Ironie geschlichen. Tonio war gross und klug geworden, und war voller Spott für das plumpe und niedrige Dasein. "Er ergab sich—der Macht des Geistes und Wortes, die lächelnd über dem unbewussten und stummen Leben thront." "Was er aber sah, war dies: Komik und Elend—Komik und Elend." Eine neue Leidenschaft befällt ihn, ein rastloser Drang nach Erkenntnis als Selbstzweck. Dieses absolute Pathos der Erkenntnis, von Nietzsche die "historische Krankheit" genannt, führt zum Ende der Menschheit in Feuer und Licht. Auch Tonio Kröger wird ein Opfer dieser organischen Chemie, die im Laboratorium die Menschheit erlösen will. Tonio Kröger wird ein Schaffender, ein Künstler, der weiss, "dass wer lebt, nicht arbeitet, und dass man gestorben sein muss, um ganz ein Schaffender zu sein." "Man arbeitet schlecht im Frühling, gewiss, und warum? Denn das gesunde und starke Gefühl hat keinen Geschmack." Gerade Tonio Kröger ist wichtig für eine Studie über Thomas Mann,³⁰ denn er gibt uns im Gegensatz zu den Novellen "Der kleine Herr Friedemann" (1898) und "Tristan," (1903), die oft stark an Maupassant und dessen Meister Flaubert erinnern, ein getreues Spiegelbild seiner künstlerischen Persönlichkeit. Vielleicht

²⁹ Betrachtungen, 56.

³⁰ Cfr. Richard Müller-Freienfels, *Psychologie der Kunst*. 2 Bde. 1912 I. Bd. S. 202. Wilhelm Alberts: *Thomas Mann and sein Werk*. Leipzig, 1913.

könnte man an die blonde, aber tiefkritische Verträumtheit bei Jacobsen denken und ihn als Typus Storm und Nietzsche beigesellen. Durch Nietzsche findet Mann seinen Ausweg aus dem Wüstensande der Erkenntnis. Ihn, den "verirrten" Bürger lockt nicht die dämonische Schönheit tragischen Untergangs "in Feuer und Licht," nein, die *Bürgerliebe* zum Menschlichen, Lebendigen, Gewöhnlichen ist es, denn sie beruft ihn vom Literaten zum Dichter. Es ist die paulinische Liebe, alle Wärme, alle Güte, aller Humor kommt aus ihr.

Der Lebensbegriff Nietzsches scheint in "Fiorenza" seine Sättigung erfahren zu haben, aber mit dialektischer Notwendigkeit wird die Fülle Überfluss und gewinnt den negativen Sinn tiefster Armut, der zu einer neuen Synthese drängt, zu einer Negation der Negation. Thomas Mann sagt selbst, dass der Gegensatz von Leben und Kunst in "Tonio Kröger," wobei Kunst literarisch als Geist verrechnet wurde, zu einer neuen Antithese hinaufwache, die nunmehr lautet: Geist gegen Kunst, oder auch: Geist gegen Leben.³¹ In der Novelle "Gladius Dei" (1902) eifert der junge Hieronymus gegen die gottfremde Magie der Münchener Kunstsalons, in denen eine Hure das Modell der Mutter Gottes war. In Fiorenza ringt die Religion mit der Kraft eines Schicksals gegen den Geist von Florenz, der unter Lorenzo Magnifico zum Mörder Gottes wird. Es geht in dieser dramatischen Novelle um die platonische Idee des Priesters, welche in Bruder Girolamo Savonarola Person und Wille geworden. Im Hintergrund dieser erhabenen Grösse tanzt ein Volk von Künstlern, Politikern und Philosophen um das goldene Kalb literarischer Zivilisation; gebannt von diesem Geiste schnöder Verführung wird das Heil der Religion an das Unheil der Magie verraten. Ein Dialog tropischer Aphorismen entspinnt sich zwischen Lorenzo de Medici, dessen Leben ein Machttraum, und dem Bruder Girolamo, der qualvoll seinen Gott erleidet. Man glaubt, die kristallinen Wortspiele zu hören, wie sie an der florentinischen Akademie unter Pico von Mirandola als Ausgeburten höchster Weisheit gefeiert wurden. "O Welt, o tiefste Lust, o Liebestraum der Macht, süsster, verzehrender! Man sollte nicht besitzen. Sehnsucht ist Riesenkraft, doch der Besitz entmannt." Und als der

³¹ Betrachtungen, 57.

Mönch mit den Geisseln seines Wortes Lorenzo zu unterwerfen versucht, wie er sich Florenz unterworfen hat, da flammt in dem sterbenden Lorenzo die Sehnsucht zum Leben in vollen Akkorden. 'Ich lausche, ich schliesse die Augen und lausche, ich höre meines Lebens Melodie, ich höre ein Lied, mein Lied, der Sehnsucht schweres Lied.' Diese Lyrik von Macht und Ruhm schmeckt nach der Zaubersprache des grossen Dithyrambikers Nietzsche. Lorenzo fragt: "Was heisst Ihr böse?" und der Prior antwortet: "Alles, was wider den Geist ist—in uns und ausser uns." Geist aber ist die "Kraft, die Reinheit und Frieden will." Darauf verhaucht Lorenzo mit den Worten: "Der Tod ist es, den Du als Geist verkündigst und alles Lebens Leben ist die Kunst." Man könnte mit Fug und Recht die beiden Parteien, die sich im dialogischen Pathos niederringen wollen, als die Systeme Nietzsches und Schopenhauers betrachten. Der Wille zur Macht in der Tragik des Leidens siegt über den Willen zum Nichts des Nirvana. Bezeichnend genug ist jene Äusserung Fiores: Hör' auf zu wollen, statt das Nichts zu wollen. Lass von der Macht, entsage! Sei ein Mönch! Worauf der Mönch entgegnet: "Ich liebe das Feuer."

Eine Überraschung für jeden Kenner Thomas Manns war sein Roman "Königliche Hoheit," der im Jahre 1909 erschien. Im Hinblick auf dieses Werk spricht Mann einmal die Meinung aus, dass er nur von sich selbst zu erzählen brauche, wenn er das Suchen der Zeit ausdrücken wolle. Uns scheint dieser Roman weniger anspruchsvoll zu sein, denn wir finden das Problem von Kunst und Leben schon in Tonio Kröger auf einem Höhepunkt künstlerischer Gestaltung. Königliche Hoheit gibt in ermüdender Länge und ohne die vitale Wucht chromatischer Tonfolgen zu erreichen, eine Ergänzung von Tonio Kröger im Roman. Es ist der furchtbare Zwiespalt des artistischen Daseins, dass es im Hinblick auf die Wirklichkeit des Lebens eigentlicher Motive und Ziele beraubt erscheint. Die Tragik eines Lebens, das sich in seelenloser und zweckloser Schaustellung erschöpft, steht in krassem Gegensatz zu dem Höchstmass von Vitalität, das diesen Schatten auf einer verloschenen Bühne zugemessen wird. In seinen "Betrachtungen" sagt Mann, Königliche Hoheit sei nicht geworden und gewachsen, es sei beherrscht von einer intellektuellen Formel,

die sich überall spiegelt, . . . warme Lebensfülle nie erreicht.”²³ Kein Wunder, dass der Roman wenig Spuren einer organischen Poesie zeigt, dafür aber die gestraffte Kritik schriftstellernden Raisonnements. Es ist schwer möglich mit Mann den Roman als eine wahre Orgie des Individualismus zu betrachten. Der Roman ist nach Inhalt und Form ein seltsames Gemisch von Wirklichkeit und märchenhafter Scheinwelt, und kaum geeignet diese Idee künstlerisch zu verwirklichen. Königliche Hoheit ist ein Hofroman und spielt in einem Kleinstaat Mitteldeutschlands. Die wirtschaftliche Existenz des Landes ist in beständiger Auflösung begriffen, bis ein amerikanischer Billionär erscheint, dessen Tochter mit ihrer Liebe zum Thronagnaten Erlösung bringt und die Hoheit des Lebens rettet. Mit wahrer Liebe hat Thomas Mann den Hofmeister Doktor Überbein geschildert, der “sich den Wind hatte um die Nase wehen lassen” und von Schicksal und Strammheit philosophiert, die allein der sinnbildlichen und formalen Existenz der Königlichen Hoheit einen idealen Inbegriff verleihen können. Form und Unmittelbarkeit schliessen sich aus, das ist der wertvollste Lehrsatz des Doktor Überbein. Aber er ermutigt seinen Zögling, die Tragik seiner Menschlichkeit mit Würde zu nehmen. “Ich liebe das Ungeöhnliche in jeder Gestalt und in jedem Sinne, ich liebe die mit der Würde der Ausnahme im Herzen, die Gezeichneten, die als Fremdlinge Kenntlichen, alle die, bei deren Anblick das Volk dumme Gesichter macht,—ich wünsche Ihnen die Liebe zu Ihrem Schicksal.” Eine andere Gestalt, der Mann seine besondere Sorgfalt widmet, ist Herr Martini, der Verfasser des ‘Heiligen Lebens.’ Die innere Hohlheit fürstlicher Scheinexistenz, die nur einen besonderen Fluch menschlicher Individualität darstellt vernichtet sich selbst durch die schroffe, Selbstkritik Albrechts, der sich mit dem Narren Fimmelgottlieb vergleicht. Klaus Heinrich antwortet, verwirrt und bekümmert: “Dass man es nicht bequem hat, darauf kommt alles an, und damit ist man gerechtfertigt.” Aus dieser Schwere des Daseins

²³ Betrachtungen, 61. Oskar Walzel in seinem Buch: Die Deutsche Dichtung seit Goethes Tod und in seinem Geleitwort zum 50. Geburtstag von Thomas Mann, Neue Freie Presse, Wien. vom 7. Juni 1925, richtet sein Urteil nach dem Selbstzeugnis der “Betrachtungen.” Cf. Th. Mann Rede und Antwort 1922. Bilde und Ich, 3-18. Über Königliche Hoheit: 342-47.

errettet Imma Spoelmann. Thomas Mann hat diese Gestalt mit natürlicher Frische und erquickendem Liebreiz gezeichnet, die besonders wohlthun nach der brutalen Karikatur von Tony Buddenbrook. Durch die Heirat mit dem Prinzen befreit Imma auch sich aus einer Dornröschen-Einsamkeit und beide leben in Hoheit und Liebe ein strenges Glück.—Es ist keine Frage, dass der Glanz deutscher Prosa unsern Schriftsteller in diesem Roman, nicht verlassen hat. Man merkt nichts von einem Geiste der Schwere, wenn er die Masse der Eindrücke zu höchster Symmetrie und Proportion bringt. Es gelingt ihm vortrefflich, dieses Kunstspiel, wie er es selbst nennt, mit symbolischen Leitmotiven wirkungsvoll zu beleben. Es erfüllt den Leser mit tiefstem Ernst wenn der Prinz in Gewissensnot vor Imma steht, die verkrüppelte Linke in die Hüfte gestemmt, während die Augen müde weinen. Die romantischen Explosionen des Doktor Überbein, die sich über die Bummelerei des Glücks beklagt, sind wirksame Nebenmotive. Vor allem aber entzückt die Legende vom Rosenstrauch, die ihrer Erfüllung entgegenreift. Der Kronrat im Hause Dietlindes, wie auch die krisenreiche Auseinandersetzung zwischen Klaus Heinrich und Imma erreichen eine dramatische Höhe und drängen zu einer Peripetie, worin die ganze Kraft der Leitidee zum Ausdruck kommt. Gleichwohl ist es Mann nicht gelungen, den Wesensgehalt seiner Idee voll und angemessen darzustellen. Es liegt zuviel Nachdruck auf rein Accidentellem, während die organische Substanz nicht zu schöpferischer Grösse emporsteigt. Wohl deshalb nennt Mann selbst den Roman ein Kunstspiel, nicht Leben, Renaissance, nicht Gotik, französisch, nicht deutsch. Hier zeigt sich die äussere Strukturlinie rein intellektueller Ironie, die schon in Fiorenza obwaltet. Hermann Bahr glaubte, Königliche Hoheit sei ein Symptom der Zeit, und das mag stimmen, wenn man den kantischen Begriff der Pflicht in der grossen literarischen Welt schauspielern lassen will. Noch ein anderer Grund hält uns ab, den Roman als vollgültiges Zeugnis künstlerischer Originalität und Genialität zu betrachten. Es war der Aesthetiker Konrad Lange,²² der, unter der pessimistischen Voraussetzung, die Menschheit bedürfe einer Illusion durch die Kunst, das aesthetische Wohlgefallen als eine Befreiung vom individuellen Ich erklärt, die in einem Pendeln der Vorstellungen zwischen Schein und Wirklich-

²² K. Lange: *Wesen der Kunst*. 2 Bde. 1907. 2. Aufl.

keit zustandekomme. Königliche Hoheit schwankt im Eindruck zwischen realer und irrealer Welt hin und her und vermag es dabei nicht, unser logisches Denken und ethisches Wollen in rein ästhetischem Fühlen ausruhen zu lassen. Nicht einmal das Politische ist ausgeschaltet und der Kunstgenuss wird zerstört durch den Gedanken, dass der deutsche Partikularismus vor der Allmacht des amerikanischen Dollars in die Knie sinkt.²⁴

1913 erschien die Novelle "Tod in Venedig" unstreitig die Meisternovelle. Thomas Mann behandelt das Problem des Künstlers als des im Leben verirrtten Bürgers in seiner äussersten Konsequenz und führt uns ein mit unvergleichlichem Tiefsinn in die geheimsten Regungen künstlerischen Schaffens. Die mächtige und doch gelassene Objektivität des Wortes in seiner epischen, lyrischen, dramatischen Zweckbestimmung scheint souverain und absolut. Es ist eine Sprache, die ihre Kulturelemente in der musikalischen Prosa Schopenhauers und Nietzsches gefunden hat, aber sie trägt das Feierkleid symbolischer Schönheit, das uns Schritt für Schritt in Platos unsterblichen Dialogen entgegenrauscht. Der Künstler Gustav Aschenbach ist ein glänzendes Selbstportrait Thomas Manns in der Gewitterschwüle vor dem Weltkrieg. Wenn er die Sebastiangestalt als das schönste Sinnbild poetischer Beredsamkeit verkündet, so ist damit eine Typik veranschaulicht, die auch für Thomas Mann in vieler Hinsicht charakteristisch ist. Auch Mann will Haltung im Schicksal, und Anmut in der Qual bedeutet ihm nicht nur ein Dulden; sie ist eine aktive Leistung, ein positiver Triumph.—Aschenbach verlässt München, um einen Frühling in Venedig zu verbringen. Während er auf dem Wege zwischen Himmel und Ozean in die Stadt der Träume einkehrt, prüft er sein ernstes und müdes Herz, ob ein spätes Abenteuer des Gefühls dem fahrenden Müssiggänger noch vorbehalten sei. Plato verrät uns, im Müssiggange erscheine Eros. Unser Dichter träumt sich eine Weihestunde der Muse Erato. Sokrates belehrt Phaedros über Sehnsucht und Tugend. Es ist die Stimmung dieses platonischen Dialogs, in der Aschenbach am Lidostrande den Polenknaben Tadziu schaut, "schön wie ein zarter Gott, herkommend aus den Tiefen von Himmel

²⁴ Fr. Vogt und M. Koch: *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, 1920. III. Bd. 248.

und Meer." Aschenbachs Seele wird verwirrt und entrückt. Die Bildkraft der Phantasie verwandelt alle Zufälligkeiten seines ekstatischen Herzens in die Sprache von Symbol und Mythos. Das venezianische Klima und zumal der Scirocco erklärt den Szenenwechsel einer Seele, die taumelt zwischen Erregung und Erschlaffung. Der Wille zerfällt und der Künstler muss sich sagen, dass ein Phantom der Schönheit ihn niederzwingt. Noch einmal flackert in ihm das Gefühl und wird ganz Gedanke in der Form erlesener Prosa. Natürlich wagt Aschenbach nicht einmal, ein Wort an den Polenknaben zu richten, eine komisch-heilige Angst bannt ihn, bis er sich vor dem Fluche der Lächerlichkeit rettet und wie ein Nachtwandler in die Traumnebel der griechischen Mythologie hineinschwankt. Wohin geht der Weg? Vergebens jeder Versuch einer Selbstbeherrschung nach solchen exotischen Abenteuern der Sinne. Er denkt seiner Vorfahren und lächelt schwermütig. Zermürbt durch den entnervenden Scirocco und die Exzesse seines Herzens finden wir Aschenbach. Ein letztes Mal kostet seine Seele Unzucht und Raserei des Unterganges in einem bukolischen Bachanal. Dann stirbt er, Worte aus Platons Phaedros auf den Lippen.

Die gleiche Höhe künstlerischen Schaffens wie im Tod von Venedig hat Thomas Mann nicht wieder erreicht. Ein Band Novellen hat bisher das Licht der Öffentlichkeit erblickt unter dem Titel "Das Wunderkind." Die Gestalt des Kritikus im Wunderkind hat offenbare Zeichen des Humors, den wir hier als die höchste Rangstufe der Komik und Kritik erleben. Ein Wunderhauch von Humor erfüllt "Herr und Hund" und den "Gesang vom Kindchen."³⁵ (1919)

In einer früheren Novelle "Schwere Stunde" schildert Mann die Gestalt Schillers als ihm kongenial, sofern er die Schaffensart Schillers, die Werke höchster Kunst einem verfallenden Leben abringen muss, als Wesensformel des Künstlers betrachtet. Im Hintergrunde erscheint hier die Gestalt Goethes, der als das *organische Genie* mit scheuer Ehrfurcht geliebt wird. Die Charakterzeichnung Schillers möchte man vergleichen mit Maupassant's Schilderung von Flaubert's künstlerischer

³⁵ Cfr. O. Walzel: Die Deutsche Dichtung seit Goethes Tod, 321. Cfr. Rede und Antwort, 355-359.

Technik,³⁶ nur dass an Stelle des ironischen Esprit ein Hauch deutsch-bürgerlicher Berufsethik in dieser Novelle vorwaltet. Simmel³⁷ sagt in seinem Goethebuch: "Die Erzeugung von an sich wertvollen Inhalten des Lebens aus dem unmittelbaren, nur sich selbst gehorsamen Prozess des Lebens selbst begründet die fundamentale Abneigung Goethes gegen allen Rationalismus denn dessen eigentliches Absehen ist, umgekehrt das Leben aus den Inhalten zu entwickeln, erst aus ihnen ihm Kraft und Leben abzuleiten—weil er dem Leben selbst nicht traut. Das tiefe Zutragen zum Leben, das überall in Goethe zu Worte kommt, ist nur der Ausdruck jener genialischen Grundformel seiner Existenz." Mit dieser hochfeinen Psychologie der Kunst kommen wir dem Schaffen Thomas Manns auf seine innerste Spur. Auch er traut dem Leben nicht, weil er ein Rationalist geworden ist, dem die Erkenntnis einen Gegenstand der Leidenschaft bedeutet, an der er zerschellt. Das Leben in seinem beharrlichen Charakter, in seiner Intention und in seinem Rhythmus ist nicht die gemeinsame Voraussetzung und Formgebung sowohl für das Erleben wie für das Schaffen seiner Kunst.³⁸ Was ihn treibt und trägt, ist allein der Glaube an die "reinigende, heiligende Wirkung der Literatur" und ihr "Gewissen des Herzens und das des verfeinerten Ohres." Mann irrt, wenn er, gestützt auf Flaubert und zumal auf Nietzsches Wagnerkritik, die Idee der Kunst in seinem Wesen voll und ganz verwirklicht glaubt. Gewiss, seine geheime Verwandtschaft mit unserer Zeit befähigt ihn zu einer musikalischen Prosa, deren Gefühlswert nach Klang und Lage sein persönliches Schicksal mit dem allgemeinen Schicksal unseres Geschlechts verbindet. Allein neben jene 'Künstler,' die "im Kampf mit der wählerischen Reizbarkeit des Geschmackes unter heftigen Qualen ungewöhnliche Werke entstehen" lassen, stellt die Geschichte der Literatur eine stolze Reihe wahrhaft inspirierter Dichter. Wir nennen ausser Goethe hier Grillparzer³⁹ und Gottfried Keller⁴⁰ und als französischen Gegenpol Flaubert's Honoré de Balzac. Unser Autor beruft sich neben Schiller besonders auf C. F. Meyer und Storm sowie auf

³⁶ Theodor Reik: Flaubert, Minden 1912. 150 f.

³⁷ Georg Simmel: Goethe, Leipzig 1913. 2.

³⁸ nach Simmel, Goethe, 16 f.

³⁹ Grillparzers Zeugnis über die Ahnfrau. Cfr. aber Sappho.

⁴⁰ G. Kellers Selbstzeugnis über die Leute von Seldwyla. Cfr. bes. Nietzsches geniale Deutung der Inspiration im *Ecce homo*, 1908.

Fontane⁴¹ als seine Vorbilder. Sie halfen ihm "aus dem Freibeutertum des Geistes in einige Rechtlichkeit und bürgerliche Ordnung" einzutreten. Unserer Ansicht nach ist diese Verketzerung des organisch schaffenden Genies für Mann verderblich. Was Mann fehlt, ist die Einsicht, dass sein Vorbild nicht der Nietzsche der Wagnerkritik, sondern Nietzsche als *Philosoph der Tragödie*, der in den Symbolen radikaler Verneinung Flammenzeichen aufleuchten lässt zu den Höhen einer neuen Zukunft. Statt der Prophetie vom Menschen als einer "Brücke" und einem "Übergang" hat Thomas Mann in Nietzsche nur die Philosophie des Verfalls und des Untergangs gelesen.

Es wird behauptet, Thomas Mann habe wohl als erster in Nietzsche den heroischen Schwächling gesehen, der aus Selbstwiderspruch das Reich der Starken verkündet.⁴² Eine homologe Typik des Charakters mit dem Schicksal Nietzsches befähigte unseren Künstler zu dieser Einsicht. Die "Betrachtungen" beweisen Schritt für Schritt, wie die ganze Lebensanschauung auf Nietzsches dialektische Selbstkritik aufgebaut ist. Unter den Werken, die Thomas Mann neben sorgfältigem Quellenstudium benutzt hat, spielen K. Joëls: Nietzsche und die Romantik und G. Simmels: Schopenhauer und Nietzsche, eine bedeutende Rolle, wie sich besonders in den geistvollen Schlusskapiteln der Selbstbiographie nachweisen lässt. Mann sah mit aller Klarheit in dem grossen Immoralisten den Abkömmling protestantischer Geistlicher, den reizbarsten Moralisten, der je lebte . . . den Bruder Pascals.⁴³ Er erkannte, dass Pascal im Brennpunkt einer grossen Entwicklung steht, die von der deutschen Mystik des Mittelalters über Luther einem System nordisch-christlicher Ethik zustrebt. Auch ahnte er schon, was gleichzeitig und später Bertram⁴⁴ und Obenauer⁴⁵ mit grosser

⁴¹ Theodor Fontane ist Vorbild Manns durch seinen starken ironischen Realismus. Cfr. Aufsatz über den alten Fontane. Rede und Antwort, 65–98 ff.

⁴² Meyer-Bieber: Die Deutsche Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, 634. Mann selbst glaubt in seinen Betrachtungen im asketischen Grundmotiv von Nietzsches Heroismus der Schwäche die Werke von E. Troeltsch: Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus, und Werner Sombarts, Der Bourgeois 1913 vorgeahnt zu haben. Betrachtungen, 116 ff.

⁴³ Betrachtungen, 556.

⁴⁴ Ernst Bertram: Nietzsche, Versuch einer Mythologie. Berlin 1919. Derselbe: Das Problem des Verfalls, Bouner Mitteilungen. Bd. 2. No. 2.

⁴⁵ Karl Justus Obenauer: Fr. Nietzsche, der ekstatische Nihilist. Jena 1924.

Bestimmtheit erwiesen, nämlich, dass Nietzsche, der Bluterbe protestantischer Prediger, den höchsten Gipfel der pietistischen Mystik eines Pascal erstiegen hat mit dem Ideal des selbstherrlich autonomen Übermenschen. Von der Höhe solcher Betrachtung eröffnet sich dem Blick auf der einen Seite die ruchlos-schöne, prometheische Landschaft der griechisch-römischen Antike, die in "Caesare Borgia als Papst" eine "hysterische Renaissance" feiern sollte und auf der anderen Seite weiten sich die Fluren nordischer Christlichkeit, wo im Untergang alle Dinge mystisch neu geboren und vollbracht werden. Die nordisch-christliche Welt bildet den Lebensraum, in dem Thomas Mann wirken möchte.⁴⁶ Er verehrt nunmehr in Nietzsche den Helden, dem Dürers: Ritter, Tod und Teufel eine Vision bedeutet, dem in aller Kunst und Philosophie vornehmlich "die ethische Luft, der faustische Duft, Kreuz, Tod und Gruft" behagt. So erfolgt die Abkehr von dem wilden Schönheitskultus der Rauschdichter, denen sich auch sein Bruder Heinrich Mann beigesellt im engsten Anschluss an Flaubert und Nietzsche als dionysisches Brüderpaar. Aller Renaissance-Ästhetizismus wird ihm ein Greuel, ebenso wie die orgiastische Musik des Südens, die seine Nerven zermartert. Sein Denken und Dichten trachtet nach dem Begriff der ruhigen Bildung bei Goethe und gestärkt durch liebevolle Versenkung in die russische Literatur, die er mit Hermann Bang heilig gesprochen hat, bekennt er sich zu einer wesentlich quietistischen Kunst.⁴⁷ Allerdings wirkt die Skepsis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Thomas Mann so stark, dass er über die pessimistische Dialektik des Untergangs nicht oft hinauskommt. Die frohe Botschaft des Lebens in "Tonio Kröger" ist bisher das tiefste Bekenntnis zu einer Lebensmoral im Sinne nordischer Religiosität. Sie klingt zugleich wie ein Schwanengesang, der in seinen Grundakkorden auf eine geheime "Sympathie mit dem Tode"⁴⁸ gestimmt ist, wie sich in dem ironischen Kulturroman: Der Zauberberg deutlich vernehmen lässt.

⁴⁶ Betrachtungen, 558. Mann nimmt Bezug auf F. F. Baumgarten: Das Werk C. F. Meyers.

⁴⁷ Cfr. Betrachtungen, Kap. vom Glauben, 518 ff. ferner: Rede und Antwort 227 ff.

⁴⁸ Betrachtungen, 424 ff.

Eine passive Halbheit des Charakters hindert Thomas Mann auch, die Ironie bei Nietzsche schliesslich als Element wirklicher Bejahung der menschlichen Natur zu nehmen. Sein Nietzsche-Erlebnis bleibt in der Selbstverneinung des Geistes zugunsten der ungeistigen Platttheit menschlichen Daseins stecken⁴⁹ anstatt seiner innersten Intention gemäss die Gestaltung höherer Lebensformen zu erstreben. Die Werbekraft der Ironie als konservativer Erotik des Geistes ist nicht ohne Glauben und Hoffnung, weil sie nicht ohne Liebe zum Menschlichen ist.

Der Mangel eines positiven Auftriebs im Ironiebegriff bringt Mann natürlich in einen schroffen Gegensatz zum Expressionismus, der eine Tatwirklichkeit des künstlerischen Geistes will.⁵⁰ Thomas Mann ist zu sehr impressionistischer Psychologe, sonst müsste der romantische Grundzug seines Wesens, der sich vor allem in dem Kapitel seiner Betrachtungen, das von der Tugend handelt und mit liebevoller Wehmut eine Analyse von Eichendorffs Taugenichts und Pfitzners Palestrina⁵¹ gibt, eine Heimkehr des *Dichters* ermöglichen zum Glauben "an die Liebe, an das Leben und an die Kunst." Hätte Thomas Mann in Nietzsches Ironie nicht nur die intellektuale Chemie studiert, sondern auch die Ironie als organische Logik der Schönheit, so würde er seiner eigentlichen Bestimmung als Künstler und Dichter ästhetischer Kultur entgegenreifen. Nur als Anwalt ästhetischer Kultur kann seine Kunst die Aufgabe lösen, "Gottesangst zu wecken, indem sie das Leben vor das Richterantlitz des reinen Geistes"⁵² stellt.

Wie Thomas Mann durch Einsicht und Bildung zu einer solchen Aufgabe befähigt ist, das beweist die unvergleichliche Selbstzucht seiner Epik. Die Kunst des prägnanten und symbolischen Wortes lernte er in der Goldschmiede von Schopenhauer und Nietzsche. Die Kunst der Erzählung dankt er neben Storm und Meyer besonders Stifter und Fontane.

⁴⁹ Betrachtungen, XXVII. 588. XXVIII.

⁵⁰ Cfr. Betrachtungen. Kap. Ironie und Radikalismus. Mann übertreibt: Expressionismus braucht weder politisch noch radikal und revolutionär zu sein. Fruchtbar wirkt er nur, wenn er im weichen Mutterboden der Romantik wurzelt. Cfr. Walzel: Die Deutsche Dichtung, 269 ff.

⁵¹ Betrachtungen, 374 ff, 397, 407-424. Cfr. Rede und Antwort, 283 ff.

⁵² Betrachtungen, 516, 591.

Über Spielhagens Erzählerton, der zwischen objektivem Bericht und subjektiver Kritik hin und her pendelt, ist Thomas Mann weit vorgedrungen. Nur möchten wir wünschen, dass diese epische Reinheit und Höhe der Stimmung bewahrt bleibe vor den "Zaubern der Magie des Extrems," die, wie bei Nietzsche und Mauthner,⁵³ die Wertstruktur der Dinge nominalistisch erledigt. Im "Zauberberg" (1925) ist Mann der Magie des Extrems von Begriff und Wort durch seine überkritische Bereitschaft der Nervenbahnen nicht selten verfallen.

Die glücklichste Technik im epischen Stil Thomas Manns ist die Sprachmusik seiner Prosa, die im Refrain des deutschen Volksliedes, im Kunstlied der Romantik und in der Thematik Richard Wagners vorgebildet wurde. Es wird uns schwer, mit Meyer-Bieber⁵⁴ anzunehmen, dass die Idee vom "mot singulier" bei LaBruyère und Flaubert die Freude an musikalisch-dialektischer Gegensatzwirkung in der Prosa Thomas Mann, geweckt hat, wo doch die deutsche Romantik unter Tiecks Novalis, Brentano die schönsten Möglichkeiten musikalischer Wortkunst erschlossen hat. In diesen romantischen Künstlern lässt sich auch der geheime, aber genaue Unterschied zwischen literarisch-rezeptiver Ironie und ironisch-produktivem Humor feststellen.

Als der grosse Krieg kam, trat der Schriftsteller Thomas Mann wie in Frankreich Anatole France und Romain Rolland für seine Nation in die Schranken. Das erste Produkt des Krieges ist "Friedrich und die grosse Koalition." Wir möchten dieses Werk kurz als eine vortreffliche Übersetzung von Gustav Freytags⁵⁵ "Staat Friedrichs des Grossen" in die neueste Gegenwart ansprechen, Das Werk fand eigentümliche Auf-

⁵³ Fritz Mauthners Sprachkritik ist durchaus skeptizistisch, sie vernichtet die geistige Realität von Wort und Satz. Gegen Mauthner wenden sich die Werke von A. Marty und F. Ebner. Cfr. Mann, Rede und Antwort, 364 ff., 392 ff.

⁵⁴ Meyer-Bieber: Die Deutsche Literatur, 634–35. Im Gegensatz zu Walzel und Meyer-Bieber betont Hans Naumann: Die Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart, Stuttgart 1923 mehr das Romantische im Werke von Thomas Mann. Daber sein Vergleich der Buddenbrooks mit Ricarda Huchs Ludolf Ursley, 177 f. und 187. Ferner der Vergleich von Fiorenza und Tod in Venedig mit Hauptmanns Ketzler von Soana, 204 f. Wie Mann über Romantik denkt, siehe Betrachtungen, 415 f. und 425 ff.

⁵⁵ Gustav Freytag: Bilder aus Deutscher Vergangenheit, 4. Bd. 220 ff. Ges. Werke. XXI. Bd. Leipzig 1898. 2. Aufl. Cfr. Rede und Antwort, 118–191.

nahme, denn man war sich bewusst, wie sehr der autobiographische Thomas Mann immerfort den Künstlermenschen als einen durchaus fragwürdigen Abenteurer des Gefühls geschildert hatte. Wie gross war das Erstaunen, als er sich in den Betrachtungen mit aller Entschiedenheit für den vollen Ernst der Schrift "Friedrich und die grosse Koalition" einsetzte. Bei gleicher Gelegenheit erhob er ein gewaltiges Kampfgeschrei gegen jene Literaten,⁵⁶ die den Imperialismus der Zivilisation gegen die Herrschaft der Ideale aufriefen. Demokratisierung gilt ihm gleich Entdeutschung. Thomas Mann befand sich auf der Seite konservativer Monarchie. Kaum hatte man in aristokratischen und militärischen Kreisen seine Freude über dieses hochpolitische Bekenntnis des freien Bürgers gemeistert, als in Berlin eine Rede gehalten wurde "Von deutscher Republik." Der Vortragende war Thomas Mann. Wie diese Wandlung der Gesinnung sich in so kurzer Zeit vollziehen konnte, bleibt ein Geheimnis. Uns steht es nicht an, Thomas Mann deshalb für einen politischen Charlatan zu halten. Die Rede selbst ist ein offenes Bekenntnis zur Republik als der politischen Gemeinschaftsform des neuen Deutschlands. Wir lesen in der Rede den Satz: "Es könnte Gegenstand eines Bildungsromanes sein, dass das Erlebnis des Todes zuletzt ein Erlebnis des Lebens ist, dass er zum Menschen führt." Viele mochten dabei an Tonio Kröger oder an Königliche Hoheit denken. Der Redner aber dachte an seinen Kulturroman "Den Zauberberg." Aus der Analyse der bürgerlichen Kultur in den Buddenbrooks war Thomas Mann eine Analyse des Künstlers als des verirrten Bürgers erwachsen. Nachdem diese in einer tiefen Instinktverschmelzung von Zucht und Zügellosigkeit beruhende Wesensschau durch Tod in Venedig ein Höchstmass kritischer Plastik gefunden, versucht Thomas Mann im Zauberberg eine Synthesis dekadenter Bürgerkultur und dekadenten Künstlertums mit einem nur trüben Auslug in das Land eines neuen Morgens. Es scheint, als ob Thomas Mann im Zauberberg eine Summation aller bisherigen künstlerischen Motive in grösserem und auch groteskerem Masse geben wolle, eine bürgerliche Pathologie der "infektiösen Erkrankung der Materie" die er durch Schopenhauer und Nietzsche zer-

⁵⁶ Der Kampf gegen den Zivilisationsliteraten enthüllte einen peinlichen Bruderzwist im Hause Mann, cfr. Meyer-Bieber, 638.

gliedern gelernt hatte. Er bleibt der Grundformel Lisawetas in ihrer Kritik Tonio Krögers als eines verirrtten Bürgers treu. Treu auch dem Glauben an die reinigende, heiligende Wirkung der Literatur, an die Zerstörung der Leidenschaften durch die Erkenntnis und das Wort." Dieses Künstlerproblem eines wurzellosen Lebens, das nach Freiheit der Form ringt, ist in den Mittelpunkt einer Welt gestellt, die tatsächlich verzaubert ist. Ein junger Hamburger Bürger, Hans Castorp, besucht ein Lungensanatorium in der Nähe von Davos. Aus den geplanten drei Wochen seines Aufenthalts werden sieben Jahre. Der bisher unkritische Jüngling verliert sich inmitten dieser Schatten in endlosen Reflektionen, sodass auch in ihm organische Wandlungen auftreten, die den leicht Infizierten der raum- und zeitlosen Idee der Krankheit verhaften. Natürlich geben die langen Jahre äusserster Abgeschiedenheit von den wirklichen Mächten des Lebens genugsam Gelegenheit, spiritistische Umschau zu halten über das, was diese Welt in Fieberschauer versetzt. Zu diesem Zwecke werden medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Werke studiert und mit einer Dialektik gedeutet, die uns schwindelig macht durch ihr ewiges Umkreisen des eigenen Ich. Wie einst Tonio Kröger, so schauen auch wir in eine "ungeborene, schemenhafte Welt" hinein, es ist die Welt der Ideen, die sich nur dem willenlosen Subjekt der Erkenntnis erschliessen. Ihre Ewigkeit soll enthüllt werden durch unsere Zeit, die durch den Zivilisationsliteraten Settembrini, den jüdischen Jesuiten Naphta, der wie Dostojewskis Grossinquisitor spricht, und endlich durch einen Mann des Formats, Mynheer Peeperkorn vertreten wird. Diese Gestalten und dann eine Tartarin, Chauchat, zu der Hans Castorp eine ganz unbürgerliche erotische Leidenschaft unterhält, bilden die Hauptgestalten der wesenlosen Menschheit. Wie ein erratischer Block liegt in diesen Höhen von "Frost und Problematik" Hofrat Behrens, dessen Befunde als Offenbarungen der Wissenschaft aufgenommen werden. Er ist so sehr der pathologische Anatom dieser Gesellschaft, dass ihm alle menschlichen Empfindungen restlos aufgehen in chemische Formeln. Ist es zu verwundern, wenn das endlose Fragen nach dem Begriff der Zeit, nach dem Ursprung des Lebens und dem Sinn des Geschehens unter der Hand *wissenskranker* Leute uns nicht erschüttert, sondern im besten Falle zerflattert in einem sic et non. Wer

könnte das Dämonische hemmungsloser und alles verzehrender Erkenntnisleidenschaft besser schildern, als der Tragiker des Untergangs, Friedrich Nietzsche? In der "Morgenröte" schildert er die Schicksale und Zuckungen, "denen das einsamste und stillste Leben verfällt, welches Musse hat, und in der Leidenschaft des Denkens verbrennt." "Oh, über meine Habsucht! In dieser Seele wohnt keine Selbstlosigkeit, vielmehr ein alles begehrendes Selbst, welches durch viele Individuen, wie durch seine Augen sehen und wie mit seinen Händen greifen möchte.— Oh, über diese Flamme meiner Habsucht!"⁶⁷

Die Entscheidung und die Befreiung aus dieser Traumaturgie des literarischen Geistes im Zauberberg bringt der Weltkrieg. Es überfällt Hans Castorp erstmals die grosse Ahnung von der kommenden Gerechtigkeit wahren Lebens und er stürmt hinweg ins Kampfgetümmel. Hans Castorp hatte im Sanatorium die Verwaltung der Musik übernommen. Die Musik war ihm die einzig mögliche Form ganzer Wirklichkeit geworden, sie drückte ihm die geheimsten Wünsche des kosmischen Willens aus. Von allen Dingen, die je Klang und Gefühl wurden, war ihm das traute Volkslied "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore" die beste Inspiration von Sinn und Wert des Willens in ihm. Nicht Todestrunkenheit quoll aus dem Willen seiner Existenz, sondern der Lebenswille, der sich im Leiden zu idealer Grösse reckt. Den Frieden dieses *grossen bürgerlichen Lebens* zu finden, treibt es ihn, als er in dem Granatfeuer bei Langemark unseren Augen entschwindet.

Versucht man eine Kritik dieses Romans, so kommt man zunächst auf den *Grundbegriff natürlicher Bildsamkeit*,⁶⁸ wie ihn Goethe in seinem "Wilhelm Meister" ausgesprochen hat. Er besteht darin, dass die Phantasie des Künstlers der schöpferischen Intention der Natur nachhelfen, das Organische in seiner inneren Idee organisieren müsse. Der Bildungsroman von Thomas Mann unterscheidet sich wesentlich von diesem idealen Zweck des Künstlertums, wie sehr er auch die typische Form

⁶⁷ Fröhliche Wissenschaft, 1882. Aphorismus: Seufzer des Erkennenden und der tolle Mensch. Cfr. Morgenröte, 1881. Die neue Leidenschaft. Zarathustravorrede: Gott ist tot. Ferner: Stefan Zweig: Der Kampf mit dem Dämon, Insel-Verlag.

⁶⁸ Cfr. Spengler: Untergang des Abendlandes und F. Gundolf: Goethe, sowie H. A. Korff: Geist der Goethezeit, Leipzig, 1923.

hermetisch-pädagogischen Erkenntnisstrebens mit ihm gemeinsam hat. Man möchte weiter die Anschauung der Romantik über die Aufgaben des Romans und besonders die Auffassung Fr. von Schlegels über Goethes "Wilhelm Meister"⁶⁹ beim Zauberberg verwenden.

Die Romantik sah allgemein im Roman die umfassendste Darstellung der soziologischen Wesenheiten einer Zeit. In dem berühmten Fragment Fr. Schlegels, das als klassischer Beweis gilt für den Begriff der Romantik als progressiver Universalpoesie wird der Roman wie das "Epos ein Spiegel der ganzen umgebenden Welt, ein Bild des Zeitalters." Gab es über die Kulturanalyse hinaus ein höheres Ziel, so lebte es ohne Kontakt mit den Mächten des wirklichen Lebens, wengleich nicht ohne ironische Inspiration für den Geist. Er kann "frei von allem realen und idealen Interesse auf den Flügeln der poetischen Reflexion in der Mitte schweben, diese Reflexion wieder potenzieren und wie in einer endlosen Reihe von Spiegeln vervielfachen."⁶⁰ Auch der Zauberberg verfolgt im Innersten die Absicht, ein ungeheures Kulturgemälde unserer Zeit zu sein. In der möglichst allseitigen, ironisch-reflexiven Beschreibung jedes Lebenskreises sieht Thomas Mann den absoluten Zweck seines Werkes. Eine Erfüllung der inneren Sinnhaftigkeit seiner Idee oder eine dichterische Gestaltung ihres romantischen Stimmungscharakters, auf den die magische Poesie eines Tieck und Novalis so grossen Wert legte, kennt er nicht, weil er den Willen "im Dienste der Wünschbarkeit" weder denkt noch fühlt. Ganz unpathetisch, aber behaglich getrieben von einer Ironie, die nicht im platonischen Sinne "ein zartes, geflügeltes und heiliges Ding" ist, sondern in intellektueller "Urbanität" sich gefällt und genügt, fliesst die Erzählung dahin, um das epische Zeitmass suggestiver Breite erst spät zu beschleunigen. Thomas Mann hat seine Vorliebe für den Roman als umfassenden Typus der Wortkunst in seinem "Versuch über das Theater" ausgesprochen: "Der epische Vortrag ist kein Gerede, sondern ein Darstellungsmittel, und wer erfahren hat, welcher ironischen Unverbindlichkeit, welcher feinsten Indirektheit er fähig ist, der weiss, dass der Roman an Raffinement der Technik dem Drama zum mindesten nicht nachsteht."⁶¹ Diese Auffas-

⁶⁹ Athenaeum I, 2, 147ff. Cfr. Haym-Walzel 135 f, 287ff.

⁶⁰ Athenaeum, Fragment 116. Cfr. A. 247.

⁶¹ Th. Mann, Rede und Antwort, 29. Berlin S. Fischer

sung des Romans erinnert an die vorherrschende Ansicht der Romantik, die bekanntlich im Bereich des Dramas so wenig erfolgreich war. Sie versucht gleichzeitig den Roman zur repräsentativen Grundform künstlerischen Schaffens zu machen, was für die deutsche Kunstlehre, in der Lyrik und Dramatik, immer noch höchste Wertung erfahren, schwer angeht. Der Einfluss des ausländischen Romans auf die Einstellung Thomas Manns lässt sich besonders im Zauberberg nachweisen. Nicht so sehr der französische Experimentalroman gewann im Zauberberg Einfluss als vielmehr der psychologische Roman eines Tolstoi und Dostojewski. Bei Tolstoi ward Thomas Mann nach dem ahnungsschweren Seelenstudium in "Krieg und Frieden" und in "Anna Karenina" neue Kunde von den göttlichen Funktionen der Güte und Bruderliebe. Beide Segensmächte gaben unserem Autor wachsendes Verständnis für die Triebkräfte des organischen Vitalismus bei Goethe.⁶² Uns scheint, dass auch die nüchterne nicht selten verächtliche Sachlichkeit in der Schilderung von Umwelt und Menschen, die bei Tolstoi eine so grosse Rolle spielt, stilbildnerischen Einfluss auf unseren Autor gewonnen hat. Von Dostojewski aber kommt ihm das unterirdische Wissen um alle Geheimnisse des Innern, aus dessen feuchter Dämmerung nur die Nacht und nicht der Tag einer Seele emporsteigen kann. Gerade dieses schamlose Wissen und unselige Forschen erzeugt auch im Zauberberg eine Physiognomik, die dem "Kellerschlupfmenschen" Dostojewskis oder gar dem "hässlichsten Menschen" Nietzsches tief verwandt ist.⁶³ Mit Recht wird daher dem Zauberberg ein erschreckender Mangel an Menschlichkeit vorgeworfen, weil das edle Lächeln des Humors fehlt, das gnädig verhüllt, schont und versöhnt.

Alles, was der Roman an Schönheiten enthält, und wahrhaftig es ist nicht nur die Schönheit des Wortes, das jeweils unverrückt an der rechten Stelle zu stehen scheint, wird voll anerkannt. Es sind die grossartigen Schilderungen von Meer und Hochgebirge und ganz allgemein die in kleinster Wortmalerei erreichte Symbolik des Verfalls. Besonders im Schneekapitel,⁶⁴ einem

⁶² Cfr. Manns Wiener Rede über Goethe und Tolstoi in: *Bemühungen*, Berlin S. Fischer, 1925.

⁶³ Leo Schestow: *Dostojewski und Nietzsche*, ferner: *Tolstoi und Nietzsche* übers. Marcan-Verlag, Köln 1923-24.

⁶⁴ *Zauberberg*, Berlin S. Fischer, 1925. Seite 213-262.

der schönsten Stücke des zweibändigen Werkes, in dem alle Empfindungen und alle Erlebnisse einer Seele divinatorische Deutung erfahren, gelingt es Mann herrlich, den individuellen Umkreis von Natur und Leben in die Weite des Universalen zu dehnen. Das Schneekapitel rettet die Seele einer entseelten Existenz und zeigt am besten, in welche Höhe romantischer Schönheit der Verfasser hätte steigen können, wenn er selbst weniger *Literat* und mehr echter *Dichter*⁶⁶ gewesen wäre. Ein romantisches Hochziel im Rhythmus organischer Allpoesie fehlt dem Zauberberg. Vielleicht darf man sagen, zum Schaden tiefster Wirkung, die er im Tod von Venedig durch den Mythos der Schönheit erzielt hatte. Betrachtet man aber den Roman als eine abschliessende Studie des Verfalls und sieht man darin die intentionale Erscheinung seines künstlerischen Zwecks, so muss man sagen, mit höchster Kunst hat Mann dieser Bestimmung genügt. Der Roman zieht das endgültige Fazit der *décadence* als Entartung und Verwesung wie sie Nietzsche in seinen moralinfreien Epigrammen karikiert hatte. Er schildert die Gespenster verfallenden Lebens in herzbetäubender Sachlichkeit und in der moralischen Gleichgültigkeit künstlerischer Form. Die intellektuale Ironie eines Menschen, der sich selbst dem Verfall preisgegeben weiss und dessen Sehnsucht zum echten Leben und zu persönlicher Substanz nicht gross und stark genug ist, das gesunde und normale Leben in Leid und Liebe zu erlangen, geistert auf allen Gebieten des Wissens krank umher. Eine Summierung vorhandener Werte wird vorgenommen, die durch individuelle Kunstgriffe derart transparent erscheinen, dass man glauben möchte, sie lockten den Skeptiker des Lebens von der Höhe einer neuen Potenz. Der Abschluss von Langemark ist nur ein äusseres Finale der Komposition. Wie in der Familiengeschichte der Buddenbrooks jener dionysische Hymnus an das Leben das eigentliche Endziel bildete, so im Zauberberg, der durch biologische Vertrautheit mit der Dämonie des Todes versöhnen möchte

⁶⁶ Das Thema: Literat und Dichter behandelt ein offener Brief, den der Novellist J. Ponten in der Deutschen Rundschau, Okt. 1924 an Th. Mann gerichtet hat. Veranlasst wurde der Brief durch den Festgruss Manns an Ricarda Huch zu deren 60. Geburtstag. Ponten unterscheidet scharf den reflexiven Literaten, der den Geist skeptischer Ironie ausliefert, von dem organischen Dichter mit positiver Ironie.

jene Worte des Wachtraums im Schnee: "Der Mensch soll um der Güte willen dem Tode keine Herrschaft einräumen über seine Gedanken."⁶⁶

Schon in der Einleitung sagten wir, dass die rein kausale Betrachtung des Lebens mehr und mehr der morphologischen Betrachtung sich verbinde. Es ist tragisch, dass diese morphologische Auffassung der Dinge entstand und gefordert wurde in einer Zeit, die Spuren organischen Verfalls unverkennbar auf der Stirne trägt. Der dialektische Umschlag in der Geschichte menschlichen Geistes scheint es zu wollen, dass jenen Jahren, wo jeder Mensch eigene Versuchsperson krankhaft experimenteller Psychologie war, eine Zeit folgt, in der ein jeder sich wieder einfühlt in die grossen Strukturgesetze und Sinnzusammenhänge des Naturlebens. Im Sinne dieses organischen Kritizismus müssen wir das letzte Werk von Thomas Mann als die prächtige Abendröte eines vergangenen Tages begrüßen. Dabei hegen wir aber nach seiner Wendung der naturalistischen Methode in eine symbolisch-organische die Hoffnung, dass er durch seine Meisterwerke in der Analytik des Verfalls geschult, am ehesten geeignet ist, das Programm eines organischen Kritizismus künstlerisch zu erfüllen. Im System der Sittenlehre hat Fichte wohl unter der Einwirkung der jungen Romantik, die je seine transzendente Methode verfocht, einen Abschnitt über die Pflichten des aesthetischen Künstlers eingeschaltet. Da heisst es, dass sich die Kunst "an das ganze Gemüt"⁶⁷ in Vereinigung seiner Vermögen" wende. Gewiss kommt darin der Gedanke Mendelssohns und Kants von der Vollkommenheit

⁶⁶ Zauberberg, 2. Bd. Kap. Schnee, 260. Cfr. Hans Brandenburg: Zu Thomas Manns 50. Geburtstag. Deutsche Rundschau, Juni 1925. Ders.: Die schöne Literatur. Mai 1925. Thomas Manns Zauberberg. Arthur Eloesser: Thomas Mann, sein Leben und Werk, Berlin S. Fischer 1925. war uns bei der Niederschrift dieser Studie nicht zugänglich. Nun können wir nachtragen, dass die Schrift wertvolles biographisches Material bietet. Anschaulich schildert sie, wie das Münchener Künstlerleben eine Fundstätte zahlreicher Motive und Modelle für Thomas Mann gewesen ist. Die Hinweise auf Arthur Holitscher: "Lebensgeschichte eines Rebellen" und Kurt Martens: "Schonungslose Lebenschronik" bringen uns den Künstler Thomas Mann auch menschlich näher.—Karl Helbling: Die Gestalt des Künstlers in der neueren Dichtung. Eine Studie über Thomas Mann, Bern 1922 wurde uns durch die Rezension von Walter A. Berendsohn bekannt. Euphorion, 1926. Bd. 27. Heft 1. 135–138.

⁶⁷ Vergl. den tiefdringenden und aufschlussreichen Artikel *Gemüt* von Rudolf Hildebrand in Grimms Wörterbuch.—Editor.

aller Seelenkräfte, die erst durch das ganze Vermögen der Vorstellungen, also Einbildungskraft und Verstand, begründet werde, zum Vorschein. Wir möchten weitergehen in der Deutung des *Gemüts* bei Fichte und mit ihm hinzufügen: der Philosoph erzeugt die natürliche und sittliche Welt in methodischer Absicht, der aesthetische Künstler aber findet diese Welt schlechthin als *gegeben* vor. Der Begriff der Aesthetik wird hier auf seinen Ursprung aus der Sinneserkenntnis gebracht, den er bei Baumgarten und Kant hatte. Im Gemüt als der rezeptiven und produktiven Einheit der Sinne bleibt ein unmittelbarer Zugang offen von der subjektiven Kultur zur konkreten Natur, das Gemüt des musischen Geistes wird dadurch zum Medium kosmischer Perspektive.

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THE MIDDLE-CLASS READER AND THE ENGLISH NOVEL

Taught by the modern scientific methods of observing human behavior, the student today generally inclines to regard literary history as a record of men's experiences conditioned by specific circumstances. Habits of life and patterns of thought created by economic as well as by political and religious conditions afford certain explanations of the artistic theories and literary preferences of a given time. Investigation from such a position of economic determinism may well be made of the effects upon literature of the eighteenth century of the rise to wealth, power, and education of the English middle class.

This group, with its ideals rooted in puritanism and trade,¹ comprised a large section of the reading-public which even in the century before had exercised an influence upon literature more apparent in contemporary publishers' lists than in the conventional discussions of the writing of the period in later histories of literature. As Professor Arber said in his preface to the third volume of the *Term Catalogues*: "We must largely revise our ideas of the general characteristics of English literature during the Restoration Age. . . . It is the religious people first, and the scientists next that made the fortunes of the London Book Trade."

To the ideas derived from puritanism and trade should be added in our diagnosis mental attitudes frequently apparent in newly enriched groups from that day to this, factors combining to form the pattern of middle-class behavior in the eighteenth century. Characteristic are such attitudes of mind, for example, as an eager, if naïve, curiosity about the world, expressed in terms of both social and geographical exploration, often enjoyed vicariously through books or the stage; sentimentalism, variously manifested in personal conduct and popular philosophical theories; a zeal for education as a means of practical success, of personal cultivation, and of social prestige; and a sense of

¹ For a discussion of the inherent fitness of Puritanism to be the religion of the commercial classes see Tawney, "Religious Thought on Social and Economic Questions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Jour. of Pol. Econ.*, (XXXI (1923) 673ff.

social responsibility concerned for the welfare of the community and the family.

The literary needs of the great class of potential readers thus endowed did much, I believe, to create the English novel in its image and likeness at about the beginning of the eighteenth century. To demonstrate the recognition in their own day of the growing importance of this class seems to me useful, then, to literary history, and especially to any study interested in tracing the development of English fiction out of romances, heroic and picaresque, and sensational scandal novels, into realistic accounts of middle-class life and manners, and tales of the surprising adventures of heroes of the same familiar class.

It is the purpose, therefore, of this study to suggest briefly ✓ some of the steps in the development of this class of readers, bringing to bear upon the subject contemporary evidence: to indicate the growing recognition of the merchant as a person of interest to the reading-public and to the theatre-going public of which he was a part; to trace the gathering respect for the magnitude of British trade, and for the power and dignity of those who directed it; to note in this connection the improved social standing of the merchant and his family due to his possession of wealth, leisure, and education; and, finally, to show the importance to literature of the patronage of this newly enfranchised group.

I.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS AS PORTRAYED IN LITERATURE

Hogarth, in the progress of the Industrious Apprentice from his master's shop to the Mansion House, may be said to have depicted the folk-hero of the first half of the eighteenth century. A self-made man, the successful merchant was raised to epic dignity by the glorification of his practical virtues in an age suffering from the effects of impracticality and license. A man of the real world of goods and chattels, he became in popular imagination the guardian of the hearth, the defender of the moral code, and the bulwark of national prosperity.² This middle-class hero, as he became the middle-class reader, tended

² On the effect of the City upon literature at the end of the seventeenth century see Beljame, *Le public et les hommes de lettres en Angleterre au dix-huitième siècle, 1660-1774* (Paris, 1883), pp. 198-199.

to stamp with his own characteristic vices and virtues, his characteristic manners, sentiments, and ambitions; the new form of the novel.

It was not accident, I believe, that the apotheosis of the middle-class hero coincided with the rise of a literary form which treated realistically common experiences of characters in the middle walks of life, supplanting, meanwhile, the romances which had detailed the exotic adventures of knights and rogues for the smaller group of seventeenth century readers of fiction. It was not coincidence, but the operation in the literary market of the laws of supply and demand which turned the attention of shrewd writers to the tastes and interests of a large group of readers steadily growing in wealth and education. To Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding, and to their minor contemporaries, such a reading-public must have seemed noteworthy even had these authors not been allied to it by ties of blood or marriage.

On the stage the middle class appeared early. In Steele's *Conscious Lovers* (1722) the father of the heroine is "an eminent merchant of Bristol." Conscious of the new dignity of his class, he addresses the aristocratic Sir John Bevil: "Sir, as much a cit as you take me for," he declares, "I know the town and the world. Give me leave to say that we merchants are a species of gentry that have grown into the world this last century, and are as honourable and almost as useful, as you landed folk, that have always thought yourselves so much above us." (Act IV, sc. ii.) Such men neither Sir John nor his prototypes in real life dared ignore. Boswell quotes Johnson's comment: "An English merchant is a new species of gentlemen," echoing Mr. Sealand's speech.³ A few years later Thorowgood, the merchant in Lillo's *London Merchant* (1731), in a conversation with his assistant, Trueman, gives expression to the idealization of the merchant's calling which at that time ran parallel to the contempt of the gentry for the cit. "As the name of merchant never degrades the gentleman," says Thorowgood, "so by no means does it exclude him." (Act I, sc. i.) The metaphysics of his profession he expounds at the beginning of the third act:

Methinks I wou'd not have you only learn the method of merchandize, and practise it hereafter, merely as a means of getting wealth.

³ Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Oxford, 1924) I, 329 n.

'Twill be worth your pains to study it as a science. See how it is founded in reason, and the nature of things; how it has promoted humanity, as it has opened and yet keeps up an intercourse between nations, far remote from one another in situation, customs, and religion; promoting arts, industry, peace, and plenty; by mutual benefits diffusing mutual love from pole to pole.

Lillo's play was dedicated to Sir John Eyles, a citizen of London, sometime member of Parliament, alderman of London, and Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company. In the *Spectator*, meanwhile, Sir Andrew Freeport, the most intelligent if not the most learned of the familiar group, had delivered for the benefit of Sir Roger and his admirers a disquisition on the relative importance to the nation of the merchant and the landed classes. Less flattering than these was the satirical portrait of young Mr. Ledger in Coleman's *Polly Honeycomb*, a suitor condemned by the romantic heroine as "more tiresome than the multiplication table."

In the fiction of the period, in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders*, for example, the background characters if not the principal actors tended to come more and more from this same class. To the middle class belonged the Harlowe family of Richardson's masterpiece, conscious of a social inferiority to Lovelace despite their moral rectitude. To that class in life as well as in fiction belonged the family of Fielding's Amelia, drawn from the belle of Salisbury whom he married. Moreover, in short narratives, like those in Elizabeth Rowe's *Letters from the Dead to the Living*, the domestic virtues of the merchant and his family are eulogistically contrasted with the depravity of the gentry.

II.

CONTEMPORARY RECORDS OF MIDDLE-CLASS PROGRESS

More matter-of-fact documents of the same period as these plays and novels testify to the social progress of the middle-class: to their rise from a state in which connection with merchandizing was held a mark of obliquity, to a position of such honor as to inspire one author, in a book of *Moral Tales* for children, to write:

You live in a mercantile country, my son, and I wish you to think respectfully of the character of the merchant. . . . I need not say which is most useful to a nation; a lord powdered in the tip of the mode, who knows exactly what

o'clock the king rises and goes to bed, and who gives himself airs of grandeur and state, at the same time that he is acting the slave in the anti-chamber of a prime minister; or a merchant, who enriches his country, despaches orders from his compting-house to Surat and Grand Cairo; and contributes to the felicity of the world.⁴

The earlier steps in this progress are to be traced in Edward Chamberlayne's popular handbook entitled, in its later form, *Magna Britanniae Notitia, Or The Present State of Great Britain*. Through the years 1669–1755 this work bore more or less reluctant testimony to the elevation in power and public estimation of the merchant class.

Born a gentleman and educated at Oxford, Chamberlayne served as secretary to the Earl of Carlyle after the Restoration, and later to the Duke of Grafton and to the Prince of Denmark.⁵ The aristocratic bias to be expected appears in all those sections of early editions of his handbook which define and describe the degrees of men in the social scale.

Connection with trade is despicable in Chamberlayne's eyes. He writes scathingly of tradesmen, barring them from hope of gentility:

The state of Gentry was anciently such, that it was accounted abasing of Gentry to put their Sons to get their Living by Shop-keeping; and our Law did account it a disparagement of a Ward in Chivalry, to be married to a Shopkeeper's Daughter, or to any mere Citizen; for Tradesmen in all Ages and Nations have been reputed ignoble in regard to the doubleness of their Tongue . . . without which they hardly grow rich. . . . So by Imperial Laws, a Tradesman is not capable of any Honourable Estate, nor to be a Commander over Soldiers; and therefore the English Nobility and Gentry till within late years judged it a Stain and Diminution to the Honour and Dignity of their Families, to seek their Children's Support by Shopkeeping, but only (as in all great Monarchies) by Military, Court, State, or Church Employment, much less their Children to an Apprentisage, a perfect Servitude; . . . which Marks of Slavery considered, Heralds are of Opinion, that a Gentleman thereby loseth his Gentility forever, till he can otherwise recover it.⁶

Yet the degeneracy of his own times in this matter he recognizes; and he pauses to denounce it in good set terms:

⁴ Percival, Thomas, *A Father's Instruction; consisting of Moral Tales, Fables, and Reflections*, Eighth Edition (London, 1793), pp. 82–83.

⁵ D. N. B.

⁶ This statement is repeated in all the early editions which I have been able to consult; namely, the 3rd edit., 1669; 6th edit., 1672; 7th edit., 1673; 17th edit., 1692.

And yet the shame of our Nation, we have seen of late not only the Sons of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen sitting in the Shops, and sometimes of peddling Trades, far more fit for Women and their Daughters, but also an Earl of this Kingdom subjecting his son to an Apprentisage and Trade; but the Folly of the English in swerving from their Ancestors herein (and in other things) is now apparent; for those young Gentlemen possessing more noble and active Spirits, could not brook such dull slavish Lives; and being thereby unfitted for other Employments have generally taken to debauched Courses."⁷

By 1700, however, expediency seems to have dictated some grudging modification of this withering paragraph, reduced now to the meagre statement:

Guillum is of the Opinion, that if a Gentleman be bound an Apprentice to a Merchant, or other Trade, he hath not thereby lost his Degree of Gentility.⁸

Chamberlayne's religious associations were naturally with the Church of England and antagonistic to Dissent.⁹ Therefore in this same nineteenth edition of his handbook, in 1700, he compensates for reluctant modifications of his position at other points by a violent vilification of the Dissenters. "The Dissenters from the Church of England," he writes, "are of these five Sorts: Libertines, Papists, Anabaptists, Independents, and Presbyterians."¹⁰ And again:

" . . . the greatest blemish to Religion amongst us is the pittyable number of Dissenters from the established Church, some prejudiced by Education, some by Sensuality, some by Interest, and some few by misguided Zeal, for having repented of their former ill Courses, whilst they called themselves Members of the Church of England, they think they cannot thoroughly change their Lives without changing their Religion too, becoming, like stray sheep, an easie Prey to the next Claimer."¹¹

No edition of the work appeared between the 19th edition of 1700 and the 20th of 1703, the year in which Defoe published his satire, *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*, with disastrous results to himself. In this year Edward Chamberlayne died, and in 1704 (the year in which Harley procured, through the

⁷ Chamberlayne, Edw., *Angliae Notitia; or, the Present State of England*, 17th edit. (London, 1692), p. 259.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19th edit. (London, 1700), p. 295.

⁹ See his early works: *The Converted Presbyterian, or the Church of England Justified in Some Practices* (1668); and, *An Academy or College wherein young Ladies and Gentlemen may at a very Moderate Expence be Educated in the True Protestant Religion and in all Vertuous Qualities* (1671).

¹⁰ Chamberlayne, *op. cit.*, (London, 1700), p. 250.

¹¹ Chamberlayne, *op. cit.* (1700), p. 249.

Queen, Defoe's release from prison) the 21st edition of the handbook appeared quite changed in tone. This volume was announced as by Edward Chamberlayne but "continued by his Son, John Chamberlayne, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Society." The younger man obviously felt the force of political and economic expediency. He was in touch with the court, with Whigs, merchants, and Dissenters through his connection with Queen Anne's Bounty Commission, the Commission of Peace for Middlesex, and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. In his first preface, therefore, after referring feelingly to the death of his father, he directed the attention of his readers to certain innovations in his volume. "First, then," he writes, "I have taken care to adjust it exactly to the Present Time. I have carefully revised the whole Book. . . ." ¹²

Subsequently in the 22nd edition, not published until 1707, he speaks of the Commons of England with a sudden deference notably at variance with the aristocratic contempt of the elder Chamberlayne. To the son these classes represent power and patronage which it behooves a canny editor to cultivate. He, therefore, writes:

Amongst the Commons of England . . . are reckoned Tradesmen, among whom Merchants in Foreign Traffick, have, for their great benefit to the Publick, and for their Endowments and generous Living, been of best Repute in England; where as well as in Italy, to become a Merchant of Foreign Commerce, hath been allowed no Disparagement to a Gentleman born, especially to a younger Brother.

Amongst Tradesmen, in the first place are Whole-sale-men, then Retailers; lastly Mechanics, or Handicrafts-Men. These are all capable of bearing some Sway or Office in Cities and Towns Corporate. ¹³

¹² *Op. cit.* (1704), preface. A reprint of this edition, also in 1704, is announced as containing "An Account of the Society for Propagating Religion at Home and in Foreign Parts; and for Reformation of Manners: Never Before Published." *Term Catalogues*, III, 418.

¹³ Chamberlayne, *op. cit.* (1707), p. 296. This section continues: "The lowest Members, the Feet of the Body Politick, are the Day-Labourers, who by their large Wages, and Cheapness of all Necessaries, enjoy better Dwellings, Diet, and Apparel in England, than the Husbandmen or Farmers do in most other Countries." It is worth noting, however, that in the 35th edition of 1735 (the work was published after John Chamberlayne's death in 1723 by a group of booksellers) there is added to this last paragraph a parenthetical passage as follows: "The Wages of Day-Labourers being but Eight or Ten pence a Day, in Countries distant from London, those who have large Families find it very difficult frequently to find them bread." In this form the matter stands in the last and 38th edition of 1755.

Only four years later "the great benefit to the publick" derived from these "Merchants in Foreign Traffick" received at the hands of the *Spectator* a magnificent eulogy:

... there are not more useful Members in a Commonwealth than Merchants. They knit Mankind together in a mutual Intercourse of good Offices, distribute the Gifts of Nature, find Work for the Poor, add Wealth to the Rich, and Magnificence to the Great. Our *English* Merchant converts the Tin of his own Country into Gold, and exchanges his Wooll for Rubies. The *Mahometans* are clothed in our *British* Manufacture, and the Inhabitants of the Frozen Zone warmed with the Fleeces of our Sheep.

When I have been upon the 'Change, I have often fancied one of our old Kings standing in Person, where he is represented in Effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy Concourse of People with which that Place is every Day filled. In this Case, how would he be surprized to hear all the Languages of *Europe* spoken in this little spot of his former Dominions, and to see so many private Men, who in his Time would have been the Vassals of some powerful Baron, Negotiating like Princes for greater Sums of Money than were formerly to be met with in the Royal Treasury! Trade, without enlarging the *British* Territories, has given us a kind of additional Empire: It has multiplied the Number of the Rich, made our Landed Estates infinitely more Valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an Accession of other Estates as Valuable as the Lands themselves.

(*The Spectator*, No. 69)

John Chamberlayne's edition of 1707 is notable also for a patriotic invective directed against a rival handbook edited by a Swiss, Guy Miege, whose liberal sympathies had made him since 1691 a dangerous competitor.¹⁴

Miege's *The New State of England under their Majesties King William and Queen Mary* had succeeded in blurring almost completely the old lines of social demarcation so reluctantly modified by Edward Chamberlayne. Miege wrote in 1691:

Gentlemen are properly such as are descended of a good family, bearing a Coat of Arms without any particular Title. And these we call Gentlemen born.

But Use has so far stretched the significance of this word, both high and low, that every Nobleman, nay the King himself, may be called a Gentleman. And, on the other side, anyone that without a Coat of Arms, has either a liberal, or genteel Education, that looks Gentlemanlike (whether he be so or not) and has wherewithal to live freely and handsomely, is by the Courtesy of England usually called a Gentleman.¹⁵

¹⁴Vide D. N. B.

¹⁵Miege, *The New State of England* (London, 1691), Part II, p. 228. Miege also in passing does full justice to the dignity of the independent farmer: "Yeoman are such amongst the Commonalty who having Lands of their own

The last sentence (in which the italics are my own) sums up the change that was coming over the face of the nation. Miege adds a glowing encomium on the Merchant, much in the manner of Thorowgood and Sir Andrew Freeport:

✓ But as England is one of the most trading Countries in Europe, so the greatest Body of its Commonwealth is that of Traders, or Men that live by Buying and Selling.

The most eminent whereof are those we call Merchants, who trade only by Whole-sale. These are Men who, by their Toil and Industry, have found the Way, not only to Inrich themselves, and to make the whole Nation thrive and flourish by a perpetual Circulation of Trade, by importing foreign Commodities, and by encouraging thereby Navigation, and by procuring comfortable Employment to a vast Number of Artificers, Tradesmen, and Retailers.¹⁶

III.

“THE CITIZEN TURN’D GENTLEMAN”¹⁷

To make a gentleman out of a prosperous Dissenting shop-keeper was, therefore, one of the serious undertakings of the period, and one variously reflected in literature. The Industrious Apprentice sought access not only to the coach of the Lord Mayor but also to the drawing rooms of the great and the salons of the learned.

The social stigma attached to trade, reflected in Chamberlayne’s early strictures, was even in his time diminishing as the result of alliances between the citizenry and the scions of the land-poor nobility. While Mrs. Behn was dramatizing the fortunes of *The City Heiress* (1682), and Sir William Temple in his essay *Of Popular Discontent* was lamenting the growing tendency of noble families to marry “into the city for downright money,”¹⁸ Bishop Burnet was noting with approval the sobriety and benevolence of the citizens of the town. In the conclusion

to a good value, Keep it in their own Hands, husband it themselves, and live with their families upon it. . . . And whereas Husbandry is commonly looked upon as the most innocent Life, and the freest from the Corruption and Cheats that attend other Professions, therefore the Law of England has a better Opinion of the Yeomanry that occupy Lands, than of Tradesmen or artificers.” Such sentiments may throw new light on the cordial reception accorded Thomson’s *Seasons*, and other works celebrating the virtues of rural life, a little later.

¹⁶ Miege, *The New State of England* (London, 1691), Part II, p. 229.

¹⁷ Ravenscroft, Edw., *The Citizen Turn’d Gentleman*, London, 1672.

¹⁸ Temple, Wm., *Works* (London, 1814), III, 59.

to the *History of His Own Times*, penned in 1708, at the end of his life, he wrote:

As for the men of trade and business, they are, generally speaking, the best body in the nation, generous, sober, and charitable; so that, while the people in the country are so immersed in their own affairs, that the sense of religion cannot reach them, there is a better spirit stirring in our cities; more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior, mixed with these in the capital city; but upon the whole they are the best we have.¹⁹

Wealth was providing the merchant's family with leisure and luxury. Defoe in that ostensible record of a *Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* in 1722 describes the people of Salisbury who, he says, "are gay, and rich, and have flourishing trade." "There is a great deal of good Manners and good Company among them, . . . I mean among the Citizens, as besides what is found among the Gentlemen," he hastens to explain.²⁰ The country places of "Private Families" in the suburbs of London he boasts of with what is obviously a partisan pride:

These fine Houses and innumerable more, which cannot be spoken of here, are not, at least very few of them, the Mansion houses of Families, the Ancient Residences of Ancestors . . . but these are . . . Gentlemen's meer Summer-Houses, or Citizen's Country Houses; whither they retire from the hurries of Business, and from getting money, to draw their breath in clear Air, and to divert themselves and Families in the hot weather; and . . . they are shut up, and as it were strip'd of their inhabitants in Winter, who return to Smoke and Dirt, Sin and Seacoal (as it was coarsly express'd) in the busy City; so that in short, all this variety, this Beauty, the glorious Show of Wealth and Plenty, is really a view of the Luxuriant Age which we live in and of the overflowing Riches of the Citizens, who in their abundance make these gay Excursions, and live thus deliciously all Summer, retiring within themselves in the Winter, the better to lay up for the next summer's Expende.

If this then is produc'd from the gay part of the Town only, what must be the immense Wealth of the City itself, where such a produce is brought forth where such prodigious Estates are raised in one Man's Age; instances of which we have seen in those of Sir Josiah Child, Sir John Lethulier, Sir James Bateman, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir William Scawen, and Hundreds more; whose beginnings were small, or small compar'd, and who have exceeded even the greatest Part of the Nobility of England in Wealth, at their Death, and all of their own getting.²¹

¹⁹ Burnet, *History of His Own Times* (Oxford, 1833), IV, 215.

²⁰ Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London, 1724-25-27), Vol. I, Letter iii, p. 29.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Letter ii, pp. 126-27.

By the middle of the century Chamberlayne's handbook spares no words in a description of London's commercial glory:

The vast Traffick and Commerce whereby this City flourishes, may be guessed at chiefly by the Customs which are paid for Merchandize imported or exported. . . . And next by the infinite Number of Ships, which, by their Masts, resemble a Forest, as they lie along the Thames, besides many that are sent forth every Year, to carry and fetch Commodities to and from all Parts of the known World; and whereby it comes to pass, that no small Number of Merchants of London for Wealth, for stately Houses within the City for Winter, and without for Summer; for rich Furniture, plentiful Tables, and honourable Living; for great estates in Money and Land, etc., excel some Princes in divers of our neighboring Nations.²²

As one reads this account of the affluence of the eighteenth century merchant, one recalls Guy Miegé's statement that "by the Courtesy of England" anyone is usually called a Gentleman that "has either a liberal, or genteel Education, that looks Gentlemanlike . . . and has wherewithal to live freely and handsomely."²³

— Excess and stupidity in the use of wealth was the inevitable accompaniment of sudden social enfranchisement. The extravagance and frivolity of some of the citizenry, suggested by Bishop Burnet in 1708, is more fully described by a writer in *Applebee's Journal* in 1720: "Our South-Sea Equipages increase every day," he declares; "the City-Ladies buy South-Sea jewels, hire South-Sea Maids; and take South-Sea Houses; the Gentlemen set up South-Sea Coaches, and buy South-Sea Estates that they neither examine the Situation, the Nature or Quality or yet the Price of the Purchase."²⁴

Fielding in his pamphlet *An Inquiry into the Cause and late Increase of Robbers* speaks even more bitterly. "Trade hath indeed," complains the author of *Tom Jones*, "given a new face to the whole nation . . . and hath totally changed the manners, customs, and habits of the people, more especially of the lower sort, the narrowness of their fortunes is changed into wealth; the simplicity of their manners into craft, their frugality

²² Chamberlayne (1755), p. 209.

²³ Cf. *Ante*, p. 10.

²⁴ Quoted by Botsford, J. R., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), p. 255.

into luxury, their humility into pride, and their subjection into equality."²⁵

Obviously middle-class manners at home and abroad were matters of concern to themselves and others. Yet the extremes noted by the writer for *Applebee's Journal* and by Henry Fielding were after all but pathological symptoms the observation of which yields knowledge of the normal process. For wealth and leisure led also to education, a check on stupid excesses and a guide to real progress always grasped quickly by the newly rich.

"A liberal or genteel education", with or without a coat of arms, we have seen accepted as a mark of the gentleman by Guy Mieke in 1691. In his last work, the *Complete English Gentleman* Defoe wrote with unlimited faith in the power of education to elevate his class. "Call him what you will," he said, "on account of his blood, and be the race modern and mean as you will, yet if he was sent early to school, has good parts, and has improv'd them by travel, conversation, and reading, and above all with a modest, courteous, gentlemanlike behaviour; despise him as you will, he will be a gentleman in spite of all the distinctions we can make." Out of such a desire for learning, practical and polite, grew the Dissenting Academies of the period, excellent ones like that at Stoke Newington which Defoe and Samuel Wesley attended. Many boys and sometimes their sisters, moreover, were taught by tutors at home. Through education the number of potential patrons of literature was increasing with each generation.

One interesting illustration of the making of a gentleman by just such steps as Guy Mieke and Defoe describe is presented by the Thrals, father and son, as revealed to us by Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale. Boswell quotes Johnson's biography of Mrs. Thrale's father-in-law, who "worked at six shillings a week for twenty years in the great brewery which afterwards became his own." Like the best of his kind, "he gave his son and daughter the best education. . . . His son, both at school and at the University of Oxford, associated with young men of rank. His allowance from his father, after he left college, was

²⁵ Fielding, H., *An Inquiry into the Cause and Late Increase of Robbers* (London, 1751), p. 156.

splendid; no less than a thousand a year.”²⁶ This is the man who married Hester Lynch Salusbury, “a lady of lively talents, improved by education” who was ultimately able to contribute much to the well-being of Dr. Johnson.²⁷

IV.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS READER AND THE NOVEL

Out of this combination of wealth, leisure, and education, emerged a new reading-public modifying the old order: not too sophisticated, ready to be entertained, and within measure instructed, by credible stories, simply told, about people like themselves. For these readers, to whom he belonged by birth and environment, Defoe wrote tales of adventures as real as the life of the London streets which Moll Flanders and Roxana walked, or the well-known seas which Crusoe and Bob Singleton sailed upon. Captain Singleton was, it is true, a pirate, but at the beginning he was an ordinary boy kidnapped from an ordinary nurse-maid in Islington; and at the end he returned in the guise of a successful merchant, having secured a fortune by extraordinarily shrewd and business-like transactions. Moreover, through the accounts of the adventures of Defoe’s characters runs a prudent strain of morality. Hence Dr. Percival in one of his *Moral Tales* for eighteenth century children was able to describe *Robinson Crusoe* as “the best and most entertaining moral romance now extant.”²⁸

Similarly Richardson, a successful printer, with a pious desire to moralize the realistic strain while offering to young readers something better than “the improbable and marvellous with which novels generally abound” wrote of model serving-maids and model gentlemen, and of the domestic differences of a respectable middle-class family. For the same readers Fielding described the touching misfortunes of a faithful wife, the robust adventures of an *enfant trouvé*, and the benevolences of a model squire, drawn from his friend Ralph Allen of Bath,—“a commoner raised higher above the multitude by superior talents

²⁶ Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford, 1924), I, 327–29.

²⁷ Mrs. Thrale wrote similarly of her father-in-law, the brewer, and of how “he educated his son and three daughters in high style.” Piozzi, *Autobiography Letters, and Literary Remains*, ed. A. Haywood (London, 1861), I, 10.

²⁸ Percival, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

than it is in the power of his prince to exalt him." In the introductory chapter to Book VIII of *Tom Jones* Fielding drew a portrait, apparently from the same subject, of an ideal hero, a self-made man endowed with all the public and private virtues in the canon of the sentimentalists.

The close correspondence between the characters and incidents of popular fiction and the activities of contemporary readers is well illustrated by such recognition of benevolence as an attribute of the well-to-do. As Dr. G. F. Whicher has pointed out,²⁹ the current interest in the Foundlings Hospital accounted for a notable revival of the *enfant trouvé* motif in fiction, in Mrs. Haywood's *Fortunate Foundlings* (1744) and in the *Female Foundlings* (1750), for example, as well as in *Tom Jones*. In her essay "On the Origin and Progress of Novel Writing," Mrs. Barbauld asserted specifically the efficacy of fiction in spreading a doctrine of benevolence and sympathy:

Benevolence and sensibility to distress are almost always insisted on in modern books of this kind; and perhaps it is not exaggeration to say that much of the softness of our present manners, much of the tincture of humanity so conspicuous amidst all our vices, is owing to the bias given by our dramatic writings and fictitious stories.³⁰

The humanitarian heroes of the *Fool of Quality* and the *Man of Feeling* had prototypes in such benefactors as the one described in the *Weekly Journal and Saturday Post* for July 9, 1720:

An unnamed but prominent Gentleman of London who has acquired a prodigious fortune in South Sea, [so] that he has relieved a great many unhappy Persons from Prisons, contributed a large Sum to unfortunate Clergymen, lent money to Decaying Tradesmen, without the least Prospect or Expectation of Repayment, and is now actually about building a Charity-School for the poor Children of his own Ward.³¹

Richardson's prefaces and other documents testify, however, to the gusto with which some fiction of the time portrayed the vices of every-day life as well as its virtues. "The present

²⁹ Whicher, G. F., *The Life and Romances of Eliza Haywood* (N. Y., 1915), p. 152.

³⁰ Barbauld, L. A., ed., *The British Novelists* (London, 1820), I, 46.

³¹ Quoted by Botsford, J. B., *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (N. Y., 1924), p. 292; see also Chap. XI on "The Awakening of a Philanthropic Spirit."

Generosity

age is over-run with romances," begins an essay in *The World* for May 10, 1753. "The present race of romance-writers" spend their little art "in weaving into intricacies the more familiar and more comical adventures of a Jack Slap, or a Betty Sallet," dwelling eternally "upon orphan-beggars and serving-men of low degree." Unhappily, the writer continues, very few of the authors "have found out their master's peculiar art of writing upon low subjects without writing in a low manner." "Therefore, Mr. Fitz Adam," the essay concludes, "you should interpose your authority and forbid your readers . . . ever to attempt to open any novel, or romance, unlicensed by you: unless it should happen to be stamp'd Richardson or Fielding"; for too many novels portray the vices "which the vulgar call fun, the people of fashion gallantry; but the middle rank and those of the gentry who continue to go to church" still stigmatize by more opprobrious names.

There is no mistaking the appetite for fiction felt by readers of the century. Mrs. Barbauld declared: "Reading is the cheapest pleasure. . . . the humble novel is always ready to enliven the gloom of solitude to take a man from himself. . . . It is pleasant to the mind to sport in boundless regions of possibility; and to find relief from the sameness of everyday occurrences."²² In his charming little essay on *What Ann Lang Read*, Mr. Edmund Gosse comments upon "the strictly popular publications of a non-literary kind which a generation of the lower middle class" read and threw away: "Eliza [Haywood] was read by servants in the kitchen, by seamstresses, by basket-women, by 'prentices of all sorts, male and female," he writes, "but mostly by the latter. For girls of this sort there was no other reading of a light kind in 1724. . . . The footman might read *Roxana*, and the hackney-writer sit up after his toil over *Moll Flanders*; there was much in these romances to interest men. But what had Ann Lang to do with stories so cold and harsh? She read Eliza Haywood."²³ For such readers and others *Pamela* was intended.

²² Barbauld, L. A., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²³ Gosse, E., *Gossip in a Library* (London, 1913), p. 132.

And even Eliza Haywood, Mrs. Barbauld would say, probably did Ann Lang some good and little harm. "Though a good deal of trash is every season poured out upon the public from our English presses, yet in general our novels are not vicious," she insists, looking back upon the course of English fiction. "Our national taste and habits are still turned toward domestic life and matrimonial happiness, and the chief harm done by the circulating library is occasioned by the frivolity of its furniture and the loss of time incurred. Now and then a girl may be led to elope with a coxcomb; or, if she is handsome, to expect the homage of *Sir Harry* or *My lord*, instead of the plain tradesman suitable to her situation in life."²⁴

Despite Mrs. Barbauld's complaisant judgment, however, the addiction of young ladies to fiction became a serious concern with the moralists. Nevertheless the novel-reading heroine remained a popular satiric type in comedy and fiction throughout the century. Bidly Tipkin, Polly Honeycomb, the mother of Arabella in the *Female Quixote*, Lydia Languish, and Catherine Morland gave encouragement to authors, booksellers, and circulating libraries. Of the indubitable effect of their taste on literature Colman spoke in the prologue to his "Dramatic Novel" *Polly Honeycomb*:

Romance might strike our grave forefather's pomp,
But novel for our buck and lively romp.
Cassandra's folios now no longer read
See two neat pocket-volumes in their stead;
And then so *sensimental* is their stile,
So chaste yet so bewitching all the while!²⁵

And Jane Taylor in her novel *Display* wrote of her heroine:

With the choice of all the volumes in the circulating library of a country town, her reading had been tolerably select. When she left school, her father informed her that 'he did not approve of young girls reading novels': but he had little hope that the prohibition would be regarded, because he believed firmly that 'young girls *would* read novels.'²⁶

²⁴ Barbauld, L. A., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁵ Mrs. Barbauld wrote: "Since the success of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, novels have been as numerous 'as leaves in Vallombrosa.' The indiscriminate passions for them, and their bad effect on the female mind became the object of the satire of Garrick, in a very sprightly piece entitled *Polly Honeycomb*," *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²⁶ Barry, F. V., *Jane Taylor, Prose and Poetry* (London, 1925), p. 60.

Many anxious elders suffered from the same fears as the father of this virtuous heroine: many persons like the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*—in his treatise on *The Ladies Calling*,—like Mrs. Chapone, and the Countess of Carlisle, found relief in hortatory volumes on feminine manners and morals, usually containing a chapter on “Studies.” Others, following the lead of Richardson, attempted to turn to the purposes of instruction this avidity for fiction. Consequently Mrs. Griffith wrote in 1777 in the preface to her *Collection of Novels*:

The sole purpose of this Compilation is to unite the *utile dulci*, by selecting some of the best Novels now extant, and framing them into a Collection, in which no writing tending toward immorality or indecency shall obtain place.

Three years later she brought out *Novelettes, selected for the Use of Young Ladies and Gentlemen; written by Dr. Goldsmith, Mrs. Griffith, etc.*, and wrote in the preface:

The following stories possess all the ease, gaiety, and grace that characterize the polite Circles. . . . It is there alone that those *agremens* of conversation and manners can be acquired—those undefinable elegancies of behaviour which are so necessary to the accomplishment of the Lady as well as the Gentleman.

Obviously Mrs. Griffith and others of her class recognized the importance of the novel to the inexperienced reader as a vehicle of social instruction.

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SHAW'S SAINT JOAN AND SCHILLER'S
JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS

If Bernard Shaw set himself the task of giving a portrayal of Joan of Arc entirely different from any other picture of her, he has been eminently successful. Out of the maze of legend, fiction and garbled history he has endeavored to recreate a Joan as he insists she actually was. In order to achieve this end he has analyzed her life and times, and has deducted a series of ideas which he regards as essential to an understanding of Joan's career. Proceeding from these ideas he has created a character as their logical embodiment. Shaw's approach has been that of an analytical twentieth century mind, intent upon being clever and sophisticated, and tending strongly to use his conception of the Maid as a vehicle to express his own thoughts, predilections and prejudices. Saint Joan differs from the heroine of tradition because she bears the stamp of Shaw's individuality.

In giving his evaluation of the Maid in literature¹ (xxxv ff.) Shaw is but little concerned with doing justice to his predecessors; in fact he seems to derive great pleasure out of belittling their efforts. This is particularly true of his withering comment on Schiller's tragedy which he dismisses with the following summary caustic condemnation (xxxvii): "When we jump over two centuries to Schiller, we find *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* drowned in a witch's caldron of raging romance. Schiller's Joan has not a single point of contact with the real Joan, nor indeed with any mortal woman that ever walked this earth. There is really nothing to be said of his play but that it is not about Joan at all, and can hardly be said to pretend to be; for he makes her die on the battlefield, finding her burning unbearable." Shaw implies that Voltaire's "ribald irreverence is more wholesome than the beglamored sentimentality of Schiller," and speaks of Schiller's tragedy as "romantic nonsense" (xxxviii). Without comment on the relative merits of Schiller's and of Shaw's presentation of Joan, suffice it to say that each of the two

¹ References to Shaw's *Saint Joan* are to pages in the Brentano edition, New York, 1924.

References to *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* are by lines unless other indications are given.

dramas reflects its own epoch as well as much of the individuality of its author. Schiller essayed a poetic version of a subject in which legend is hard to divorce from historical fact. Such a theme was peculiarly suited to treatment as a "romantische Tragödie" as the sub-title implies. Romantic predilection for the miraculous, the supernatural, the individual, the unusual and the imaginative was bound to find the theme of Joan of Arc a fruitful and appealing one. Schiller gave free rein to his poetic imagination, whereas Shaw was concerned largely with ideas which he set forth in a rationalistic manner.

In his lengthy preface Shaw discusses some of the underlying ideas which served him as so many pegs on which to hang his play. He asserts (v) that Joan was "one of the first Protestant martyrs," a thought which is developed convincingly in the drama. She is to be regarded as "one of the first apostles of Nationalism and the first French practitioner of Napoleonic realism in warfare as distinguished from the sporting ransoming chivalry of her time." "In war," says Shaw (xxxiii), "she was as much a realist as Napoleon; she had his eye for artillery and his knowledge of what it could do. She did not expect besieged cities to fall Jerichowise at the sound of her trumpet, but, like Wellington, adapted her methods of attack to the peculiarities of the defence; and she anticipated the Napoleonic calculation that if you only hold on long enough the other fellow will give in." Shaw stresses the presumptuousness of Joan, the pertness of her attitude toward political, ecclesiastical and military authorities, and her insistence upon knowing better than everyone else. In the matter of voices and visions Shaw concludes that Joan's "dramatic imagination played tricks with her senses" (xix). He explains this point as follows (xvii): "There are people in the world whose imagination is so vivid that when they have an idea it comes to them as an audible voice, sometimes uttered by a visible figure." In further support of his efforts at rationalizing the supernatural endowment with which legend has credited Joan, Shaw says (xix): "Joan must be judged a sane woman in spite of her voices because they never gave her any advice that might not have come to her from her mother wit exactly as gravitation came to Newton." Another incident in the Maid's career in which Shaw is profoundly interested is her trial; he insists that it was regular,

careful and conscientious, and that “Joan got a far fairer trial from the Church and the Inquisition than any prisoner of her type and in her situation gets nowadays in any official secular court; and the decision was strictly according to law” (xi).

Both Schiller and Shaw evidently had to struggle with the material on Joan of Arc, the one resorting to a prologue in addition to five full acts and the other to six scenes plus an epilogue. The refractory mass seems to have been difficult to cast into the conventional mould of the drama. Naturally enough, Shaw’s technique is more modern than that of Schiller’s tragedy which preceded *Saint Joan* by fully twelve decades. In accordance with the older tradition, the scenic background of *Die Jungfrau* lacks local color and is practically neutral; in his stage directions Schiller is concerned more with the disposition and grouping of persons on the stage than with decoration and properties. Shaw, however, manifests a greater tendency to individualize both background and characters, though such emphasis falls decidedly on the latter. He indicates a variety of details such as the outward appearance, physique, bearing, age, dress, tone of voice, mood, emotion and the temperamental peculiarities of his personages. Both dramatists introduce grand tableaux with colorful scenes and picturesque, impressive groupings of characters. Outstanding examples of this type in Shaw’s drama are the recognition scene in the castle of Charles at Chinon (35), the trial of Joan in the great stone hall of the castle at Rouen, and the array of spectres in the epilogue. Schiller also has a recognition scene of much splendor (I, sc. 10); in addition he portrays a battle scene (II, sc. 4 ff.), the gorgeous spectacle of the coronation procession (IV, sc. 6), the ovation given Charles and the Maid immediately after the coronation, and the final scene of the tragedy presenting Johanna’s death on the battlefield. Shaw depicts neither the coronation procession nor the turmoil of battle on the stage. Schiller uses music frequently both on and off the stage to produce and heighten emotional effects; for him it is a valuable accessory to romantic tragedy, whereas Shaw makes but one reference to music (78). In addition to the repeated use of drums, trumpets and martial music, Schiller employs the orchestra. Johanna’s soliloquy (2518 ff.) is accompanied by flutes and oboes behind the scene; they play a sweet, seductive melody whose sensuous

appeal adds to the terror in the guilt-laden soul of the heroine. Schiller makes frequent use of the soliloquy, employing it in every act but the last; the more modern technique of Shaw dispenses with it altogether. The diction of Schiller's poetical verse drama is formal and elevated, but Shaw's prose is realistic, concrete, individualistic, colloquial and at times decidedly commonplace. He has not affected archaisms with the intention of seeming to create a fifteenth century atmosphere, but obviously made it a point to avail himself of twentieth century equivalents, resorting to slang whenever it appeared to suit his ends.

The above introductory details, which are largely matters of technique, have been treated in a cursory fashion because they are of but incidental significance. Of far greater importance is the difference in the portrayal of Joan by the two dramatists. It is in keeping with Shaw's rationalization of Joan that he traces succeeding steps in her ascent to power and fame. She appears first as a country maiden trying to convince Baudricourt that she is deserving of a horse, of armor and of safe conduct to the king. Subsequently she is seen to persuade the king that she is worthy of his confidence and of being entrusted with the command of his army. Although Schiller presents the Maid in the prologue in her rural and family environment, he reveals her even there as an inspired seeress, endowed with prophetic vision. Since he accepts her as such at the very beginning, it becomes unnecessary for him to depict her gradual ascent. His strong dramatic instinct led him to present her in the drama proper at once as the goddess of war who had appeared suddenly on the battlefield to turn the tide of battle in the king's favor. This success with which the king is acquainted at a moment of utter despair and humiliation assures her of being ushered immediately into the king's presence as a welcome, powerful ally rather than as a suppliant pleading her case.

Johanna's characterization in the prologue (sc. 2) by her father serves to prepare for his subsequent denunciation of her as a sorceress. The young country maiden is pictured as reserved, serious and indifferent to the advances of the shepherds. She is fond of solitude and of sojourning in the desolate mountains; at midnight she steals forth to the crossroads to

carry on mysterious conversations with the mountain air. Her favorite place is under the Druid tree where she sits by the hour as her herd grazes. This gruesome tree is shunned by others because of the strange voices which are heard in its sombre branches. Her father has had ominous dreams about her future greatness and regards them as a warning of impending misfortune growing out of the vain desires of her heart. He considers her ashamed of her lowly birth because God has endowed her with rare beauty and miraculous gifts. But Raimond, who loves Johanna, corrects this mistaken impression by emphasizing her modest virtue and her piety; though more highly endowed than her sisters, she takes pleasure in serving them. She is courageous in attacking savage beasts that menace her herds, she is endowed with prophetic vision, believes in miracles and has an ardent nationalist's love for king and country (sc. 3). In her first battle (955 ff.) Johanna is described as having the appearance of a goddess of war, beautiful and terrifying at the same time. Schiller repeatedly characterizes his heroine as having unusual beauty of form and feature and as decidedly modest. Montgomery, whom she engages in battle, says her look is gentle and her form lovely (1603 ff.); she is beautiful and blooming in all the charm of youth (1615). The Duke of Burgundy speaks of her “*rührende Gestalt*” (1801) and of the charm which emanates from her (2029). Lionel is deeply moved by her youth and beauty (2488). According to Dunois she has the eye of a seer (1130), and the pure innocence of her face inspires confidence in her (1115 f.); he asserts that if truth were embodied in visible form it would perforce have the features of the Maid in whose clear eyes and on whose lips dwell innocence, fidelity and purity of heart, if, indeed, they are to be found anywhere on earth (3274 ff.). La Hire considers Johanna's modesty of heart her greatest charm (2166 f.); her modesty is further revealed in her own words as she declares that people exalt her far beyond her deserts (2928 f.).

Shaw's portrayal of the Maid is quite different from Schiller's both as to outward appearance and character. The latter made no effort at describing her features and figure in detail, merely contenting himself with pronouncing them beautiful. Shaw pictures Joan as follows (6): “She is an able-bodied country girl of 17 or 18, . . . with an uncommon face; eyes very wide

apart and bulging as they often do in very imaginative people, a long well-shaped nose with wide nostrils, a short upper lip, resolute but full-lipped mouth and handsome fighting chin." In his preface (xiii) Shaw denies most emphatically that Joan was beautiful, and in the epilogue Joan herself says she was no beauty (146). Shaw insists (xiii) that though Joan was not sexless she nevertheless "was unattractive sexually to a degree that seemed . . . miraculous, considering that she was in the bloom of youth, and neither ugly, awkward, deformed, nor unpleasant in her person. The evident truth is that like most women of her hardy managing type she seemed neutral in the conflict of sex because men were too much afraid of her to fall in love with her." On this point as on the question of beauty Schiller's treatment differs widely, for he portrays four men in love with the Maid: two French nobles, Dunois and La Hire, who dispute each other's claim to her hand (1815 ff.), Lionel, an Englishman, with whom she falls in love at first sight (III, sc. 10), and her countryman Raimond. The latter's love for her is restrained by his awe of the greatness that he sees in her even before others become aware of it (Prolog, sc. 2). Shaw differs with Schiller also on the question of the Maid's modesty, insisting as he does that she was regarded as insufferably presumptuous (vi). His contention is that Joan was personally modest (vii) and quite unconscious of the enormity of her pretension (xlvi), but that by ordering everybody about from her uncle to the king, the archbishop and the military general staff, she became insufferable and a source of irritation to those she constantly overruled. Naturally enough they considered her (lxvi f.) "an impudent young upstart practising on the credulity of the populace and the vanity and silliness of an immature prince by exploiting a few of those lucky coincidences which pass as miracles with uncritical people." Shaw's characterization of Joan in the drama is quite in keeping with the above statements cited from the preface. She is contentious, pert and domineering. She calls Dunois' military counsellors fatheads (50) and the Prosecutor at her trial a rare noodle (116); she proclaims the rulers of the country more simple than the peasants who raise wheat for their bread (123), and asserts that there is "sometimes great foolishness in the wisdom of scholars" (123). Dunois voices the reactions of others to Joan's bluntness

as follows (79 f.): "Do you expect stupid people to love you for shewing them up? Do blundering old military dug-outs love the successful young captains who supersede them? Do ambitious politicians love the climbers who take the front seats from them? Do archbishops enjoy being played off their altars, even by saints?" The archbishop himself echoes Dunois' words by rebuking Joan for having stained herself with the sin of pride (85), and the king seconds the archbishop by saying that she thinks she knows better than everyone else. To this Joan retorts unabashed: "But I do know better than any of you seem to. And I am not proud; I never speak unless I know I am right." Elsewhere Charles speaks his mind again, saying (92): "It always comes back to the same thing. She is right and everyone else is wrong." In the epilog, too, Charles, still smarting under the memory of Joan's assertiveness, says (147): "There you go with your self-conceit, the same as ever!"

Schiller's modest heroine not only comports herself with noble dignity and greater restraint but is more feminine than Joan. The latter says of herself (146): "I always was a rough one: a regular soldier. I might almost as well have been a man. Pity I wasn't: I should not have bothered you all so much then." As outward manifestations of Joan's mannishness Shaw stresses her masculine attire and bobbed hair. Even in these particulars Schiller portrays Johanna differently, for though she wears a helmet and breastplate, otherwise she is clad as a woman (II, sc. 4); moreover, her hair hangs down in dark curls (958). Although both heroines are ardent patriots and strong nationalists, Johanna is more inclined to shrink at times from the enormous task imposed upon her. On several occasions she refers with pathetic resignation to this heavy burden which she has been compelled to bear. Thus she says to Montgomery (1658 ff.):

Doch, weggerissen von der heimatlichen Flur,
 Von Vaters Busen, von der Schwestern lieber Brust,
Muss ich hier, ich *muss*—mich treibt die Götterstimme, nicht
 Eignes Gelüsten—*euch* zu bitterm Harm, *mir* nicht
 Zur Freude, ein Gespenst des Schreckens, würgend gehn,
 Den Tod verbreiten und sein Opfer sein zuletzt!

Johanna is not a free agent, but has been compelled to surrender her own individuality, submerging it entirely in the mission

she has been commanded to fulfill. She considered herself worthy of being the ambassadress of her Master only as long as she yielded herself blindly to his will (3165 f.). The moment her own womanly nature asserted itself, she was plunged into guilt and disaster. Although Shaw's Joan, too, is impelled by the commands of her voices to embark on her mission, Shaw has nevertheless succeeded in making her appear much more like "a woman of action" (VIII), of aggressiveness and of personal initiative. Nevertheless Schiller's heroine engages in actual hand to hand conflict, slaying the enemy, whereas Shaw's Joan keeps her sword unstained by blood.

Both dramatists represent the Maid as occasionally longing for the tumult of battle. Joan, who has had a fit of crying at the Rheims cathedral, wishes she were back at the bridge of Orleans again. Though frightened beyond words before a battle she finds it dull afterwards when there is no danger (79). Johanna is ill at ease and depressed during a lull in warfare (2267 f.) but when she learns that the enemy is preparing for battle she feels as if her soul were freed from bondage (2272 f.). On another occasion her desire for the storm of battle is prompted by her longing for refuge from the harassing feeling of guilt attendant upon having fallen in love with Lionel (2555 ff.).

Schiller's Maid instinctively shrinks from bloodshed (1680) and is at heart an angel of peace who rejoices in effecting a reconciliation between the king and the Duke of Burgundy. She subsequently prevails upon the Duke to forgive even his enemy Du Chatel and to end their feud (2042 ff.). Schiller and Shaw alike characterize the horrors of war. In *Saint Joan* the soldier's ghost says that hell is a treat after fifteen years' service in the French wars (152). Schiller goes beyond Shaw in issuing two impressive warnings against war, one through the archbishop (1995 ff.) and the other through Johanna. Suffice it to quote the latter here as reflecting her point of view (2122 ff.):

Ihr Könige und Herrscher!
Fürchtet die Zwietracht! Wecket nicht den Streit
Aus seiner Höhle, wo er schläft; denn einmal
Erwacht, bezähmt er spät sich wieder! Enkel
Erzeugt er sich, ein eisernes Geschlecht,
Fortzündet an dem Brande sich der Brand.

Schiller's Maid is endowed with mystic vision; by revealing the king's secret prayers to him (1022 ff.) she convinces him that she is inspired by God. In the prologue she had already proclaimed the future of France and the successful repulsion of the invader (303 ff.). Later she prophesied coming events in the life of the king and of the Duke of Burgundy (2091 ff.). The Maid's divine mission, divine help and guidance are accepted by Schiller as the premises for his interpretation of her inspired person. As a result there are two distinct views regarding her in his drama. Either she is sent by God or she is a sorceress. Obviously the defeated enemy claims the latter; Johanna's feeling of guilt growing out of her disobedience to the command to forego earthly love paves the way for her being regarded as a sorceress even by those who had previously believed her a divine agent. Of her defeated enemies Talbot is the only one who consistently considers her a phantom image of the terrified imagination (1247, 1469). Isabeau, who at one time maintained that the dauphin had sold his soul to the devil for victory through the aid of the Maid, subsequently takes the unresisting Johanna prisoner and, encouraged thereby, declares that the sole spell of the Maid consisted in the delusions and in the cowardly hearts of the soldiers (3219 ff.). But the tragic element lies not in seeing the routed enemy declare that Johanna is a witch in league with the devil, but in finding all her former companions in arms forsaking her after her father denounces her as the tool of Satan (2992 ff.). One by one they abandon her, she is dismissed by the king, and only Raimond, the friend of her youth, remains with her. Yet even he, though he refuses to desert her, believes she has abandoned God and the Church and that she is a sorceress (3130 ff.).

Shaw differs radically from Schiller by insisting upon rationalizing Joan. In his preface he defines her status as follows (xxxii ff.): "We may accept and admire Joan, then, as a sane and shrewd country girl of extraordinary strength of mind and hardihood of body. Everything she did was thoroughly calculated; and though the process was so rapid that she was hardly conscious of it, and ascribed it all to her voices, she was a woman of policy and not of blind impulse. In war she was as much a realist as Napoleon; she had his eye for artillery and his knowledge of what it could do. . . . She was a thor-

ough daughter of the soil in her peasant-like matter-of-factness and doggedness, and her acceptance of great lords and kings and prelates as such without idolatry or snobbery, seeing at a glance how much they were individually good for. . . . She talked to and dealt with people of all classes, from laborers to kings without embarrassment or affectation, and got them to do what she wanted when they were not afraid or corrupt. She could coax and she could hustle, her tongue having a soft side and a sharp edge. She was very capable: a born boss." Shaw insists that Joan worked by common sense (xxxv) and that "there was nothing peculiar about her except the vigor and scope of her mind and character, and the intensity of her vital energy" (xxxix). To Joan's assertion that voices coming from God tell her what to do, Baudricourt answers as Shaw's rationalizing mouthpiece (16): "They come from your imagination." To this Joan replies simply: "That is how the messages of God come to us." Shaw accounts to some extent for Joan's military successes through her own distinction between herself and other women (52): "I do not care for the things women care for. They dream of lovers and of money. I dream of leading a charge, and of placing big guns. You soldiers do not know how to use the big guns." Cauchon gives the following concrete explanation of Joan's military achievements (65): "All these things that you call witchcraft are capable of a natural explanation. The woman's miracles would not impose on a rabbit; she does not claim them as miracles herself. What do her victories prove but that she has a better head on her shoulders than your swearing Glass-dells and mad bull Talbots, and that the courage of faith, even though it be a false faith, will always outstay the courage of wrath?" Joan herself gives the following reasons to Dunois for her victory at Orleans (87): "You would have been besieged in Orleans still, you and your councils of war, if I had not made you attack. You should always attack; and if you only hold on long enough the enemy will stop first. You don't know how to begin a battle; and you don't know how to use your cannons. And I do."

Having decided to write a Romantic tragedy on a subject which legend had linked up with miracles and various supernatural elements, Schiller did not hesitate to avail himself of such elements wherever they suited his ends. Hence it is

not surprising to find his heroine endowed with occult knowledge and with prophetic vision. Nor need one wonder at seeing a spectre on the stage, at hearing claps of thunder at most opportune moments, at witnessing marvelous military achievements under the leadership of a divinely inspired maiden, at beholding the Maid tear her chains asunder and making a miraculous escape. But although these and other supernatural elements produce spectacular and amazing effects they are subordinated and somewhat incidental to the fundamental conflict. It is the old conflict between love and duty which involves Johanna in tragic guilt, making her culpable in her own sight and an unprotesting victim to the accusations of her superstitious father whose denunciation she piously accepts as the decree and punishment of heaven for her wrong-doing. To be sure, one must make the presupposition of Romantic love at first sight to accept this statement of the naturalness of the basic conflict in *Die Jungfrau*. As a matter of fact it is necessary to make some similar concessions to the rationalized version of *Saint Joan* by Bernard Shaw. For he, too, has the art of introducing a thunderclap at a most convenient moment. It is merely a case of two to one, for Schiller thunders in two scenes, whereas Shaw does in but one as he introduces the apparition of Joan (144). And although Schiller presents but one spectre, namely that of the Black Knight, Shaw's epilogue is peopled by a veritable galaxy of spirits of the departed whose interest in terrestrial happenings is not one whit abated. To be sure, Shaw makes an effort here as elsewhere to explain the supernatural; in this case he succeeds with admirable sang-froid by having Joan's ghost inform Charles that he is seeing all these spectres only in a dream. At any rate, Shaw's ghosts appear at night, the most logical time for such a dream, whereas Schiller has the temerity to bring on his Black Knight in broad daylight, though he does manifest some regard for the proprieties by staging him away from the noise of battle. Shaw's candles have the happy knack of relighting themselves without requiring a logical explanation for so doing.

Schiller inclines more to tragic irony, pathos and sentimentality in *Die Jungfrau* whereas Shaw's *Saint Joan* contains more cynicism and comic byplay. Tragic irony in Schiller's drama grows to a considerable extent out of the Maid's con-

sciousness of her guilt, when in the conflict between love and obedience to higher commands she has yielded to the natural impulse of love. At the very moment when the Maid's soul is tortured by her sense of wrong-doing and of unworthiness, Agnes Sorel comes to her and falls at her feet to worship the invisible God in the sacred person of Johanna. Sorel pleads with the Maid to abandon herself to the happiness of love but implies that the austere virgin purity of Johanna cannot be moved by human love (IV, sc. 2). Johanna, whose soul has been troubled to the point of deep despair because of her love for Lionel, finally turns away with the words (2711 ff.):

*Du bist die Heilige! Du bist die Reine!
Sähst du mein Innerstes, du stiessdest schauernd
Die Feindin von dir, die Verräterin!*

In the next scene Dunois and La Hire arrive as the king's envoys, expressing his desire that the Maid shall precede him in the coronation procession and carry the sacred banner which she bore in battle. Dunois' words that no other hand is pure enough to bear this holy standard strike terror into the heart of Johanna who is conscious of having broken her vow and of having blasphemed the Virgin Mary who entrusted her with her sacred mission. There is further tragic irony in the utter inability of all to understand the import of the Maid's words; all alike construe her admission of guilt to mean that she is a sorceress. Again there is tragic irony in the meekness with which Johanna declines to defend herself against the accusations of her father who succeeds in condemning his own daughter as a witch merely because she believes this to be the just punishment meted out to her for breaking her vow.

Shaw's temperament inclines him away from the rhetorical pathos, strong emotional display and sentimentality which make for tragic irony in Schiller. Instead he is fond of diatribe, raillery and comic elements. Shaw's trial scene furnishes a fine satire on the damnable heresies of which one self-righteous human being accuses another. His cynicism stands out in the account of the burning of Joan. With smug national conceit the French accuse the English, and the English accuse the French of heartless laughter at her burning. The English chaplain says (137): "Some of the people laughed at her. They

would have laughed at Christ. They were French people, my lord: I know they were French.” And Brother Ladvenu, a young French Dominican, makes it an even exchange in international courtesies by remarking (138): “I heard laughter. Forgive me for saying that I hope and believe it was English laughter.” Shaw’s skepticism is voiced by Warwick who indulges in the following light raillery at saintly relics (138 f.): “I crave your pardon, Master Executioner; and I will see that you lose nothing by having no relics to sell. I have your word, have I, that nothing remains, not a bone, not a nail, not a hair?” The above remarks, thrusts against England, and much that is comic lend decided variety to Shaw’s play. Yet by their very abundance such elements are not conducive to maintaining *Saint Joan* on the level of high tragedy which its author claims for it (lxxv). *Die Jungfrau* measures up to this standard far more readily because of its greater uniformity in tone and because it is pervaded much more by the atmosphere of impending doom. Indeed, there is very little in the first three scenes of *Saint Joan* that points toward an inevitably tragic outcome.

To omit mention of Shaw’s impressive court scene would mean doing him a grave injustice even though there is no counterpart for it in *Die Jungfrau*. Shaw, whose effort has been to give a rationalistic interpretation of Joan, her capacities, methods and plans, very logically has her tried not for sorcery but for heresy. This trial is carefully motivated and comes as a convincing result of her setting herself above ecclesiastical authority and of insisting that she personally communes with God without need of the Church as an intermediary. Cauchon says of Joan (69): “The Pope himself at his proudest dare not presume as this woman presumes. She acts as if she herself were the Church. She brings the message of God to Charles; and the Church must stand aside. She will crown him in the cathedral of Rheims; she, not the Church! She sends letters to the King of England, giving him God’s command through her to return to his island on pain of God’s vengeance, which she will execute. . . . Has she ever in all her utterances said one word of the Church? Never. It is always God and herself.” In the person of Cauchon Shaw has endeavored to rehabilitate Joan’s judges. For Cauchon insists that his “first duty is to

seek this girl's salvation" (66). Elsewhere he says (67): "I am no mere political bishop: my faith is to me what your honor is to you; and if there be a loophole through which this baptized child of God can creep to her salvation I shall guide her to it." Yet he is equally determined that "if she does not recant in the dust before the world, and submit herself to the last inch of her soul to the Church, to the fire she shall go, if she once falls into my hand," (70 f.). It is in conformity with such ideas that Cauchon conducts himself during the trial, insisting that judicial procedure shall take its due course, and upholding the letter of the law. One tragic element in Joan's trial is that, as the Inquisitor says (134), she was quite innocent and did not understand a word they were saying. A harsh truth lies in his words that it is the ignorant who suffer. A further tragic truth growing out of the discussion of the trial in the epilogue is Joan's realization that the world prefers a dead saint to a live dissenting woman with an avowed mission.

Whether an essentially rationalistic treatment of a romantic theme is much more successful than a presentation of such a theme from a romantic point of view depends largely on individual taste. Bernard Shaw has a very distinct preference; with unhesitating conviction he comes out in favor of his drama. Schiller, having passed on to eternity, is somewhat at a disadvantage in being unable to trumpet forth an equally strong predilection for the product of his own poetic fancy. After all, in judging of the relative merits of these two dramatic versions of the Maid, one may do well to turn Shaw's words back on himself (lxix): "The fashion in which we think changes like the fashion of our clothes, and . . . it is difficult, if not impossible, for most people to think otherwise than in the fashion of their own period."

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THE GIFT OF TONGUES

The peculiar soul or genius of a language appears best in the process of translation. As the characters of individuals become manifest through their contact with others rather than in solitude, so the character of a language manifests itself when it comes in contact with or tries to do the work of some other tongue. It must be admitted that to verify such a claim we have as yet only inadequate proof. The thorough comparative study of the translating powers of languages, of their talents as chameleon to adapt themselves to the tempers of others could well occupy years of specialized research. Here only a few stray instances can be given, as mere hints at the infinite possibilities of testing the gift of tongues.

Though it is no longer customary, as it was in the days of our fathers' youth, to make our speech studded with quotations, yet the good old custom can never be quite rooted out, and it is perhaps more persistent in other countries. In Germany, particularly, quotations still drop easily from the lips, especially of elders advising or admonishing youth. One of these quotations, used with special gusto by idealists and lovers of duty is the following from the 90th Psalm:

Unser Leben währet siebenzig Jahr, und wenn's hoch kommt, so sind's achtzig Jahr, und wenn's köstlich gewesen ist, so ist's Mühe und Arbeit gewesen.

The idea embodied here is the Fichtean idea—the concept of the world as mere material for the exercise of duty and of the exercise of duty as the dignity and value of life. Thus the verse of the psalm asserts that if life has been truly beautiful, it has been good hard work.

But if we look at the same psalm in the King James version of the English Bible, we find quite another philosophy:

The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; [for it is soon cut off, and we fly away].

This passage could certainly not be used for the inspiration of youth. Yet both the English and the German are versions of the same Hebrew outburst of song. Which, then, transmits more truly the spirit of the original? If we look at the Latin versions of the same passage, we find in the Vulgate:

. . . dies annorum nostrorum in ipsis, septuaginta anni. Se autem in potentatibus octoginta anni, et amplius eorum labor et dolor.

But although the Old Testament of the Vulgate contains St. Jerome's Latin translation direct from the Hebrew, the psalms, because of their familiar use as church songs, were retained in the older versions made from the Septuagint. A translation made entirely from the Hebrew by Sebastian Münster, printed in 1530, gives the psalm passage thus:

Anni nostri qui in ipsis diebus sunt, septuaginta sunt anni, & si in iuribus (maioribus) octoginta: a talium superbia est merus labor & molestia.

Notice there the "merus," emphasizing that all is "mere" labor and trouble. The French rendering rather resembles the Münster version:

Les jours de nos années s'élèvent a soixante-dix ans, Et, pour les plus robustes, à quatre-vingt ans; Et l'orgueil qu'ils en tirent n'est que peine et misère

The Italian version is more like the Vulgate:

Gli giorni delli nostri anni, settanta anni.

Ma se in dignità, saranno ottanta anni; che piu che fatica loro et dolore.

Thus the English, French, and Italian versions, the Latin version from the Greek and the one direct from the Hebrew, all unite in expressing the world-weariness of the old psalmist, the impotent feeling that, after all, life at its best cannot be more than labor and sorrow. The German passage, as it is quoted by father to son as an inspiration to lead the strenuous life, is clearly wrong in its connotation.

It must be remembered, however, that the word "Arbeit" (work) in Luther's time came nearer the idea of "molestia" and trouble than it does in its ordinary present use.

But even if the word had a somewhat different connotation in Luther's time, what difference does that make today? The fact is that in this case a language, while trying to submit to a given meaning, has nevertheless asserted its own temper—more exactly, the temper of those who speak it—has blown with the breath of its peculiar genius into the old trumpet, and has brought forth a major note instead of the old tune in its minor key.

"Let me make the songs of a people and you shall make its laws." This saying, which Carlyle calls "our Fletcher's aphor-

ism," we might variate thus for the benefit of those who seek the souls of languages: to understand the songs of a people is more essential than to understand its laws.

Affinity of language is closer than race affinity. The capacity of one language to enter into the spirit of another, to express as closely as possible the same shade of meaning is equivalent to a soul affinity. And this capacity can nowhere be tested better than in the translation of poetry; for the translation of verse requires a volatile, etherealized intelligence. It becomes a matter of overtones, of reverberations, of fine shadings and chiaroscuro.

For this reason it is impossible to make any sweeping generalizations about the facility with which one language lends itself to verse translation from another. Single instances must be observed in which the geniuses or spirits of two languages touch or diverge in some characteristic way, and from the patient observation of individual cases such inferences must be drawn as may seem most plausible.

A striking case of the interchangeability of languages is that of the old Scotch ballads and their German translations. Some of these like the fine gruesome ballad of the patricide,

"Why is thy hand with blood so red, Edward, Edward?" have become such an integral part of German ballad literature that their Scotch origin has become forgotten. And when the English and the German version of such old ballads are compared, they will be found such exact equivalents in tone and overtone that they will seem more like twin brothers than like distant kinsmen.

The interchangeability of English and German folk ballads (leaving the peculiarities of the Scotch dialect out of consideration) is not wholly a matter of soul affinity, but is helped by the very bones of the language. For in the old English ballads words of Anglo-Saxon parentage are likely to predominate, and these are closely related to the naïve German ballad vocabulary. It will often happen, therefore, that when two words rhyme in English, their equivalents will also rhyme in German. Such sets of words rhyming in both languages—simple words, such as the ballad-singers used—are the following:

{	life	Leben	}	{	live	leben	}	{	heart	Hertz	}
{	strife	Streben	}	{	give	geben	}	{	smart	Schmerz	}

{ ever immer }	{ red rot }	{ mag may }
{ never nimmer }	{ dead tot }	{ Tag day }
		{ sag say }
{ go gehen }	{ man Mann }	
{ blow wehen }	{ ban Bann }	{ year Jahr }
	{ can kann }	{ clear klar }

With such facilities it is not hard to understand that the tales of doughty deeds slipped easily from one tongue to the other. The fate of the old ballads—absorption into German folk literature—also befell the songs of Burns. “Oh, were’t thou in the cauld blast” and “O, my luve’s like a red, red rose” are sung by many a blithe German singer who, if he ever knew it at all, has completely forgotten that these winged snatches of song are birds of passage and no native brood.

On the other hand the German song—characteristically called “Lied” both by English and French speaking people, evidently because it stands out among other lyrics as the song pure and simple—has not fared so well at the hands of translators. Of course it must be taken into consideration that when translators are the proverbial traitors, the treason, though unintentional, is their own fault and not the fault of the language instrument. Kreisler can play better on a bad violin than a bungler on a Stradivarius. Nevertheless, in spite of allowance made for individual talent, there still seem to remain signs of the peculiar genius of the language—characteristic differences in the overtones rather than in the tones themselves.

Let us glance at the French and English versions of a few well-known German songs. Take first Eichendorff’s “In einem kühlen Grunde”:

In einem kühlen Grunde,
Da geht ein Mühlenrad;
Mein Liebchen ist verschwunden,
Das dort gewohnt hat.

Sie hat mir Treu versprochen,
Gab mir einen Ring dabei;
Sie hat die Treu gebrochen,
Das Ringlein sprang entzwei.

Ich möcht 'als Spielmann reisen,
Weit in die Welt hinaus,
Und singen meine Weisen,
Und gehn von Haus zu Haus.

Ich möcht' als Reiter fliegen
Wohl in die blut'ge Schlacht,
Um stille Feuer liegen
Im Feld bei dunkler Nacht.

Hör' ich das Mühlrad gehen,
Ich weiss nicht, was ich will—
Ich möcht' am liebsten sterben,
Da wär's auf einmal still.

Thus the English by Baskerville, the veteran translator:

In a vale there turns a mill-wheel,
A cool sequestered nook,
My own sweet maid is vanished,
That dwelt beside the brook.

A golden ring she gave me,
And vowed to be so true,
She to her vow was faithless,
My ring, it broke in two.

I fain, as a musician,
The earth would wander o'er,
And sing my tuneful measures,
And rove from door to door.

As knight I fain would hasten,
And join the bloody fight,
Couch by the fire in silence,
Afield in gloomy night.

Whene'er I hear that mill-wheel,
I know not what I will—
Methinks to die were better,
At once then all were still!

And the French:*

Au fond de la prairie
Là cause un frais moulin,
Ma maitresse est partie,
Je tourne autour en vain.

Elle était ma promise,
J'en reçus cet anneau,
Mais quand la foi se brise,
Se brise aussi l'anneau.

Je parcourrai la terre
En chanter ambulante;

* The French songs are taken from E. Schuré's "Histoire du Lied."

Ma voix avec mystère
Dira mon long tourment.

J'irai dans la bataille
En sombre cavalier;
Au fort de la mitraille
Je veux, je veux voler.

Le moulin me repousse,
Il tourne, il tourne encor,
La mort me serait douce
Is se tairait alors.

Although the English version still leaves something to be desired as a thing of beauty, yet its connotation, its aroma is essentially the same as that of the original. But of the French version this cannot well be said. Is it the train of associations that hover round the word "maitresse," is it the passive nature of "ma promise" as compared with the active "and vowed to be so true," is—it the abstract description "ma voix avec mystère," or the too definite explanation "le moulin me repousse" that make the French lament fall short of the English in fidelity to the original?

A comparison of the German, English and French versions of the famous "Loreley" will, I believe, bring out the same difference. The first and last stanzas will suffice:

Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten,
Das ich so traurig bin;
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten,
Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.

Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen
Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn;
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen
Die Loreley getan.

.
I know not whence it cometh
That my heart is oppressed with pain,
A tale of the past enchaineth
My soul with its magical strain.

Methinks the waves will swallow
Both boat and boatman anon;
And this with her sweet singing
The Lore-lei hath done. (Baskerville)

Dis-moi, quelle est donc cette histoire
Dont mon cœur se souvient,
De douce et d'antique memoire,
Qui toujours me revient?

Je crois que la vague devore
La barque et le pêcheur.
O Lore des flots, fière Lore,
Voilà ton chant vainqueur.

In a more sturdy kind of song, the same relative fidelity to the original will appear if we glance at the English and French versions of Luther's "A Mighty Fortress" which has been included in English hymn books:

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein gute Wehr und Waffen;
Er hilft uns frei aus aller Not,
Die uns itzt hat betroffen.
Der alt böse Feind,
Mit Ernst er's itzt meint,
Gross Macht und viel List
Sein grausam Rüstung ist:
Auf Erd ist nicht seins gleichen.

A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing.
Our helper He, amid the flood
Of mortal ill prevailing.
For still our ancient foe
Doth seek to work us woe,
His craft and power are great,
And armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.

Le Dieu juste est ma forteresse,
Mon bouclier d'airain.
Je sens son bras dans ma détresse,
Je tiens sa forte main.
Satan rugit, se lève et s'arme
Avec les légions.
Le faible pousse un cri d'alarme:
Tremblez, o régions!

In this case it may be merely the physical sound properties of the language that make the French seem less robust than the English.

For a final example we may take Goethe's most limpid drop of lyricism and observe how the French rendering, though charming, through a greater ornateness, enforced perhaps by the nature of the language, does not attain the simplicity of the original.

Ueber allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh,
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch.
Die Vöglein schweigen im Walde.
Warte nur! Balde
Ruhest du auch.

Sur les cimes imposantes
Paix et mort;
Dans les forêts frémissantes
Tout s'endort.
Plus un souffle, plus un soupir
Petit oiseau se tait dans les feuillages.
O cœur! o calme tes orages!
Car bientôt ta paix va venir.

Over every crest
Is rest,
In all the trees
The breeze
Scarce touches you.
Hushed is the wood-bird's song.
Wait; before long,
You will rest, too.

Sometimes the bonds of romantic longing are closer than those of natural kinship. The romantic sentiment expressed in Goethe's "Mignon," a longing for the warmer, the more mellow landscape and art of Italy has been a moving force in Germany ever since and even before Goethe's time. It may be that this romantic affinity has given power and flexibility to language in its translating labors of love even where no etymological affinity could help. Hence the excellence and popularity of the German Dante translations, especially the one of Gildemeister. The last line of the famous passage in which Francesca da Rimini tells her pitiful tale has in German literary speech become a familiar quotation. This, perhaps the best known passage of

the *Inferno*, may serve to show the characteristic reflections, in the English, French and German mirrors, of Dante's picture:

Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse:
Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.
Per pui fiato gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura, e scolorocci il viso:
Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.
Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso,
La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante.
Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse.
Quel giorno piu non vi leggemmo avante.

The French version by Louis Ratisbonne:

Ensemble nous lisions l'histoire enchanteresse
De Lancelot épris d'amour pour sa maitresse.
Nous étions seuls alors, innocents et sans peur.
Maintes fois soulevant nos regards de la page,
Nous nous rencontrions et changions de visage.
Mais ce fut un seul mot qui vainquit notre cœur.
Arrivés au passage ou l'amant de Genève
Baise enfin le sourir envie sur sa lèvre,
Celui qu'on ne peut plus me ravir, tout tremblant,
Se suspend à ma bouche et d'un baiser m'enivre.
Le Gallehaut pour nous fut l'auteur et son livre:
Et nous ne lûmes pas ce jour-la plus avant.

English by K. H. Haselfoot:

We for delight were reading on a day
Of Lancelot, how Love of him made prize.
Alone we were, suspicion far away.
For many times that reading tranced our eyes
And made the colour from our faces flee;
But one sole instant took us by surprise.
When we read how the smile he yearned to see
Was by the kiss of such a lover sought,
This one, who never shall be torn from me,
His own kiss to my lips all-trembling brought.
With Galeot both the book and writer vied:
That day we read not further in it aught.

The German of Gildemeister:

Wir lasen eines Tags zu unsrer Lust
Vom Lanzelot, wie Lieb' ihn hielt gebunden,

Wir beid' allein, uns keines Args bewus't.
 Oft hatten schon die Augen sich gefunden
 Bei diesem Lesen, oft erblassten wir,
 Doch eine Stelle hat uns überwunden:
 Da wo das heissersehnte Lächeln ihr
 Zuerst geküsst wird von dem hoben Streiter,
 Da küsste bebend meine Lippen mir
 Dieser hinfort mein ewiger Begleiter.
 Galeotto war das Buch und der es schrieb.
 An jenem Tage lasen wir nicht weiter.

The linguistic affinity between the French and the Italian is here apparently the greater. Yet, in spite of this, neither the music nor the pathos of the original is as well reproduced as in the German version. Again, such a phrase as "amour pour sa maitresse" suggests the perfumed halls of Versailles rather than the high romance of chivalry. The German translator, by an inspired deviation from the literal sense of his model—"Streiter" means "fighter" and not "lover"—has gained his three sonorous double rhymes, epigrammatic force and a proved aptness for quotation.

Although the Teuton's romantic love of Italian art is probably not reciprocated in Italy, there is no way of accounting for the excellence of the Italian as well as the French versions of Goethe's "Faust" except by the enthusiasm of the translators who, again, were kindled by the ardor of their times. It is known that "Faust" found a much readier welcome in France and Italy than in the English speaking world whose resistance had to be conquered slowly. So it happened that this great fantasy of northern spooks and devils, this final reincarnation and sublimation of the puppet-shows and morality plays in vogue in England almost as much as in German lands, this successor to Christopher Marlowe's "Tragical Historie of Dr. Faustus" should take root first on southern soil. And this remarkable fact is borne out by the excellence of "Faust" in French and Italian garb through the art respectively of Francois Sabatier and the Marquis Guerriero-Gonzaga. English translators, to be sure, increased and improved as time went on, and the propaganda of Carlyle and Emerson was not without fruit. Yet even Bayard Taylor's "Faust," which is generally considered the best (though the version of Anna Swanwick seems to me in many ways its peer)—even this English master-

piece of translation can hardly be found to excell its French and Italian brothers. A juxtaposition made by Professor Eduard Engel showing Bayard Taylor's, Sabatier's and Guerrieri-Gonzaga's versions of Margaret's cry of distress before the shrine of the Virgin offers, at a glance, a view of the comparative merits of the three.

Ach, neige,
Du Schmerzensreiche,
Dein Antlitz gnädig meiner Not!

Das Schwert im Herzen,
Mit tausend Schmerzen
Blickst auf zu deines Sohnes Tod.
Zum Vater blickst du,
Und Seufzer schickst du
Hinauf um sein'und deine Not.
Wer fühlet,
Wie wüthlet
Der Schmerz mir im Gebein?
Was mein armes Herz hier banget,
Was es zittert, was verlanget,
Weisst nur du, nur du allein!

Incline, o maiden,	Abaisse,	O del dolor Regina
Thou sorrow-laden,	Mère en détresse,	L'occhio pietoso inchina
Thy gracious countenance	Ta face sur mon triste	Sul terribile mal ch'entro
upon my pain!	sort!	mi cuoce!
The sword thy heart in	Au cœur frappée	Coll'anima consunta,
With anguish smarting,	De mille épées	Dalla piu acuta punta
Thou lookdest up to where	Tu vois ton fils là pendre	Tu guardi al Filgiuol tuo
Thy son is slain!—	mort.—	confitto in croce.
—Ah, past guessing,	—La peine	—Oh chi lo sente,
Beyond expressing,	Que traine	Com'è furente
The pangs that wring my	Ma chair, qui la connaît?	Lo spasimo che l'ossa
flesh and bone!	Tout ce qui mon cœur	mi trafigge?
Why this anxious heart so	déchire,	Quel che il povero cor qui
burneth,	Qu'il redoute, qu'il désire,	dentro affligge
Why it trembleth, why it	Seule, seule tu le sais!	E di che trema e di che si
yearneth,		consola
Knowest Thou, and Thou		Nessun, nessuno il sa
alone!		fuorchè tu sola!

This extraordinary power of the Romance languages to grow wings and outstrip their natural capacities for keeping pace with the strange northern rhythms and flights of fancy—this power so admirable in the renderings of Goethe is conspicuously absent when we come to Shakspeare. It is well known

that for the French Shakspeare was a barbarian, and that only a belated wave of romanticism in the days of Mme. de Staël invested him with something of the proper dignity. But in Germany, from the time of Klopstock on, the love of Shakspeare, more universal and more instinctive than the love of Dante, had in it the strength of natural kinship and the ardor of romance. In the "storm and stress" period of Goethe's youth there was a veritable Shakspeare madness. The fruit of this enthusiasm was the German Shakspeare of A. Wilhelm von Schlegel—Goethe's contemporary and also a Dante translator—a version which, considered a German classic, has supplied innumerable quotations to familiar speech. One need only open the pages of Schlegel's Shakespeare at random to be convinced that in the transposition there has been no loss of tone or overtone.

The French translations are quite another story. The very fact that most of the translators—Duval, Guizot, Montégu, Rosny, Victor Hugo—wrote in prose is a sign of their avowed inability to follow the skylark flights of the barbarian genius. Duval frankly complained in the preface to his translations:

"On ne saurait, en effet, s'imaginer combien notre langue se prête difficilement à certaines tournures anglaises; combien l'esprit latin est rébaratif à certaines images et à certaines plaisanteries."

If the difficulties are, indeed, so great, we should, perhaps, not be surprised at such a rendering as the following of Hamlet's soliloquy:

Etre ou ne pas être! Voilà la question. Est-il d'un esprit plus noble de souffrir les coups et les traits de l'outrageante fortune, ou de prendre les armes contre un océan de troubles et de l'arrêter par son opposition? Mourir! Dormir! Pas plus. Par le sommeil, nous mettons fin à la douleur du cœur et aux milliers de tortures naturelles dont hérite la chair. C'est une conclusion qu'on doit dévotement souhaiter. Mourir! Dormir! Dormir! Réver, peut-être! Oui, là est la difficulté. . . . Qui voudrait porter des fardeaux, grogner comme un cochon et suer sous les poids de la vie, sans l'épouvante de quelque chose après la mort, d'une contrée inexplorée des limites de laquelle aucun voyageur n'est revenu?

—"Grogner comme un cochon" is an especially inspired addition!

Victor Hugo, the romanticist, does not seem able to soar much farther. Here is his version of Hamlet's "O that this too, too solid flesh would melt!"

Ah! si cette chair trop solide pouvait se fondre—se dissoudre et se perdre en rosée!—si l'Éternel n'avait pas dirigé ses canons contre le suicide!—O Dieu! O Dieu!—combien pesantes, usées, plates et stériles—me semblent toutes les jouissances de ce monde!

Voltaire did mount Pegasus and made his Hamlet speak thus in verse:

Demeure, il faut choisir, et passer à l'instant
De la vie à la mort, et de l'être au néant.

The Italian renderings of Shakspeare, several of which are in verse, seem less remote from their model than those of their more northern kinsmen. Perhaps this is due to the greater robustness of the tongue that sang of heaven and hell. Though Hamlet as "Amleto" seems a strangely disguised courtier, his soliloquy does not sound unnatural in the comparatively recent version of Angeli Diego:

Essere o non essere? Questo e il nodo:
se piu nobile all' anima sia pure
di sopportare i colpi e i dardi di una
sorte oltraggiosa o amarsi centro un mare
di affanni e combattandoli finirli?
Morir, dormire: nulla piu. Ma dire
che dormendo diam fine a tutti i mali
del nostro cuore e ai mille consueti
duoli di cui la carne e erede! E questa
è una tal fine che divotamente
pur bramata puo essere. Morire,
dormir: dormire! E poi sognare, forse.
Questo è il punto; puo che dentro il sonno
della Morte qual mai sogni venire
possono a noi quando avrem rotto questo
nodo mortale, è un tal pensier che dove
fermarci.

The capacity of one language to enter into the spirit of another is apparently mysterious. And yet, as we have tried to show by the foregoing simple examples, the mystery is not inexplicable. It cannot be traced in a scientific, psychologizing way, nor yet with etymology alone as guide. Like all historic phenomena, the affinities of language must be observed not by analytic methods, but by synthetic, or rather sympathetic understanding.

The comparative ability of the different modern languages to render with the finest possible shades of meaning the great

Scandinavian and Russian literature, both epic and dramatic; to catch the gossamer butterflies of one another's lyric poetry without crushing them to death; to avoid the fatal step from the sublime to the ridiculous; to pour the same wine from one cup into another without spilling a precious drop—all this should make a profitable field of study, not for the technical philologist, but for him who would understand the souls of peoples. For all the passions and aspirations of man can be found between the covers of a dictionary. And yet a Spanish dictionary differs greatly from a Norwegian. Nor is this merely a difference of anatomical structure. "It is the soul that builds itself a body"; and in the activities of these linguistic bodies, the carriers in the international commerce of ideas, the souls of peoples may be sought and found.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE MODERN IBSEN. Hermann J. Weigand. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1925. Pp. 416.

The book is, essentially, an attempt to appraise anew the last twelve plays of Ibsen. To the Ibsen student, the views set forth are, for the most part, not new, but the rank and file of American readers will have to revise many current conceptions and cherished illusions in regard to those plays, and the characters and issues they present. Weigand has placed the emphasis upon the psychological analysis of the characters and their motives, on the whole with rather damaging results, more particularly so in the case of some of the popular idols of the play-going public and the unsophisticated readers. The methods of psycho-analysis have been employed very skilfully, the subconscious and unconscious instincts, impulses, and motives of Ibsen's men and women have been brought to light unsparingly, and the arguments of the author are, on the whole, convincing. The findings are, however, not presented in an impartial manner; the motives of the characters are not only laid bare, but a moral valuation is frequently placed upon them. To be sure, Weigand does not judge according to the standards of conventional morality, although some of his conceptions do not vary greatly from the general views on those matters, but he reveals himself as thoroughly human where he gives vent to his indignation over the conduct of certain individuals. His is not the dispassionate attitude of the scientist. "No one would speak that way," he states, for instance, with regard to Alfred Allmers, the chief character of *Little Eyolf*, "in an intimate family circle, except a prophet, or a fool with a much inflated sense of self-importance. . . . As yet we don't know Allmers well enough to decide which it is." But "we leave Allmers at the end of the second act, no longer with distrust, but with contempt mixed scarcely with a grain of pity." And in the end "the presumptive protagonist or bearer of Ibsen's message has been exposed as a sorry wretch, part crank and part fraud, his harping on responsibility and morality has only served to discredit him the more completely."

In his discussion of *Pillars of Society*, Weigand has ignored the influence of Bjørnson's *A Bankruptcy* upon Ibsen's play. The success of Bjørnson's drama, it seems to me, was a powerful incentive for Ibsen to treat a similar theme, and a comparison of the two plays reveals that Ibsen was indebted to his fellow dramatist for more than the general idea. But while Bjørnson implied that the business methods of Consul Tjaelde were, after

all, the exception, Ibsen declared those of Consul Bernick to be the rule. That Ibsen left it to our own imagination to determine what Bernick's life will be in the future, was technically a more correct procedure than the tacking-on of the dramatically entirely superfluous fourth act of *A Bankruptcy*. And yet, the ending of *Pillars of Society* is not satisfactory. Weigand declares Bernick's regeneration as psychologically improbable, nay, outright impossible, and one must agree with him. But part of his argument is not exactly convincing. If we accept Bernick's conversion as possible, Weigand holds, "there is no valid reason to doubt that the leaven of his example can transform the entire community." This view seems either very optimistic, especially if we keep in mind that this reformed community, after as before, has to deal with an unregenerate world; or we must regard it as most pessimistic, if we are to assume that, at least in the business world, nowhere a man of high, unselfish motives and signal ability is to be found. The discouraging fact is that the good will and influence of the individual counts for so little over against those forces which govern the life of mankind. In a recent issue of the *Springfield Republican* (December 22, 1925) we find the following appraisal of our business morality: "The Britishers' cold-blooded use of their opportunity to exercise a monopoly control of the rubber market is so entirely within the range of ordinary business ethics that the squealing on our side of the ocean seems anything but that of a good sport." In a world of such a character it is no easy task to regenerate a community. One not unimportant fact is passed over in silence in the discussion of *Pillars of Society*, namely that old Aune risks, in the end, his whole economic existence in assuming the responsibility for preventing the departure of "Indian Girl," the floating coffin figuring so prominently in this play. His conduct is the more creditable, since he does not act under high emotional stress like Bernick. Ibsen surely introduced the incident for a definite purpose. He expected that the women and the laboring men, who at that time had not yet come under the baleful influence of politics—such was, at least, Ibsen's belief—would bring about the much needed social uplift; so Aune's victory over his selfishness assumes a new aspect when viewed from this angle.

Of all the plays of Ibsen the one most widely known is, very likely, *A Doll's House*, and the sympathy of the public is to this day almost entirely on the side of poor, bewitching Nora. Weigand, however, lays bare so many shortcomings and faults in her make-up that he is forced to the conclusion that the drama, originally intended as a pure tragedy, turned in the process of composition under Ibsen's very hands into a tragic-comedy; worse still, "it strikes us as a comedy of the subtlest order." Weigand's arguments are plausible enough, but I doubt

whether Ibsen himself regarded his drama as a comedy, as the author is inclined to believe. If such had been the case, the manner in which Ibsen replied to the adverse criticism of his play, that is, by writing *Ghosts*, would seem rather severe, even for such a ruthless berserker as Ibsen. In regard to Nora's future, Weigand speculates: "It is barely possible that not even Christine's sober counsels will succeed in dissuading Nora from leaving home. In that case, granted that she succeeds in finding employment, will she find the tedium of the daily routine endurable? Personally I am convinced that after putting Torvald through a sufficiently protracted ordeal of suspense, Nora will yield to his entreaties and return home—on her own terms." Accordingly we have here "Much ado about nothing" and "All is well that ends well" combined into one. I quite agree with Weigand, though I have not in the least been converted to his point of view. Twenty years ago, when the Nora-enthusiasm was still most fervent, I expressed such heretic views as the following: "Die Sache ist ganz einfach die: ein phantasiereiches, stark zum Idealisieren geneigtes, unerfahrenes, junges Frauchen hat sich in ihrer Einbildung ein Idealbild von ihrem Ehegatten geschaffen. Nun ist aber derselbe ein schrecklich nüchterner, pedantischer und auch etwas feiger Pflichtmensch, was schliesslich unter dem Drucke der Ereignisse auch Frau Nora nicht länger verborgen bleiben kann. Sie ist über die Enttäuschung empört, entrüstet, obschon Helmer sich nie die geringste Verstellung zuschulden kommen lässt, während sie ihm fortwährend eine Komödie vorspielt—gleichviel aus welchen Beweggründen. Er wird ihr plötzlich zum Fremden. . . . Eine solche Enttäuschung ist gewiss recht bitter für den Betroffenen, doch fällt immer ein Teil der Schuld auf ihn selbst zurück, das um so grösser wird, je weniger der erste dazu getan hat, diese Täuschung herbeizuführen oder aufrechtzuerhalten; Helmer hat eigentlich viel mehr Grund zur Klage als Nora, denn sie hat ihn fortwährend über ihren wahren Charakter getäuscht, absichtlich getäuscht, die—ihr meinetwegen aufgedrungene—Rolle der Puppe mit grosser Gewissenhaftigkeit gespielt. Ob ihr der Gatte dieselbe hätte aufdringen dürfen, ob er Nora aus ihrem Puppenspiel hätte herausreissen müssen, falls sie sich demselben aus Gewohnheit oder eigenem Antriebe überlassen hätte, ist eine ganz andere Frage. . . . Nora urteilt mit echter Frauenlogik, dass der Zweck die Mittel unbedingt heiligen müsse, deshalb müssen die Gesetze natürlich schlecht sein, die ihr nicht gestatten, ihren sterbenden Vater zu schonen und ihrem Gatten das Leben zu retten, gleichviel mit welchen Mitteln. Auf das Interesse anderer kann sie natürlich keine Rücksicht nehmen, wo es sich um ihr eignes Wohl und Wehe oder um das Leben ihres Gatten handelt, was dasselbe bleibt. Ihre Handlungsweise ist nicht ganz so selbstlos, als uns der

Dichter gern glauben machen möchte, denn ihr Leben geht zu der Zeit in dem ihres Gatten auf: sie rettet nicht Thorvald Helmer das Leben, sondern sie rettet sich ihren Mann. Dass dies zwei ganz verschiedene Dinge sind, dürfte manchem nicht einleuchten. Hebbel würde sagen: es ist dasselbe, als ob sie einen Blumenstrauss begossen hätte, damit er ihr um so länger dufte. Doch am Schlusse des Stückes ist es ihr aufgegangen, dass sie vor allem Mensch ist oder wenigstens versuchen muss, einer zu werden, dass sie Pflichten gegen sich selbst hat, in deren Erfüllung sie keine Rücksicht auf andre nehmen darf. Zudem muss sie auch ganz auf sich selbst gestellt sein, durch eignes Nachdenken über alles ins Klare kommen, um ihre eigne Erziehung zu bewerkstelligen. Bei der Unklarheit ihrer Begriffe wird das wohl ein Weilchen dauern, wenn Freund Heim ihr nur nicht zuvorkommt." (Wiehr, J. Hebbel und Ibsen, Stuttgart, 1908, pp. 156-58.) How Weigand managed to quote such a wretchedly translated line as the following, no matter what eminent Ibsen translator penned it, is a mystery to me. He has Nora say: "It is lucky that everything suits me so well." But it does not suit her at all, as she frankly states in the very next sentence, which, moreover, is also cited. It should, of course, read: "is so becoming to me," or, "looks so well on me," or "that I look so well in almost anything."

Ghosts Weigand declares to be a drama "unsurpassed in the world's literature for sheer tragic cruelty." But he does not, like some critics, regard it as Ibsen's greatest work, a position to which I readily agree. Seeing in Ibsen a genius of the highest order, he does not raise the question as to the correctness or probability of the picture presented in *Ghosts*, an issue debated with a great deal of violence a generation ago, with physicians and barristers writing pro and con. While the matter has by no means been settled once for all, the tempest that raged about it has subsided, as every tempest must, and there is, indeed, nothing to be gained by raising it again. In a footnote, Weigand expresses the opinion that "the fate that overtakes her (Mrs. Alving) is the most drastic illustration of the consequences of society's policy to suppress the truth on behalf of the ideal, by conspiring to keep respectable women ignorant of the facts of sex." How about the disrespectable women? As a rule they know a thing or two, and yet their knowledge does not save them from their fate. Mrs. Alving's fate does not result from ignorance, but from submission to the authority of her parents and the official guardians of public morality, represented here by pastor Manders. How complete elucidation in regard to the facts of sex would have affected her decision is difficult to see, unless we want to assume that Alving's record should have also been stated to her unsparingly. As regards the great majority of people, knowledge is a very defective safeguard, since it only

very seldom determines their course of action. There may, possibly, come a change for the better when man "may pass his embryological stage in a glass bottle and manufacture his foods by synthetic processes in factories." (Journal of Philosophy, Vol. XXII, p. 626.) At the present, however, knowledge does not accomplish, except in the humdrum affairs of daily life, what some claim it infallibly must. In the most vital decisions, other factors are, as yet, far more potent than knowledge. Let us hope that the homunculi or bottle-imps of the future will be more amenable to reason than our contemporaries. Meanwhile people should cultivate the habit of consulting a psychologist whenever they are confronted by a decision as important, for instance, as the choice of a pair of stockings. At the present, the specialist may, perhaps, still make an erroneous decision. But three generations hence, it will be difficult, at least in this country, to find an individual that has not been carefully tested, classified, indexed, and labelled, so that a mistaken diagnosis will be virtually impossible.

An Enemy of the People Weigand has analysed and characterized in a splendid manner—though that may be said of all the plays with which he dealt—and thereby brought to conclusion his discussion of Ibsen's "social plays" proper. In none of the remaining dramas did Ibsen treat of any of the social problems of the age.

The Wild Duck is put down as a melodrama with a ghastly ending. Some commentators are puzzled to this day by the symbolism; Weigand disposes of it in short order. "What is the purpose of all this symbolism? There can be no doubt that its prime function is to characterize Gregers; for all this symbolism applied to Hjalmar, is grotesquely inept. There is nothing of the wild duck in his make-up. The more Gregers harps on their fancied likeness, the more vividly does the incongruity between Hjalmar's domestic rabbit-soul (?) and that creature of the wilds impinge upon our consciousness."

In *Rosmerholm*, Weigand finds, Ibsen staged for the third time a conflict between Christianity and paganism. Like Hjørdis and Emperor Julian, Rebecca suffers defeat, "but in contrast to them, she is a willing victim, marching unbound to the altar of the god who demanded her sacrifice." It seems to me that we cannot regard the survivals of paganism still to be found in Finmarken as having in an essential manner influenced her development; it is a totally different matter with the large amount of individual liberty, the absence of social and, to a considerable extent, legal restraint in those sparsely settled and remote regions. We find something similar in this country among our Mountain Whites. If this spirit of independence is essentially a pagan attribute—I am well aware that Christianity is the religion of meekness, humility, and renunciation, but find

these qualities rather rare among our modern Christians—then we might speak of “her free pagan soul disciplined by the schooling of modern science.” I am inclined to regard Rebecca West as an individual endowed with a great deal of energy and a healthy appetite, thoroughly imbued with the teachings of materialism.

In the *Lady from the Sea*, Weigand brings out a parallel to Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*, though he chose to pass over this relationship in silence. With respect to his treatment of *Hedda Gabler*, I find myself in full accord with him. *The Master-builder* presented the difficult task of explaining the rather unusual behavior of Hilde Wangel. We have met her before, “at that time still a gawky flapper,” so we felt inclined to show some forbearance. Now that she has reached the age of discretion, her strange conduct requires some explanation. The child must have a name, her aberrations must be classified and labeled, and Weigand has succeeded in doing so. It is all a case of abnormal infantilism. Her development in one of its fundamental phases has come to a dead stop. “Now during the whole period of adolescence there is ever present the danger of pleasure coupled with sensations of sexual origin becoming so closely bound up in the conscious mind with irrelevant processes, as to divert the whole development of sex life from its normal course.

“That is what happened to Hilda. It turned out to be a matter of fatal significance that the first complete voluptuous orgasm she experienced should have been essentially ‘autoerotic’ being induced by those sensations of vertigo that had already afforded thrills of a fainter sort to her dream life. From now on she consciously sought a repetition of those thrills in her dreams; and in the measure of their intensity falling short of that orgasm, it became established in her memory as the qualitative and quantitative ideal of voluptuous pleasure. Compared to the rest of her experience, it was ‘the impossible’ come true once—the impossible which she longed to experience a second time with the intense ardor of demanding youth.

“Our study of Hilda has revealed marked infantile traits in her reaction to experience. The wonderful, the gruesome, the fantastic, continues to elicit from her the intense emotional response of the child. Her sex life, we observed, has been arrested at the essentially autoerotic stage of the adolescent. There goes with it a narcissistic glorification of self to which her hero-worship is called into contribution. Hilda exemplifies, finally, another feature of adolescence which it would be a fatal mistake to ignore.

“The awakening of sex is commonly ushered in by manifestations of cruelty. The desire to inflict pain (and its converse, to suffer the same) is conspicuously present in the transition

period of neurotic individuals, but it is to be frequently observed in the normal child as well. Like the other groping impulses of adolescence, this 'sadistic' impulse also runs the danger of becoming set.

"Hilda's hunger for thrills is reinforced by a distinct note of cruelty. The instances of assertion are numerous. . . . But nothing makes the chord of cruelty vibrate so voluptuously as her anticipation of Solness' doing the impossible a second time under duress of her will. As in the first test of strength, her wish to see Solness hang the wreath in person was uttered before she had any inkling of his physical inability to gratify her desire; and as in the previous case, the very sight of all his instincts stiffening in opposition to her wish, hardened her craving into an inexorable demand. To see him mount the tower unflinchingly, without a touch of dizziness, would in itself have spelled voluptuous pleasure for her; but to see him do so in defiance of a deadly fear, to picture the gruesome strain under which his taut nerves would be threatening to snap at every step upward, —this promised a degree of ecstasy far in excess of the voluptuous orgasm, ten years previous, that had definitely set her development."

Sigmund Freud could not have given a more satisfactory explanation. I fully concur with Weigand in the contention that there is no parallel between the *Master Builder* and Gerhart Hauptmann's *Lonely Lives*. I have always felt that Johannes Rosmer stood godfather to Johannes Vockerat.

Little Eyolf has been more generally misunderstood than any other of Ibsen's drama, according to the verdict of Weigand. "No other play of Ibsen has been so grossly misinterpreted, even by discerning critics. They have walked into a cunningly contrived trap to Ibsen's grim amusement." In the course of Weigand's analysis of this play, Alfred Allmers is stripped of every vestige of superiority, as the passages quoted in the beginning of this discussion have already shown. "Rita, on the other hand, the frankly non-moral creature of sense, who even in her last fine resolve gives her action a purely personal, non-moral formulation, has been shown as going through a change which wins for her not only our sympathy but our admiration as well. Searing sorrow, agony over the wish that could not be recalled, has been the agent which, in releasing her from the clutch-hold of jealous egotism, has allowed her natural sympathies to expand freely. Rita worked her way out of her selfish narrowness, because her nature was generous and sound at bottom. She achieved expansion in sympathy not because of, but in spite of the moralist's preaching. Seen from this angle, the play presents a triumph of nature over morality, rather than the reverse.

"That is what happened. And the great artist, the embittered moralist-cynic, having carved his portrait-bust, in which every one praised the striking likeness and nobody saw the mark of the beast underneath, laughed a dry laugh of diabolical gratification. 'I alone can see it. And it amuses me unspeakably.'"

No doubt there will be people who fail to see the play in the same light as Weigand, but it will require some ingenuity to refute his arguments. His interpretation of *John Gabriel Borkman*, on the other hand, will seem more acceptable. His conclusions are summed up in the following paragraphs.

"Thus the tableau of 'Borkman' makes us behold three tragic fates, each proceeding along distinct lines and all three nevertheless indissolubly intertwined. We see Borkman, Gunhild, and Ella, each set in sharp relief, and we see them as a sombre group—two shadows—clasping hands over a dead man.

"The picture is supplemented by the contrast-figure of old Foldal. He stands somewhat closer to Borkman and Gunhild than to Ella, for like the former he had outwitted the insupportable bleakness of existence by building up an elaborate fiction. But he stands apart from them all, in so far as he manages to save his life-sustaining illusion in the general shipwreck. A kindly conceived tragi-comedy, relieving the gloom of the triple tragedy."

Some purists may object to the use of the accusative in the following sentence—not quoted from the dialogue, by the way. "No one but me would have done it." It would, of course, be futile to scrutinize Borkman's language in the Norwegian original to determine whether or not he would have been likely to make such a break. The fact, for instance, that Ibsen had him say: "Og i aften er det mig, som vil gi forklaring." does not prove anything, for in Norwegian the accusative is the correct construction after the verb *at være*. Some few grammarians, to be sure, have advocated the use of the nominative, thus far, however, without success.

In regard to *When We Dead Awaken*, Weigand has not been able to arrive at any strikingly new conclusions. It would be interesting to know on what grounds he charges the German translator of this play with "deliberately" mistranslating the adverbial phrase *i aften*.

In analyzing the different plays, Weigand has often been obliged to reach out far beyond the text of the particular drama to obtain the evidence necessary in support of his contentions. Even where he bases his arguments only on the final version of the play in question, he has been obliged to exercise considerable skill. Ibsen's modern dramas require, indeed, most intense co-operation on the part of the reader. The spectator, unless already thoroughly familiar with the particular work, will

scarcely be able to form a correct estimate from the presentation on the stage. Weigand is not overstating the case when he says: "Just as in a geometrical problem one's task consists largely of drawing auxiliary lines that presently reveal hitherto unseen relations between given points of the figure, so the imagination is invited here to pursue one clue after another seemingly leading beyond the scope of the drama, to cross, ultimately, with some other clue by which the imagination is lead back to the facts in hand, which are then found to be greatly enriched by the voyage of discovery." Weigand has certainly done so with consummate skill. The most modern part of "The Modern Ibsen" is the author's point of view. The language is always clear and forceful, even at the expense of nicety of diction. Expressions like "the finesse of a bull-pup", "sugar-coating his conscience", "gawky flapper", "cow-eyed blond" are frequent. Weigand's book makes very interesting reading, and his presentation of issues and characters is very ingenious, and his arguments are shrewd. "The Modern Ibsen" should, however, accomplish more than merely to give a readable and skilful analysis of a number of dramas of importance in modern literature. The book will certainly stimulate the study of Ibsen's works. A goodly number of readers will disagree with the author on various points, and re-read Ibsen's plays again, to sift the evidence once more for themselves and form their own conclusions. And thus, whether they ultimately agree with the author or not, his book will have rendered them a real service.

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HANDBUCH DER MITTELENGLISCHEN GRAMMATIK. Von Dr. Richard Jordan. 1. Teil: Lautlehre. Heidelberg 1925. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. XVI 253 pages.

The death of Richard Jordan of Jena, one of the most distinguished of the younger students of our language in Germany, will be lamented by all those who are interested in the history of English grammar. The volume under review, published shortly before his death, is the only thorough and complete phonology of Middle English that has ever appeared. Luick's monumental *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, to be sure, now covers the vowels of Middle English, but since the sound-changes are treated in chronological order, it cannot serve exactly the same purpose as a manual like Jordan's, in which the history of each sound of Old English and Old French is traced in the various dialects of Middle English. Jordan's book thus serves as a complement to Luick's.

When one considers the diverse views that have been held within the last twenty-five years on the dialect of many texts, and the widely different interpretations of certain sound-changes that have been proposed, it is remarkable to find that the two scholars disagree so seldom. Typical instances of disagreement are Jordan's rejection (§115 Anm.) of Luick's view that *ou* from *ōg* becomes *ū* in the second half of the thirteenth century, and his acceptance of the traditional date, the fifteenth century, for the change of *eu* to *iu* (§109 Anm. 1), instead of the thirteenth century, the date proposed by Luick (*Hist. Gram.* §407).

The body of Jordan's grammar is an admirably clear presentation of the development of Old English sounds up to 1400. This is preceded by sections on the dialects of Middle English, foreign elements, the standard language, and orthography. It is followed by a detailed treatment of the French element and a very useful final chapter on the sound-changes of the fifteenth century, an important period that is only beginning to receive the systematic study it deserves. Altogether, the grammar is a worthy companion to Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, which it resembles in general plan, in the same series. The book is not encumbered by the vast amount of material it contains, because lists of texts, disputed points, bibliographical references, and the interpretation of orthography are relegated to the notes.

The attribution of Middle English texts to particular counties in the introductory section gives one the impression that we know more about the subdivisions of the dialects than is actually the case. It is unfortunate that Jordan did not distinguish more definitely those texts which are assigned to a county by the evidence of a manuscript from those which are located only by the indirect evidence of the language. Thus, under Somersetshire, the only text mentioned is MS. B of Layamon's *Brut*, though Kühl, to whose dissertation Jordan refers, considered it (incorrectly) specifically Mercian (p. 9) and a continuation of the dialect of Rushworth I. But granting that the later manuscript of Layamon is more southern than the earlier, why not Gloucester, or even Dorset, instead of Somerset? It must be remembered, of course, that the names of the English counties are used by students of the language merely as convenient geographical tags; it is easier to call the dialect of a text that of Somerset, than to explain that its language seems to be more western than that of Hampshire and more southern than that of Gloucester. Still the practice is a dangerous one and likely to deceive the unwary. To the documents which can be definitely assigned to counties by means of manuscript evidence may now be added the important lyrics of Friar William Herebert (d. 1333) of Hereford, printed in Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XIV Century* (Oxford

Press, 1924), from MS. Phillipps 8336. Herebert's autograph manuscript (see Brown, p. xiv) is a better representative of the Hereford dialect than either the linguistically very similar Harley 2253, in which many of the lyrics are transcribed from other dialects, or the mixed text of *William of Palerne*. The so-called 'West Midland' *Prose Psalter*, which has long been a source of confusion in Middle English dialectology, Jordan rightly regards as central (? Nottingham) rather than western, as has now been plainly demonstrated by Miss Serjeantson ([*Dutch*] *English Studies* 6 (1924), 177 ff.), who would place it in Northamptonshire.

I proceed to criticism of details. Under §36 Anm. 2, or §42 Anm. 1 should be noted such forms as *puđer*, *huder* in Robert of Gloucester and *Piers Plowman* Text C (<LWS. *pyđer*, *hyđer*, by analogy to *hwyđer* from *hwider* and perhaps aided by the presence of the following r?) and even *mulce*, *fussHINGE*, *brutty* in Robert of Gloucester. These ME. examples of *u* certainly make it necessary to postulate occasional genuine OE. *y* in circumstances favorable to rounding, even where, as in **mylce*, OE. forms with *y* apparently do not exist (cf. Luick §285, whose statement is sufficiently conservative). In *hus*, 'his,' frequent in *Piers Plowman*, and *hum* in Robert of Gloucester (Jordan §155 notes *hum* only for *Prophecies of Thomas à Becket*) *u* may be due to light stress; cf. the West Midland inflectional ending *-is* becoming *-us*, which, however, does not yet appear in Robert of Gloucester. §54 Anm. The explanation of *gud* in a Stafford document as a Northern spelling would hardly apply to the frequent spellings of *gōd* as *gud* in late Midland and Southern texts; cf. *gud* in *Book of the Drapers' Company, Shrewsbury, Shropshire Arch. Soc. Trans.* 36 (1913), 159, and the *gud* forms noted by Flasdieck, *Forschungen zur Frühzeit der Neuengl. Schriftsprache* 2.28. This spelling should probably be mentioned with the shortened vowels discussed in §27, for it seems to be too late and too scattered to be connected with a possible Southwestern and East Anglian change of *ō* to *ū*. §286. The puzzling appearance of *o* before a nasal in *St. Editha* in a county (Wiltshire) cut off from the West Midland region where it is normal by Gloucester where forms such as *mon* do not occur, is explained as the beginning of a new 'Verdumpfung.' But it is possible that we have here merely the isolated persistence of the old *o*-forms, and it must be remembered that the regularity of *a*-spellings in the earliest text of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* that we happen to have, do not prove that *o* before a nasal was unknown everywhere in Gloucestershire. §59. Under the development of OE. *ea* before lengthening groups should be noted in addition to *shord* beside *sherd*, the peculiar form *yord* < OE. *geārd*, which seems to be characteristic of the West Midland, occurring, for example, in *Promptorium*

Parvulorum 537/2; *Erkenwald* 88; Mirk, *Festial* 179.24; 297.27, 28; *Liverpool Town Books* (ed. Twemlow, 1918) 1.406; and EDD. s.v. *yard*, where *yord* is recorded for Shropshire and Lancashire. This is similar to the shift of accent noted for the originally long diphthong *ēa*, such forms as *chost* < *ceðst*, and *yoþ* < *geāþ* being cited from Mirk (§81, Anm. 1).

It is hardly necessary to explain the Kentish spelling *ya* for OE. *ēa* as an inheritance from OK. *ya* where *ya* stands for *ea* corresponding to *y* for *e* (§82). The frequent spellings *ya*, *ia* for OE. *ēa* in the *Prose Genesis*, Text C (cf. Butler, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 19.9) render it likely that *ya* and *ia* are both descended from *ia* for *ēa*. Under §113, *ā - g*, it might be added that *ou* from this source, like *ou* from *ā - w*, *ō - w*, and *ō - g*, often became *au* in the West Midland and Southwest; cf. the frequent *aune* spellings in Mirk, *Exeter Guild of the Tailors, Vision of Edmund Leverage*, ca. 1465 (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* 9 (1904-05), 22 ff.) and occasionally *awe* for *owe*, *Exeter Guild, EETS.* 40. 318. Here there should be added a reference to Kemp Malone's article (*Mod. Phil.* 20 (1922-23), 189 ff.) on *au*, which contains valuable material and a different explanation of the relationship of *au*- to *ou*-spellings. §73 Anm. 2. The explanation of *fāle* from OE. *feala* for *feola* through lack of stress seems preferable to that which explains the diphthong *feala* as an imitation of its opposite *fēawe* (but with a long vowel!). At least, it is unnecessary to resort to *fēawe*, when *teala* so frequently occurs, even in OE. prose, beside *teola* < *tela*, in addition to *feala* beside *feola*. §283. In connection with *ē*, *ē* becoming *iē*, *iē* in the West Midland and Southwest, should be mentioned the addition of *y* even before back vowels, as in *youte* for *oute*, *Exeter Guild*, pp. 313, 315, which seems to be reflected in modern dialects (Wright, *Eng. Dial. Gram.* §248). §275. Cf. Lotspeich's illuminating discussion in this journal in 1921 (20.208 ff.) of the cause of the great vowel shift. Under the changes in unstressed vowels might be noted the frequent representation of ME. *-i* from various sources, especially OE. *-ig*, as *-e*, and vice versa, in the West Midland and Northwest, e.g., *bode* (Gawain-poet, *Wars of Alexander*, Mirk, Audelay), *Mare* for *Mary* (Gawain-poet, Mirk, Ireland MS.). Emerson has recorded this for the Gawain manuscript and the Cotton manuscript of *Cursor Mundi* (*PMLA* 37.56-7).

Misprints and errors are rare. Several that obscure the sense may be listed here: §49, for 'die der Westgrenze von Norfolk und Cambridgeshire,' read 'die der Grenze,' etc., since the border between Norfolk and Cambridge is obviously meant; §106, Anm., for 'aus *ā - w* und *ā - w*,' read 'aus *ō - w* und *ā - w*'; §170 Anm. 1, for 'Part. Präs.' read 'Part. Prät.'

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GERMANICA. Sievers-Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstage. Pp. 727. 1925. Verlag von Max Niemeyer. Halle a.d.S.

This volume, published on November 25, makes a stately companion volume to that entitled *Philologische Studien* issued as a *Festgabe* for Professor Sievers on October 1, 1896, on the day he completed his 25th year as Professor of German Philology at Leipzig University. The year 1925 has, therefore, rounded out a professorial career of 54 years. It has been a distinguished career, remarkable alike for productivity and the influence of it in teaching and research. There could be no handsomer testimony to Sievers' achievements in that great science, Germanic Philology, than the 185 names that comprise the *Tabula Gratulatoria*, and the many fine acknowledgments contained in various places in the articles that follow. I shall not here attempt to review the volume as a whole; many of the contributions deal with aspects of the vast field of Germanics which I could not adequately discuss. But I shall speak of some of the contributions, and indicate briefly the further content of the volume.

There are twenty-eight articles in the domain of German, English, and Scandinavian philology, and four of rather more general character. Of the four may be noted first two articles under the title "Rätselforschungen," pp. 632-60, in one of which, "Rätsel und Mythos," Andre Jolles applies the methodology and the terminology of linguistic science to the study of riddles, myths, folktales, and legends. (Cf. Moltke Moe: "Det mytiske tænkesæt, in *Maal og Minne*, 1909). In the second, "Das Rätsel im Rigveda," the principles defined in the first are applied to the particular case of the riddles of the Rigveda. The two will be read with interest and profit also by the student of early Germanic poetic diction; and not least is the interest to the student of the skalds. I am inclined to doubt, however, the possibility of drawing such a rigid dividing line between the language and vocabulary of early Germanic heroic poetry and the usual speech of the day. No doubt the Old Germanic poets sometimes dipped deep into the often picturesque terminology of the every-day language of the time. In the third of these articles Rudolf Blümel considers "Die rhythmischen Mittel," while the closing one, by Friedrich Braun, gives an account of the contacts of Russia and the Germans in the Middle Ages, pp. 678-727.

Of the twenty-eight articles in the field of Germanics five fall within the domain of Scandinavian philology. The first of these, pp. 212-22, by Hjalmar Lindroth deals with the inscription of the *Rö* Rune-stone, which was discovered in Bohuslän, Sweden, in 1919. The importance of this new runic find will be readily appreciated when I mention that there are

64 runes in all, and that it has been dated ca. 450 by Otto von Friesen in his monograph on it: *Rö-stenen i Bohuslän och runorna i Norden under folkvandringstiden*, 1924. The inscription, which is in four lines, is difficult, in that the fourth line is defective in (apparently) three of its words, and there is further an irregularity in the second line: *sairawidaR*. The runemaster names himself in line 3: *stainawarijaR fahido*; and in the fourth line the one who erected the stone is named. Von Friesen read line 2 as *sarwidaR*, a prrtc. of a Prim. Scand. *sarwian* = OE. *sierwed*, 'captured,' 'betrayed.' It is with this part of the reading that Lindroth's article deals. There were two difficulties about v F's reading of the line, no doubt felt by many readers of the interpretation when it was published. First, it assumed a *svarabhakti* vowel in the second a (but to be sure, some other inscriptions have this); second and more important, the troublesome rune *i* in *saira-* was not convincingly explained. Von Friesen considered that the writing *sair-* might be either a proleptic error caused by the *i* of *-widaR*; or, it was caused by the fact that already at the date of the inscription *i*-umlaut had influenced the *a* of the first syllable to such an extent as to distinctly modify its quality and make it clearly differentiated from the sound which was usually represented by *a* (p. 15 of v.F's work). I confess this was difficult to accept. L. rejects both suggestions and returns to *sair*, which he identifies with Go. *sair*, OSw. *sār*, Finnish loanword *sairas*, a possibility that v. F. had also considered, but discarded. I cannot here quote L.'s reasoning, but shall merely say that, differing from v. F. regarding the last five runes, he reads *sairawindaR* (*-windaR*, *-uent*, Skr. *-vant-*, OE. *-wende*, 'equipped with,' 'rich in,' 'full of').¹ I see no serious objection to this reading; it seems to me on the contrary to be entirely acceptable. Von Friesen's highly significant work on the whole inscription I hope to review elsewhere.

Professor D. A. Seip continues in "Zur mittelnorwegischen Sprachgeschichte," pp. 223-235, studies to which he has given much attention in recent years; see, e.g., review of the *Mogk-Festschrift* in this *Journal*, 1925, pp. 428-32. Seip's studies and those of other investigators are gradually leading to a vastly modified conception of the history of literary Norwegian, in the Riksmåal form, than that which obtained twenty years ago. Here Seip begins with some facts to illustrate the archaic character of traditional literary Norwegian of the XIVth century; and he shows how the innovations of the period, though not evidenced in this literary Norwegian, are to be dated as far back, in some cases, as 1250-1300. (Some matters indicative of this were noted by me in the Introduction to the *Facsimile*

¹ Hence *sairawidaR*, 'full of wounds.'

edition of the *KONUNGS SKUGGSJA*, 243 B,a, 1916.) Seip shows how dialectal developments find no expression in the conservative language of the charters of ca. 1300. He then gives the results of an investigation of the occs. of LG. loan-words in the charters. Such words are rare and not in evidence, so far as I can see from his lists, before 1376; the word is *behalda*, 'to keep,' from LG. *behalten*, while *betala*, 'to pay,' LG. *betalen* appears first in a charter of the year 1386. On the other hand such loans are represented in Swedish and Danish charters ca. 50 years before, as Sw. *bekosta*, 1346, LG. *bekosten*. S. finds the explanation for this in the dates of the establishment of the chancery language of Swedish and Danish on the one hand, these being late, 1330-40 for Sweden, and 1371 for Denmark; whereas, on the other hand, the Norwegian chanceries wrote in a language that was shaped ca. 1200. I am not wholly convinced, however, that the lateness of these occs. in Norway is due to their inadmissibility into the language of the chanceries and that, therefore, it may be that they have been borrowed in considerable number long before they are actually recorded. For the Hanseatic League, as is well known, had established stations earlier in Sweden than in Norway. Interesting is the author's observation that words of the type *makt* come in first, those with non-Scandinavian prefixes or suffixes gained a foothold much more slowly. I do not see why S. is inclined to regard OSw. *brepa* as borrowed from MLG. *bereden*, when native words are formally and semantically sufficient to explain it.

Hjalmar Falk's "Die altnordischen Namen der Beizvögel," pp. 236-46, attempts to account etymologically, for the 31 hawk's *heiti* in the *Snorra Edda*. There is here much brought out that will help to clear up these difficult *heiti*; and incidentally such a passage as *gashauka alla, er i reipri eru teknir ok i goll*, 'taken in the nest and bound,' in the *Frostapings Law*, XIII, 5. Hence the *heiti gollungr* means 'der im Neste gefesselte und der Pflege der Mutter überlassene Habicht oder Falke.' I note that Professor Falk now seems² to regard Ger-Scand. *Falke* as of Romance origin, and not Ital. *falco*, etc., as from Gmc.

In an article on "Kormt ok Ormt," Magnus Olsen seeks to explain these two river names in the *Grimnismál*, while in the following, pp. 258-72, Eugen Mogk discusses "Nordgermanische Götterverehrung nach der Kultquellen." The last is prompted especially by recently published views of Neckel's in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*, I. All the evidences for Odin, Thor and Frey cults in Iceland and in Norway are here assembled by Mogk. We may infer that Mogk is inclined at present to regard the Odin lays as probable

² P. 238.

of Norwegian rather than Icelandic origin, though he does not anywhere say just this. He merely refers in the beginning of his article to the results of Sievers' *Schallanalyse*, according to which the Eddic lays are for the most part of Norwegian origin, *Die Eddalieder. Klanglich untersucht und herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1923.

A very real contribution to the study of German place names is made by Karl Bohnenberger, "Zu den Ortsnamen," pp. 129-202. Professor B. speaks first of the evidence of the relatively far greater age of most German place names as compared with *Flurnamen*, on which he published a study to the first Sievers-Festschrift, pp. 359-73. Among German students of pl-names there is evidenced often some skepticism as to the trustworthiness of this kind of linguistic material when one wishes to ascertain the original meaning of names. In other words it is felt that there is here too much uncertainty about the relation between *Wort und Sache*. That arbitrariness in the giving of names, which is seen often enough in personal names, may also obtain to a degree in pl-names B. readily admits. But he is nevertheless strongly inclined to hold that pl-names originate in accordance with the same laws as the appellatives of a language; the same thing is called by the same word by the same persons in the same age (and not by different words, or by haphazard designations). B.'s investigation on this occasion is intended to demonstrate this for German pl-names of a certain class. In other words that *die genaue Beachtung aller sprachlichen und sachlichen Merkmale* will show a definite connection between name and place, between *Wort und Sache*. He shows this, I think conclusively, to be the case by an examination of a body of 'settlement designations' (as distinguished from 'settler designations,' and 'place designations'), names with the endings: *-dorf*, *-wik*, *-weiler*, *-heim*, *-liebe*, *-büttel*, *-burg*, *-stat*, *-bur*, *-hütte*, *-kote*, *-sess* (and *-gesäss*), *-sedel* (and *-sidel*), *-zimmer*, *-stube*, *-kemenale*, *-kammer*, *-sal*, *-selde*, *-speicher*, *-schweige*, *-stadel*, *-borstel*, *-hagen*, *-hof*, and *-hausen*. As said the author convincingly establishes his thesis.³ It is a highly important contribution to the history of these classes of names, their age, distribution, methods of name-giving, meanings of some of the stems, etc. Of very great interest is the material on names in *-dorf*. I can take the space here to note only one fact. Names in *-dorf*, of wide but irregular distribution, are lacking in most of Germany among the names that go back to the period of the oldest settlement, p. 138. Apparently the meaning of the word was not suitable for the types of places these were. On the other hand *-dorf* appears among the oldest

³ And I am inclined to think it will be found true of the great majority of pl-names of all kinds.

names in a particular part of the region of scattered settlements, p. 139. The problem raised is difficult. But do not the facts adduced, 134-139, and 200, bear out that the meaning of the word at the time was 'group'? (then > 'group of houses'). Next I quote regarding the theme *-wtk*: '*dass im früheren Sprachgebrauche dieser ON wtk nicht einen Ortschaftsteil oder eine Nebensiedlung bedeuten kann, auch nicht ein Dorf schlechtweg, da doch der Bardengau seit alters deren mehrer enthalten haben muss, sondern einen Hauptort, der sich durch irgendwelche Vorzüge vor den übrigen Ortschaften auszeichnete,*' p. 140. In pl-names *-wtk* is limited to WGM. which suggested Latin origin (*vicus*). Do not the findings in regard to these names argue against this derivation? So B. also feels, apparently; p. 140, note 3.

I can now merely mention a few of the many important remaining articles. Otto Basler, writing about "P. Placidus Amon," gives an account of the beginnings of early German studies in Austria in the XVIIIth century, pp. 1-38 (there are four facsimiles). There follows: Victor Michels, "Zur deutschen Akzentgeschichte," 40-89; and L. Bloomfield, "Einiges vom germanischen Wortschatz," 90-106, an article that is of exceeding interest, illustrating fully and by well chosen examples the spread of certain consonantal groups and certain suffixes in certain meanings in the modern Germanic languages. Hermann Collitz considers the origin of the word *Ketzer*, 115-28. And I shall note finally: Bruno Borowski's "Funktion, Affekt, Gliederzahl, und Laut," 273-312; Elis Wadstein's "Beowulf. Etymologie und Sinn des Namens," 323-26; Max Förster's "Die Französisierung des englischen Personennamenschatzes," 327-52; Josef Schatz' "Altdeutsche Doppelformen schwacher Verba," 353-79; Fritz Karg's "Hypotaxe bei Hartmann von Aue," 445-77; Carl von Kraus' "Neue Bruchstücke einer mittelhochdeutschen Liederhandschrift," 504-29; and Julius Schwietering's "Die Bedeutung des Zimiers bei Wolfram," 554-82. The last is illustrated by eleven excellent plates.

GEORGE T. FLOM

STUDIES IN SHAKESPEARE, MILTON, AND DONNE.

By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan. University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. I. The Macmillan Company. New York: 1925. Pp. 232.

One solution to the problem of how to avoid the evils connected with the scattering of important new contributions to literary history through a score of journals is that illustrated by the collection of six essays on Elizabethan literature by Professors Campbell, Hanford, Fries, and Bredvold in a volume published for the University of Michigan by the Macmillan

Company. Such a plan takes care of the financial costs of printing and distribution; the book is more certain to get into circulation than if it had been printed merely as part of a university series; and students and libraries have a book, not a series of off-prints, for cataloguing and use.

Professor Campbell's studies of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* deal with the possible influence of the *Commedia dell'Arte* on Elizabethan comedy. The results are highly important. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, for example, Professor Campbell reviews and adds to the evidence that the play refers to events at the court of Navarre; stresses the influence of the Progresses on the structure of the play; rejects conventional ideas concerning the influence of Lyly, and finds in Italian comedy the source for much of the characterization. The Italian companies were well known in England after 1573. The clownish figures in Shakespeare's comedy are from Italian convention—Armado, "fop in manners and virtuoso in speech"; Holofernes, who does not convey ridicule of Shakespeare's schoolmaster or ridicule of Chapman; the entire group of subsidiary characters. As to *Two Gentlemen*, the conventional idea of indebtedness to Montemayor does not explain the real theme of the play. The resemblances which Mr. Campbell discusses are not to a single Italian comedy but to the type in which characters and situations recur indefinitely. This point is discussed in detail. Even the victory of friendship over love, in the fifth act, is held to be thoroughly conventional. Mr. Campbell concludes that Shakespeare did not invent the romantic comedy type; that he used the same method here as in his tragedy and history, finding in his sources all the constructive elements and the typical figures. From this material he released the love story and made it the center. Such an interpretation of Shakespeare's theory of romantic comedy is fresh and provocative. It will, no doubt, be supplemented by further studies by Mr. Campbell, and it will necessarily be modified by a more complete consideration of known sources, for one thing, and of special themes, such as the cult of friendship in the Renaissance.

Professor Fries reviews the theories of certain British scholars on the subject of Shakespearean punctuation. Based on an examination of grammars and rhetorics, he inquires whether there was an accepted system of punctuation, whether or not a connection existed between the marks of punctuation and structure and syntax, and between punctuation and the method of oral reading, and how far punctuation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries differs from modern theories. In the material which he surveys he finds no evidence for the rhythmical or elocutionary principle which has been adduced as a guide to the interpretation of the 1623 Folio. This survey

is interesting and important; it affords a useful corrective to some of the theories that have been advanced; and the evidence is weighty. It is, of course, open to the obvious retort that regardless of the theories of schoolmasters and text book writers may have developed practices of their own. What would happen, for example, if we applied to Whitman's prose the rules of punctuation and syntax set forth in school books of Whitman's period?

The two Milton papers in the volume are by Professor Hanford. The first of these is a careful study of Milton's early life, in which the autobiographical passages in the prose, the Italian and Latin poems, and the English poems are brought into relation with each other and the documents are analyzed more subtly and accurately than in any previous study. For such a study Mr. Hanford is well qualified because of his previous work on the chronology of Milton's writings. Proper attention is given to the disturbing effect upon Milton of the experiences and intimate reactions of adolescence, but Mr. Hanford does not overstress these phenomena. The periods of development are clearly marked. The college exercises show his kinship with Bacon in his opposition to scholastic Aristotelianism and his interest in science; the quality of his humanism indicates Erasmus and not Luther as his progenitor. In the *Elegies* the influence is that of Ovid, partly because in Latin he could express feelings that he instinctively felt were too intimate to be expressed in English. The Italian influence, which followed, was less marked. The break indicated by the sixth elegy and the *Nativity Hymn* is interpreted as more than a passing mood; it is to be best understood in the light of the analysis of the earlier poems.

With this preparation Mr. Hanford approaches the Horton group. The early companion poems are thoroughly objective; Mr. Hanford brushes aside the romantic tradition that has collected around them. They hint at a new influence which becomes well defined in a passage from *Smectymnuus* and in *Comus*. This influence is that of Spenser, which is very distinct in quality and continues throughout Milton's later poetry. In the poems of the last group studied by Mr. Hanford, represented by *Lycidas* and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, Platonism fused with Christian mysticism emerges. Milton was interested in kabbalistic writings, but there is more of the *Apocalypse*, and in the idea of the mystic marriage we reach the full development of the idealism of love and beauty that runs through the entire group of early poems and gives it unity. Here Mr. Hanford might have returned to his Spenser, in whose work a similar progress may be noted; the development from Ovidian naturalism to mysticism is as marked in Spenser as in Milton; both poets are acutely sensitive to its various stages.

Such an outline as this cannot do full justice to this remarkable essay. For the interpretation of great writers, the best documents are the writings themselves, not the external facts of the poet's experience. Yet Mr. Hanford does not neglect this experience. The messages of reform, such as the Divorce tracts and parts of *Paradise Lost*, are parts of this experience and are influenced by the events of Milton's life. We recognize Eve as Circe and the enchanter in *Comus*, but Adam is bidden to control, not to deny, his instincts. Thus the epic is to be interpreted in the light of the poems which preceded it. Milton was affected by his experience with Mary Powell, by his blindness, by the failure of the Commonwealth, but these were in no case the factors which determined the main character of his creative effort. In taking this position, for which he gives abundant evidence, Mr. Hanford is on sounder critical ground than M. Saurat.

The essay on *Samson Agonistes* is slighter than the one just reviewed, but it preserves the same objective method. The *Samson* is treated as the third member of a trilogy. The theme is the "paradise within" pointed out to Adam by the angel. Thus viewed, *Paradise Regained* is not a portrait of Christ but an allegory of the temptations presented by the world, and met by the second Adam, the perfect man. Yet Christ was without sin; to make the teaching complete it was necessary to picture a man who had sinned but who yet recovered God's favor. Mr. Hanford avoids emphasizing the full implications of this theory. In the earlier essay he spoke of Milton's inability to handle the subject of the Crucifixion. In his analysis of *Paradise Regained*, it is not Christ as Saviour but as type of the perfect man that is presented; the temptations, as was remarked a moment ago, are essentially symbols of earthly experience, common to all men. (Here, once more, Mr. Hanford might have cited Spenser's analogous method.) In *Samson*, no Saviour is needed; man may regain his own lost paradise. The bearing of such an exegesis on the interpretation of Milton's theology is apparent. Whether all students will agree with this or not, however, is of less importance than the proofs which Mr. Hanford gives that the conception of disguised autobiography, too long applied to Milton's major poems, must be abandoned or very materially modified. Very interesting, in this light, is the interpretation of the Aristotelian catharsis which is the subject of the closing paragraphs. Mr. Hanford has handled a vast amount of material in such a way as to produce a definite effect, and this effect is secured by strictly objective methods and without distortion of emphasis. With his earlier essays, scattered in various publications, Professor Hanford is in the way of supplying a sounder and more complete analysis of Milton's intellectual

history than any which can be found elsewhere. He should collect these essays in a single volume.

Dr. Bredvold has already won attention through his work in the field of seventeenth century naturalism, and his essay in the present volume is a supplement to articles previously published elsewhere. He adds to Miss Ramsay's studies of the persistence of medieval doctrines in the work of Donne the necessary corrective that Donne was also sensitive to certain naturalistic tendencies in Renaissance thought. In his early life he was sceptical; he welcomed current doctrines of mutability; he was strongly anti-Stoic. In all his work the influence of Copernicus and of the new science is manifest. While he was attracted by Aquinas and was thoroughly acquainted with medieval thought, he treated all in the light of his own experience. Thus he came to hold reason subordinate to faith, abandoning his earlier Thomistic bias. His conceits spring not from preoccupation with medieval philosophy, but from preoccupation with his own soul; his experience parallels that of Augustine. Mr. Bredvold's study is an admirable supplement to those of Professor Grierson, Miss Ramsay, and Mrs. Simpson. Mr. Grierson's notes often refer to contemporary interests of Donne; he discusses Donne's scepticism, and he states clearly the difference between Donne's love poetry and the abstract idealism, the sharp dualism of the love poetry of the Middle Ages. Mrs. Simpson acknowledges that Donne's eager curiosity was typical of the Renaissance, but her tests are humanistic; she mentions, without proper analysis, the frequent references to the new science in Donne's works, and her comments on St. Ignatius' Conclave do not fully indicate its significance. While Mr. Bredvold is properly aware of these various elements in Donne's thought, it is through his insistence upon an interpretation of the contemporary influence that he builds worthily his own edifice.

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DAS ZENTRALE PROBLEM IN DER TRAGÖDIE FRIEDRICH HEBBELS. Elise Dosenheimer. Halle, 1925. Pp. 131.

In ihrer neuen Schrift über Hebbel vertritt Elise Dosenheimer die Ansicht, dass der Dualismus zwischen den Geschlechtern für Hebbel das höchste Symbol des kosmischen Dualismus darstellt. "Es ist jene Urkonzeption von der in der Zweigeschlechtigkeit sich offenbarenden Weltspaltung, von der unüberbrückbaren Zweiheit, die zur Schuld wird," welche den weitaus meisten seiner Dramen zu Grunde liegt. Nur *Agnes Bernauer* bildet eine Ausnahme. "Die Masslosigkeit, die

metaphysische Urschuld des Mannes symbolisiert sich in der Schuld an der Frau. In welcher empirischen Gestalt er auch die Idee verletzen mag, immer ist es zuletzt die Frau, an der unmittelbar er sich dieser Verletzung schuldig macht. . . . Diese Masslosigkeit, wie sie einerseits aus dem Urgrund seines Wesens emporsteigt, ja das Kriterium dieses Wesens und in diesem Sinne sein 'Recht' ist, ist auch—denn es handelt sich ja um den Austrag einer überindividuellen metaphysisch determinierten Gegensätzlichkeit—seine schwerste Schuld, es ist die Schuld des Hebbel'schen Mannes."

Dieser Satz lässt sich eigentlich nur auf ein Drama Hebbels zwanglos anwenden, und zwar auf sein erstes. Seine übrigen Tragödien, und nur von diesen ist hier die Rede, fügen sich nicht ohne weiteres in diesen Rahmen. Judith und Holofernes prallen als Mann und Weib auf einander; die Dynamik ihres Handelns hat im Geschlechtlichen ihren Ursprung. Nun hat Hebbel allerdings *Genoveva* als eine Fortsetzung der *Judith* bezeichnet, aber hier liegen die Dinge doch wesentlich anders. Sogar die Verfasserin muss anerkennen, dass der Konflikt hier nur in übertragener Form zum Ausdruck kommt.

"Der zwischen den Geschlechtern anhängende Prozess spielt sich, wenn auch nicht in der fundamentalen Bedeutung wie in den andern Stücken, nicht zwischen Genoveva und Golo, sondern zwischen Genoveva und Siegfried ab. Denn es ist in des Dichters Sinne 'ungleich sündhafter das Göttliche in unsrer Nähe nicht zu ahnen, es ohne weitere Untersuchung für sein schwarzes Gegenteil zu halten, als es in weltmörderischer Raserei zu zerstören, weil wir es nicht besitzen können.'"

Inwiefern aber entspringt Siegfrieds Verhalten aus dem Geschlecht? Ist das Wesen Genovevas dem Manne überhaupt unbegreiflich, oder ist es nur die Kurzsichtigkeit des Individuums, die den Gatten verhindert es zu erkennen? Siegfried zeigt sich in den Ansichten und Vorurteilen seines Standes stark befangen und jedes gesunden Urteils bar, sonst würde er nicht den Bock zum Ziergärtner machen. Es ist Golo, der den Beweis liefert, dass ein Mann, trotz seines Geschlechts, oder richtiger, durchaus auf Grund seines Geschlechts den Wert Genovevas wohl begreifen kann. Die von ihm gegen Genoveva erhobene Anschuldigung ist so ungeheuer, dass dem naiven Pfalzgrafen der Gedanke gar nicht kommen kann, er stehe hier vor einem Betrüger. Einmal passt es nicht in seinen Ehrenkodex, der ritterliche Golo ist für ihn einer solchen Schandtat überhaupt nicht fähig; und dann muss ihm sein allerdings beschränkter Verstand sagen, dass eine Lüge hier zwecklos wäre,—d.h. allerdings nur, wenn er den Tatbestand untersuchen würde, was doch immerhin im Bereiche der Möglichkeit liegt. So sieht er auch in Golos Widerruf nur einen Ausfluss seiner Ritterlichkeit und Freundesliebe. Wenn ein derartiges Gebahren einzig und

allein im Wesen seines Geschlechts liegt, dann hat die Verfasserin recht. Entspringt es aber mehr aus seinem individuellen Charakter, so könne wir ihren Satz kaum als erwiesen ansehen. Auch macht es uns stutzig, dass die beiden weiblichen Wesen, die neben *Genoveva* gestellt sind, keinem andern Zweck dienen, als Holz zum Scheiterhaufen zu tragen,—doch wohl auf Grund ihrer Weibesnatur. Dass Siegfried das Bluturteil fällt, ohne die vermeintlich Schuldige auch nur zu hören, hängt auch mit den Anschauungen, Vorurteilen und Gepflogenheiten seines Standes und der Einseitigkeit seiner Natur zusammen. Seine ganze Handlungsweise entspringt aus diesen Quellen und nicht aus spezifischen Eigenschaften, die dem männlichen Geschlechte unlösbar anhaften.

Um der Nachweis zu erbringen, dass es sich letzten Endes auch in *Maria Magealena* um den Dualismus zwischen den Geschlechtern handelt, bedient sich Dosenheimer einer etwas willkürlichen Konstruktion. Der Konflikt, findet sie, kommt hier nicht zwischen den Individuen zum Austrag, sondern zwischen dem Weibe und der gesamten Welt.

“In den Worten: ‘darüber kann kein Mann weg,’ gelangt dieser Prozess zwischen dem Weibe und der Welt zu seinem konzentriertesten, greifbarsten Ausdruck, in ihnen spricht die historische Ungerechtigkeit und Befangenheit einer Gesellschaft, deren allgemeine Gebundenheit sich hier mit der über das Weib verhängten begegnet. Hier geht die Tragödie Klaras als des armen gedrückten Bürgermädchens und die des Geschlechtes ineinander über, wird die Tragödie der unehelichen Mutter das höchste Symbol weiblichen Märtyrertums, weiblichen Duldens: die Voraussetzung, aus der allein der Name des Stückes als der der typischen Büsserin hergeleitet werden kann.

“In diesen Worten hat sich der Geschlechtsegoismus des Mannes seine höchste, grausamste Form gegeben. Das Weib, sonst mit Vorliebe aus der geistigen in die Nur-Natursphäre gewiesen, wird, nicht genug mit den in allen anderen Kategorien über es verhängten Bedrückungen, gerade in dieser Natursphäre bedrängt, am härtesten bedrängt. Was dem Manne selbstverständliches Recht, wird dem Weibe zum Verbrechen gemacht. Hier mehr als irgendwo der Aggressivität des Mannes ausgesetzt, muss es nicht nur für die eigene ‘Schwäche,’ sondern auch für diese Aggressivität büßen, der Mann wagt es, es dafür büßen zu lassen. Werkzeug der Lust des Mannes, wird es dafür gestraft, von ihm selbst gestraft, dieses Werkzeug zu sein.”

Obiger Paragraph spricht Bände für den persönlichen Standpunkt der Verfasserin, und es ist nicht gerade wahrscheinlich, dass sie ohne Voreingenommenheit an ihre Untersuchung herangegangen ist. Die letzten Aeusserungen zeigen eine auffallende Aehnlichkeit mit gewissen Ausführungen *Camilla*

Colletts über dieses Thema. (vgl. Journal, vol. XXIV, S. 345-46.)

Die verhängnisvollen Worte: "darüber kann kein Mann weg," äussert der Sekretär in der Aufwallung des Augenblicks und unter dem Einflusse seines Ehrenkodex', nur um sie, allerdings zu spät, zu widerrufen. Man kann in seinem Gebahren nicht gut den Ausfluss der Mannesnatur an sich sehen, wenn auch zugegeben werden muss, dass die Frauen im allgemeinen, gezwungen oder aus ihrem innersten Wesen heraus, in diesem Punkte grössere Duldsamkeit zeigen als der durchschnittliche Mann.

Julia wird nur ganz kurz abgehandelt, da dies Stück "eines der schwächsten Werke Hebbels ist." Dosenheimer spricht hier die Ansicht aus, dass Julia ihre Tat vor der Welt verantworten sollte, anstatt sie zu verbergen. Ist sich die Verfasserin klar, was diese Forderung für ein Mädchen vom Stande Julias vor etwa hundert Jahren bedeutete?

Auch im Falle von *Herodes und Mariamne* sind es, m. E., mehr individuelle als spezifisch geschlechtliche Züge, welche die Katastrophe herbeiführen. Und wie in der *Genoveva* hat der Dichter auch hier angedeutet, dass einem Manne Verständnis und Würdigung des Weibes sehr wohl möglich sind. Sowohl Soemus als auch Titus erheben sich zu dieser Höhe.

In Gyges und sein Ring ist es Gyges, der Rhodopes Standpunkt voll und ganz begreift; wie es mir bedünkt, einzig und allein auf Grund seiner Männlichkeit. In dem folgenden Ausspruch hat die Verfasserin sehr recht, wenn wir statt "Männerwelt" ganz einfach nur "Welt" setzen, es sei denn, dass wir dem Manne allein die Unvollkommenheit der Welt zur Last legen.

"Ich glaube den tiefsten Sinn der Dichtung darin zu erkennen, dass eine Rhodope wesensgesetzlich nicht leben, nicht existieren kann. Als höchste auf die Spitz getriebene Erscheinung des Weiblichen, des Nur- Weiblichen in eine Männerwelt gestellt ist ihre Tragik immanent, die so oder so, einmal zum Austrag kommen muss. Sie muss an dieser Welt zerschellen." (In der Anmerkung zu dieser Stelle spricht Dosenheimer von "Rita" statt "Irene" in Ibsens *Wenn wir Toten erwachen*.)

Wie viel mehr dann an einem Gatten von der Verständnislosigkeit des Kandaules! Der Dichter selbst fand, dass diese hart an die Grenze des Glaubhaften streifte, wie folgende Stelle dartut.

"Es ist nicht leicht, sich aus der modernen Welt heraus in eine Anschauung zu versetzen, wonach das Weib bloss Sache war, und das wird nun einmal verlangt, wenn Kandaules nicht geradezu abscheulich erscheinen soll. Der alte Homer wäre zwar eine gute Vorbereitung, denn seine Griechen und Trojaner

schlagen sich buchstäblich um Helena, wie um ein Möbel, das dadurch nichts von seinem Werte verliert, dass es von Hand zu Hand geht." (vgl. Briefe, V, S. 306, Z. 15 ff.)

In den *Nibelungen* finden wir eine neue Variante. Der Prozess zwischen den Geschlechtern ist auch hier der "Kern als dessen Ausstrahlungen sich letzten Endes alle Ereignisse vollziehen." Die Schuld Siegfrieds ist eine Schuld an der Frau.

"Es ist kein Zufall, dass Hebbel gerade mit der Gestaltung des Verhältnisses zwischen Siegfried und Brunhild über seine unmittelbare Vorlage, das Nibelungenepos, hinausgegangen ist. Er sah, er konnte nicht anders als in diesem Verhältnis den tragischen Kern sehen. Ist es doch wie geschaffen, dem, worin er die höchste empirische Sichtbarkeit seiner metaphysischen Weltdynamik erblickte, als letzte Fassung zu dienen."

Doch Siegfried geht nicht an seiner Gattin zugrunde, sondern an und durch Brunhild, die er allerdings in ihrer Menschen- und Weibeswürde tödlich verletzt hat. Ein störender Umstand in diesem Drama ist, dass Brunhild als Siegfried vorher bestimmt geschildert wird. Warum ist er ihr nicht geworden? Und wie ist es andererseits möglich, dass er in Kriemhild eine befriedigende Ergänzung findet? Kriemhild und Brunhild werden "unweiblich aus Weiblichkeit, aber auch ihre Masslosigkeit wird nur durch die des Mannes ausgelöst." Else Dosenheimer bemerkt sehr richtig, dass Hagen der einzige Wissende ist, der—trotz seiner Mannesnatur—sowohl Brunhild als Kriemhild Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lässt, d. h. deren Verhalten als Recht des Weibes anerkennt und sich der Tragik alles Geschehens bewusst ist. Hier wiederholt aber die Verfasserin, nachdem sie alles Beweismaterial erwogen, den schon am Eingang ihrer Schrift aufgestellten Satz von der "ewigen Schuldhaftigkeit des Mannes," der keinerlei gleichwertige Schuld seitens des Weibes gegenüberstehen kann. Das ist nach der Natur der Sache einfach ausgeschlossen. Für eine Jüngerin Hebbels ein etwas einseitiger Standpunkt! Im Anfange ihrer Arbeit fällt Dosenheimer dieses Urteil nur in Bezug auf den Hebbel'schen Mann, doch lässt sie diese Einschränkung im weiteren Verlaufe ihrer Ausführungen stillschweigend fallen, und wir irren wohl kaum in der Annahme, dass sie den Satz auf den Mann überhaupt bezieht, ja, logischer Weise beziehen muss, da der Dualismus zwischen den Geschlechtern sonst keine Verwendung als Symbol finden könnte.

Am Eingang des Schlusskapitels lesen wir in Sperrdruck, der in der vorliegenden Schrift bei allen Kraftstellen zur Anwendung kommt, folgendes Glaubensbekenntnis:

"Ich stehe nicht an, zu sagen, dass Hebbel mit der Tragik zwischen den Geschlechtern im ausgeführten Sinne ein ganz neues tragisches Motiv, eine ganz neue tragische Möglichkeit in die Welt gebracht hat."

Es würde zu weit führen, näher auf das letzte Kapitel einzugehen. Es genügt zu erwähnen, dass Ibsen, Strindberg und Wedekind als diejenigen Dramatiker bezeichnet werden, die Hebbels Auffassung in ihren Werken vertreten. Das soll auch von Ibsens *Puppenheim* gelten. Die reizende kleine Nora hält es selbstverständlich für ihr gutes Recht, sich jedes Mittels zu bedienen, das ihr die vom Manne geschaffene Zivilisation an die Hand gibt, um ihren Thorvald nach Italien zu expedieren und *sich* sein teures Leben zu retten; will aber die Berechtigung und Notwendigkeit jener Abkommen und Verträge nicht zugeben, die ein solches Auskunftsmittel in den Bereich der Möglichkeit gebracht und von denen Entstehen, Fortbestand und Entwicklung der Zivilisation durchaus abhängig sind. "Nora kann von ihrem nur weiblichen Fühlen, ihrer weiblichen 'Logik' her die vom Manne und nur von diesem geschaffene Welt nicht verstehen und scheitert an dieser Unfähigkeit." Wenn wir in dieser Begriffsstutzigkeit Noras einen Ausfluss der Weibesnatur sehen sollen, so ist freilich wenig Hoffnung vorhanden, dass der zwischen den Geschlechtern obwaltende Dualismus in absehbarer Zeit etwas von seiner Schärfe verliert. Es überrascht uns nicht weiter, dass es der Verfasserin gelingt eine Linie von Wedekinds Lulu zu Hebbels Rhodope zu ziehen. "Dort das Weib nur Sinnlichkeit, hier nur Sittlichkeit; dort ganz Erdgeist, hier nur Himmelssehnsucht. . . . Die Frau Wedekinds die Gesetzeslöserin, insofern Gesetz hier die Trübung, die Fälschung des Menschlichen, bei Hebbel die Gesetzeserfüllerin, insofern es die Realisierung des Menschlichen bedeutet."

"Wedekinds *Franziska* wird als sein weiblicher Faust bezeichnet. Wir haben hier also einen konkreten Gradmesser für die Werturteile Dosenheimers, der uns manche Einschätzung verständlicher macht. Ob die Verfasserin den einzelnen Leser von der Richtigkeit ihrer Hypothese überzeugt oder nicht, wird hauptsächlich von dessen Stellungnahme zu Hebbels gesamter Weltanschauung abhängen. Mit Ausnahme der These, dass Hebbel in fast sämtlichen Dramen den Dualismus zwischen den Geschlechtern als Symbol des metaphysischen Dualismus im Kosmos dargestellt hat, bietet Elise Dosenheimers Schrift eigentlich nichts Neues. In Hebbels Frühzeit war die Minderwertigkeit der Frau einer seiner Hauptglaubensartikel. Auf der Höhe seiner Entwicklung steht er nach Dosenheimer auf dem gerade entgegengesetzten Standpunkte. Freilich ist auch jetzt noch der Mann vonnöten, die ganze sittliche Hoheit der Frau zur Auslösung zu bringen; doch wie hoch der männliche Gegenspieler auch stehen mag, die Frau ist ihm immer und überall weit überlegen. Ihre metaphysische Schuld entspringt in vielen Fällen der Masslosigkeit in der Tugend. Selbststredend muss der arme erdgeborene Mann an ihr schuldig werden.

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THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH "SIR PERCIVAL,"
by Arthur C. L. Brown. Reprinted from *Modern Philology*,
XVI [1918-19], 553-68; XVII [1919-20], 361-62; XVIII
[1920-21], 201-28, 661-73; XXII [1924-25], 79-96, 113-32.

Professor Brown has long been known for his attempts to find in Celtic literature and Celtic folk-lore the key to puzzles in stories of the Arthurian cycle, and in the work under review he continues in the same line. The story on which he is here working is the story of Perceval and the Grail-quest, in connection with which he examines particularly the English *Sir Perceval* in which there is, apparently, no Grail at all, and he attempts first to show by a series of parallels in which this English poem agrees with one early romance or another against Chrétien that it cannot possibly be merely a working over of Chrétien's poem. All of this ground has been traversed before, in one way or another, and Brown admits that it would not be necessary to go over it again were it not for the obstinacy with which certain scholars cling to the belief that practically all Arthurian romance is the creation of Chrétien. The evidence which Professor Brown presents here is by no means as likely to "stagger anybody who is open at all to conviction" as he says it will, but it seems adequate, and even if any reader should not find it so the value of the parallels later brought forward would not be greatly impaired.

The really significant part of the study begins with section XI, in which the author turns to Ireland in the attempt to find indications of a folk-tale like the one he has assumed to be the basis of the various stories he has been considering. Such elements he finds in connection with various stories about Finn. The very striking parallels between the *Sir Perceval* and the *Youthful Exploits of Finn* (*Macgnímartha Finn*) have been pointed out before, but since the manuscript of the latter dates from the fifteenth century there has been a tendency to assume that the tale itself is no older. Professor Brown shows, however, that the tale existed in substantially the same form as early as the twelfth century, and that there are traces of it as early as the eighth or ninth, and these are too widespread for it to be possible that all of them are from Chrétien or any other romance writer. The conclusion seems inevitable then that the English *Sir Perceval* and these Irish stories of Finn both go back to a common source which Brown attempts to reconstruct somewhat as follows: Perceval's mother was a *fée* who brought up her son in a forest beneath a lake where *fées* were his sole companions. She kept his name a secret lest he be killed by her enemies, the giants. This son was destined to free fairyland from the bondage of the giants, with the help of certain talismans which included his father's spear and a ring which rendered its

wearer invulnerable. With the aid of these and guided by his mother's magic power the boy kills the giants and frees the land from their spell. This formula, which Brown connects with the various Irish tales of the battles between fairy folk and Fomorians, he applies to the *Sir Percival* in the attempt to clear up some of its obscurities, the most notable of which is in the golden cup stolen by the Red Knight, which we now see to have been originally a cup of plenty whose loss caused Arthur and his court to fall under an enchantment until it was recovered. This same story (which appears in still another form in a folk tale from Gloucestershire) Professor Brown believes to lie back of the attempt in the "Elucidation" in the Mons MS. to explain Chrétien's Grail story which is itself derived from one version of this old formula.

The great danger that besets those who attempt an argument of this sort is that they may end by showing that every story in the world is related to every other story. Brown does not do this but he does appear at times to grasp more than he can hold and his argument would have been strengthened rather than weakened if he had left out some of his less striking parallels. As he himself says, "Why insist on more than enough?"

Some may object also that Professor Brown, in centering his attention upon the Irish, from which most of the evidence must necessarily come, neglects too much the Welsh through which, as he himself says, the author of the *Sir Percival* got his materials. For Brown the term Celt practically means Irish. Thus it is rather misleading to say that "The ancient Celts did not ride on horseback," but that "long before the 12th century riding horses were introduced into Welsh and Irish story." In Celtic history the time of Julius Caesar may fairly be called ancient, and Caesar found the Britons using cavalry as well as chariot fighters; in all the earliest Welsh literature the horses are regularly ridden, not driven. We might also expect in a study of this kind a more definite attempt to find a place in the scheme for the Welsh *Peredur* which is, it is true, largely influenced by the French tales, but contains also undeniably Celtic elements.

The most serious fault of Professor Brown's study undoubtedly arises from the conditions under which he was forced to publish it. An index and a bibliography are much needed and would without doubt have been added had the work appeared in book form. Even more necessary is a list of the abbreviations used in the text, for if the reader should forget what *Pd* or *F* or *M* or *CMT* or *OCT* stands for there is nothing for him to do but go back to the beginning and read until he comes to the first citation of that text where the abbreviation is explained. Even this method would not help in the case of the abbreviations *LU* and *LL* which are doubtless perfectly clear

to every Irish scholar but hardly so to those who are not Celtists. Of *Bl* the only explanation given is that "*Bl* = Griffith's *PC*" and one must either look up Griffith's study or hazard a guess.

But such criticisms of detail should not be allowed to obscure the real value of Professor Brown's work. By its very nature it is not one that makes easy reading and few will read it many times, but its usefulness lies in making accessible material for future special studies. No future student of the *Sir Perceval* or of the *Elucidation* can afford to ignore the conclusions arrived at here, and some day when accumulating evidence as to the Celtic origin of most of the stories forming the body of Arthurian literature shall embolden some one to attempt a work of this sort covering the whole field, he will find in Professor Brown's work a mine of useful material for one chapter of it.

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LA MÉTHODE COMPARATIVE EN LINGUISTIQUE HISTORIQUE. Par A. Meillet. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A: Forelesninger II. Oslo, H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1925. VIII+117 pp.

This small volume contains a series of lectures delivered at the inauguration of the Institute above mentioned. In a foreword the author declares that after some thirty years devoted to the accumulation of results based on the principles of 1875-80, linguistic history has returned to a period of fermentation. He does not claim to offer any new ideas, but only a precise determination of the conditions under which the comparative method can and should be used.

The first chapter points out the essence of the comparative method, whether we are looking for universal laws or for historical indications. It is shown that the philologist and the comparer together make literary history. The following translations will sum up the author's views. "In a general way, then, the history of languages is composed only by comparing states of the language with one another," (p. 10). "Comparison is the only effectual instrument at the disposal of the linguist to compose the history of languages. We observe the results of changes, not the changes themselves. It is, then, only by the help of combinations that we follow—and that we can follow—the development of languages. But these combinations, as we shall see, are rigorous and precise. They all rest upon the affirmation that certain given concordances between different languages are not explained by characteristics common to all men, but require the hypothesis of a particular tradition. Such is the essence of the comparative method. To appreciate the

value as proof of a combination we need only never to lose from sight this quality of the proof," (p. 11).

Eight chapters deal with different aspects of linguistic research—"langues communes" or "Ursprachen," the usual morphological and phonological and vocabulary tests, the development between the communal and the historical period, dialects, linguistic geography, mixed languages, general formulas of change, and specific innovations. In all these chapters the author demonstrates the application of the comparative method by summaries and explanations and by examples chosen from numerous languages. He urges repeatedly the necessity of precise, rigidly exact data, and of as many elements as possible of corroborative evidence.

The tenth and last chapter sums up previous arguments and states problems along the lines indicated in the following paragraph.

Whether we look for historical facts or for general laws, the problem of method is to exclude chance. No theory of probability can be utilized, because there are not common means or factors. The personal element among linguists is hard to eradicate, but the comparer often has means of finding relatively objective demonstrations through as many as three series of corroborative variations. To make the study of linguistic history progress we need now precision, systematization, co-operation, and extension of research through organized, objective effort. Our data are often incomplete, vague and secured at random. The science of phonetics needs laboratories and repeated experiments. Systematic geographical researches (such as the *Atlas Linguistic*) are demanded; likewise psychological investigations. We lack exact descriptions of remote languages, and complete descriptions of actual states of familiar languages, instead of the descriptions of arbitrary grammatical norms that we now have. Also we should profit by the study of speech in certain levels of society, in villages, cities and groups, and by examination of the processes through which one language encroaches upon another, etc.

To the reviewer it seems that at least one complete chapter or lecture should have been devoted to linguistic psychology as developed by Wundt and his successors. However, this might have exceeded the scope of the undertaking. The author recognizes in his final chapter the necessity of psychological research. On the whole, M. Meillet's lectures present a clear summary of the present state of linguistic history and of the most pressing lines of investigations in the immediate future.

JOHN VAN HORNE

MILTON: MAN AND THINKER. By Denis Saurat. Lincoln Macveagh. New York: 1925. Pp. xviii, 363.

The method of M. Saurat's book is to review Milton's character in youth and his mature experience as "the man of action and of passion"; secondly, to supply an exposition of "the system" under the headings Ontology, Cosmology, Psychology and Ethics, Religion, and Politics; third, to carry over this exposition of the system in the great poems, and to discuss the sources and the interpretation of the Fall, with special sections on the *Zohar*, Robert Fludd, and the Mortalists. Such an outline reveals a firmly knit plan, open however to the serious objection, which is substantiated by M. Saurat's handling of his material throughout the book, that it appears to move to a climax in which an adaptation of Jewish mysticism is held to be the cardinal principle in Milton's philosophy and the key to the understanding of his life and thought. Such an arrangement is not without its risks, for obviously it is one thing to point out analogues between certain aspects of Milton's thought and contemporary speculation, however derived, and quite another thing to insist upon certain rather limited phases of this speculation as the key to Milton's whole interpretation of life. The book is admirably constructed, clearly coördinated. However covered by a seeming objectivity of method, M. Saurat's whole position rests upon one definite avenue of approach. His book, therefore, must stand or fall according to whether he has or has not made good the thesis woven into its structure.

Before examining this thesis in detail, the present reviewer wishes to put on record his conviction that M. Saurat has given us a book that must be taken into account by every serious student of Milton. In part this is because of certain aspects of its content and method, such as the conception that dogma in the prose becomes myth in the poetry, or the insistence on the present value of Milton's thought if only it be translated into the language of today; in part it is because of its contribution, through M. Saurat's study of the kabbalistic writings, to previously neglected sources of seventeenth century speculation. The only question before us is as to the truth or error of M. Saurat's interpretation of these matters.

About one third of the book is devoted to a preliminary survey of Milton's writings and some phases of his experience. Neither is wholly satisfactory; the survey of the writings, in part, because of the very mass of the materials; the survey of Milton's experience because it is partial. Milton's character, throughout this book, is held to be a combination of intense pride and equally intense sensuality. Now Milton was a man of the Renaissance, and these elements are well-known character-

istics of that period. He had much in common with such men of the Renaissance as Leonardo, Cellini, Bruno. Part of his personality, therefore, is derived from his share in the blood of that time. Part of it is derived from his reading. Part of it, finally, as with every man, may be traced to his experience. But to rest the entire structure of his book, as M. Saurat seems to do, upon the alleged refusal of Mary Powell to consummate the marriage (on which M. Saurat relies for authority, curiously enough, upon Pattison and Raleigh), plus the effect on him of the failure of the Commonwealth, is to mistake the matter. As a result of his experience with Mary Powell, M. Saurat tells us, "Evil will be to him Passion triumphant over Reason." But Aristotle held precisely the same view; Spenser had developed the idea stated in slightly different terms in the *Book of Guyon*; it is the theme of Shakespeare's tragedies. M. Saurat dwells on his thesis, returns to it again and again. Mary Powell has become the Dark Lady in this exposition of Milton's thought and writings. Despite his declaration of independence from the old romantic criticism, M. Saurat appears to fall into some of the worst faults of that school.

It is not necessary to deny that Milton's experience had much to do with the formulation of his philosophy. It is so with all great writers. What seems objectionable in M. Saurat's method is that he loses the sense of proportion. He falls into the error of those critics who find little or nothing in *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Troilus* except "evil connected with a woman." So Chaunteclere, in an earlier literary masterpiece, mused on the loss of paradise through following a woman's counsel. M. Saurat sees little in Milton's work not attributable, ultimately, to "passionate refusals which are really proofs of the sensual force in him"; Milton is "predestined to the theme of *Paradise Lost*: the fall of man because of woman"; it colors even the exposition of Milton's psychology and ethics; in combination with the second disaster that came upon Milton, the overthrow of the Commonwealth, it makes *Paradise Lost*, to M. Saurat, a moral-political poem, not cosmological; finally, he insists, this historical and psychological study of Milton's life explains why the great poet gave up the orthodox tradition of his time and adopted the kabbalistic tradition.

It is clear, therefore, that M. Saurat attaches great importance to his placing of "Milton among the kabbalists." This he styles "a gap blown into the very fortress of English literature." The evidence is not extensive. Part of it has already been discredited by Mr. Harris Fletcher (*Studies in Philology*, XXI, 496-501). Of what remains some if not all may be explained on grounds quite different from M. Saurat's. For example, the philosophy of reason regnant over desire is a

commonplace. The idea of the world as the outcome of sex-life within the divinity is by no means exclusively kabbalistic; that Milton made any use of the idea M. Saurat has not proved. The passage about the Eternal Wisdom in *Tetrachordon*, repeated in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*, is in Spenser's Fourth Hymn; it may be that Milton took it, like so many other things, from Spenser, or he may have taken it, as Verity holds, from *Proverbs*, in which the Vulgate gives the word *ludens*. To hold, as M. Saurat holds, that Milton is "the representative of the modern mind in presence of the tremendous chaos of impossible ideas, puzzling myths, and grotesque conceptions of the *Zohar*" is in the highest degree uncritical.

One aspect of M. Saurat's ascription of Miltonic ideas to the *Zohar* remains, the doctrine of the "retraction." According to M. Saurat, the passage in *Paradise Lost* VII, 170 ff. in which God says:

I uncircumscribed myself retire and put not forth my goodness, which is free to act or not—

is "the most important passage in *Paradise Lost* from the philosophical point of view," and it is from the *Zohar*. He calls it "the very essence of Milton's system, . . . his most original idea, from which is derived his conception of matter."

There are several objections to this thesis. For one thing its "importance" consists only in its relation to the complete cosmology of Milton, a subject which M. Saurat treats very incompletely. His chapter on cosmology, for example, says nothing of Milton's system of the universe or its relation either to previous theories or to the speculation everywhere going on in Milton's time. Indeed, M. Saurat appears not fully to realize the importance of the matter. He remarks that "in former days, the creation of the world was not so big or so interesting an affair as in our eyes," a statement that simply is not in accordance with the facts. Not only the survival into the Renaissance of speculation of every sort but the cosmologies of great poets like Dante, Spenser, and Milton himself prove the contrary. How are we to explain the work of Bruno, the appearance even in such a writer as Bacon of theories of the origin of things, the great popularity of Du Bartas, the conflict between the new science and the old in Donne, the great debate between More and Descartes? The simple fact is that in Milton's time the new science exerted, even in matters affecting theories of the creation and system of the universe, an overwhelming effect on human thought. Its tendency was toward materialism, toward a mechanistic theory of the universe. The Royal Society, which espoused the new experimental method, was attacked as a fomenter of atheism. Even before this society was organized, there was an "Invisible College," dedicated to the investigation of just such subjects as Milton dealt with in his explanation

of the system of the world. Members of the Invisible College, other men more or less closely associated with the group, even the Royal Society itself, combined, as Milton did, some of the new scientific ideas with orthodox theological opinion and neo-platonic theory, with curious results. Milton's *Paradise Lost* not only reflects this influence; its "justification" is found in its attack on materialistic philosophy, from the cosmos makers to Hobbes. How far M. Saurat is from appreciating the intellectual currents that were at work is indicated by his omission of any treatment of Milton's attitude toward scientific inquiry in *Paradise Lost*, and his dismissal of one phase of it, in *Paradise Regained*, as "merely a surly *boutade* against books" to be attributed to "this mood of fatigue." It was in no mood of fatigue, we may be assured, that Milton addressed himself to the attack on materialism.

The next objection is as to the interpretation of the passage cited in the seventh book. We may grant in this one detail the parallelism with the *Zohar*. We do not, thereby, place him "among the kabbalists." M. Saurat does not see that in this matter the relation of *Paradise Lost* to the prose works is in every respect analogous to the treatment of dogma, which as he has acutely remarked in another connection, becomes myth. Now this means that for purposes of poetry abstract ideas must be clothed in concrete form. The great thing about Milton's system of the world is its invincible concreteness. His system differs from Dante's, though, despite Macaulay's rhetorical comparison, it is fully as definite. It derives from many sources, some of them Platonic, like some of Spenser's; others drawn from popular conceptions, such as those set forth in the English Faust Book; still others from the Lucretian system. For example, the English Faust Book speaks of hell as "a confused thing," outside the world; its geography is very like Milton's plan; its governors are Milton's; names and incidents in *Paradise Lost* are also in the Faust Book; the ladder of *Paradise Lost* is in the earlier work; Faustus, like Adam, seeks information concerning celestial motions. For one idea doubtfully in the *Zohar*, therefore, there are a dozen common to Milton and the Faust Book alone, and many of these are fully as "original" and important as the one cited by M. Saurat. Yet these parallels, arresting as they are, are mere literary curiosities in comparison with weightier matters. For Lucretius the case is stronger. Even the passage in *Christian Doctrine* on which M. Saurat depends for his parallel, refers to the productive stock (*producendi seminarium*) and to the "confused and formless substances," both good Lucretian terms. Milton's conception of the universe, in the second book of *Paradise Lost*, is Lucretian, however derived, not only in its general structure but in its doctrine of the atoms. It could hardly be otherwise, for Milton

knew and used Du Bartas, and Du Bartas paraphrased and adapted Lucretian physics even in the process of his effort to overthrow the Epicurean mechanism.

But any adequate discussion of Milton's metaphysics is impossible in a brief review. The subject calls for further investigation, to which M. Saurat's book, however partial, must contribute an important part. In estimating this part, however, it must be remembered that the real field of investigation is less a matter of specific sources than the problem of Milton's relation to the great debate precipitated by the progress of the new science in the seventeenth century. More, for example, whose influence on Milton is beyond question, traverses the same ground. He opposed the mechanism of Descartes. He elaborated a theory of "essential spissitude," by which he explained the extension of spirit through the world and discussed "retraction." His spirit of nature, related, ultimately, to the ancient *anima mundi* and to certain medieval views, he sought to define more precisely in accordance with the new scientific currents; to him it was "the vicarious spirit of God upon the matter." It is quite true that some of these medieval survivals in More find parallels in kabbalistic speculation; in fact, More refers to the kabbalists, as Donne referred to them, and Bacon, and many others. The idea of God as "the space of the world" as well as the idea that just as the soul fills the body so God fills the world, we find in More as also in Jewish speculation. But this is not to say that More was a kabbalist. In More, in Cudsworth, to a certain extent even in Boyle, there was conscious effort to save the faith through forcing a theistic conception into the formulas of the new science. There can be no doubt about Milton's interest in the problem, nor that *Paradise Lost* is profoundly influenced by the debate. To estimate the extent of this influence, and its relation to the main currents of thought from Bruno to Newton, depends upon a much more inclusive view of the entire problem than that held by M. Saurat; no interpretation of "Milton as Man and as Thinker" can have authority unless it takes into account, not some minute manifestation or literary influence, but his relation to this cosmical argument. The sources of the attack on materialism are extremely complex. What is more, the method of the attack, which was also a defence of the faith, was medieval in that it sought to gather elements from every source, classical, Hebraic, doctrinal, and to fuse them with elements of the new scientific philosophy in such a way as to produce a *speculum* analogous to those composed, for similar reasons, by Hugo and Vincent centuries before.

It should be acknowledged that M. Saurat disclaims any intention to give a complete exposition of Milton's sources. To do this, he holds, would mean "writing a history of phil-

osophy"; Milton is "a unit of a whole that goes together; to take up a thread at the beginning of human culture and follow it up till it reaches Milton is a pure illusion, a mere abstract fabrication of the critical mind." We hear again the fundamental theme of the book, which is wholly subjective; "his outlook on life changed with his own personal experience, which decided what he would adopt and what he would reject among the ideas so far brought forward by mankind." There is ground for holding such a thesis as true, with Milton perhaps more than with many other great authors, but it is not the whole truth, and it betrays M. Saurat into some of the old errors from which he professes a desire to free himself. Thus, we hear much of the identification of Milton with Satan. Satan is, in particular, sensuality; Johnson rightly charged Milton with "these very vices" of envy, anger, heresy. Satan is "particularly contemptuous of God's proceedings in the matter of the apple," and "Milton was therefore not blind to it." But it is M. Saurat who seems to overlook the symbolism of the apple, a symbolism by no means peculiar to Hebraic myth. We find, too, the old discussion as to the hero. M. Saurat decides that "the hero of *Paradise Lost* is Milton himself." Blake's epigram to the effect that Milton was of the devil's party is quoted. Most of all, perhaps, is the survival of the old criticism marked in the exposition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. In them the youthful enthusiasm has departed. They are filled with disillusion; *Samson Agonistes* harps on the old theme of the fall through woman, that is, through sensuality. The "over simple solution" supplied by the apple no longer satisfies Milton; not even "the idea of salvation through Christ." For these dogmas he substitutes "the history of his own life." Most of these points are commonplaces of the old school; some of them are true, or partially true; what we miss is the patient, scientific study based on chronology, on Milton's reading, on his letters, most of all on the delicate and complex relations between these subjective matters and the intellectual experience of the time in which Milton lived. Such studies as Mr. Garrod and Professor Beatty have recently given us of Wordsworth, or as Professor Hanford has given us of Milton's studies and of his early life, illustrate the difference between the older romantic and subjective criticism and the scientific methods of modern scholarship.

The suggestions for one phase of such study we find in M. Saurat's discussion of the sources. We are grateful for the omission, in his treatment of the myth of the fall, of the time worn discussions of Vondel, Andreini, and all the other familiar aspects of the "Epic of the Fall of Man." For these M. Saurat substitutes an outline of the growth of the myth through Hebraic legends, the additions made during the Christian era,

and an extremely suggestive chapter on the Christian fathers. This inquiry he drops abruptly at Augustine and leaps at once, under the heading of contemporary sources, to the Kabbalah. In this work he finds "the whole of Milton's philosophy, except his medievalism," which is in Fludd, and his mortalism, which is in the ideas of the contemporary English Mortalist group. M. Saurat's contribution on these three heads, as we have already acknowledged, is considerable and important; our one objection to it is that it forms, to M. Saurat, the apex of the pyramid that he has built up, and that it has a disproportionate and therefore quite misleading emphasis.

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WOMAN IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF GUTZKOW.

By Otto Paul Schinnerer, Ph.D., Sometime Carl Schurz Fellow in German Columbia University. (Columbia University Press), 1924, New York.

Stating in his introduction that many of Gutzkow's works are "confessions" in which the groundwork of personal experiences can be clearly distinguished from the invented fable, the author sets out to show in the three chapters of his monograph, how truth and poetry, reality and fiction are blended in many of his hero's plays and novels. Nowhere, in Dr. Schinnerer's opinion, does this intermingling of *Dichtung* and *Wahrheit* appear in such interesting forms as in Gutzkow's attitude toward women. The female types portrayed by him his views of woman and of woman's emancipation are based upon and colored by his experiences.

In the first chapter Gutzkow's personal relations with women are discussed. After briefly characterizing Gutzkow's mother as a plain woman who was fundamentally upright and honest and above all very pious, the author passes on to Gutzkow's love affairs. The first one, which resulted in an involuntary engagement with a girl named Leopoldine Spohn, came while he was a student at the university. It was, however, of brief duration and did not leave very deep scars. During the summer of 1830 he made the acquaintance of a bright and gifted girl, Rosalie Scheidemantel. A protracted courtship led to an engagement which was broken off again after many vicissitudes.

While residing in Frankfurt A/M as editor of the *Literaturblatt zum Phönix* and of the *Telegraph* he made the acquaintance of a number of interesting women, among them was Amalie Klönne, the charming stepdaughter of the Swedish Consul General Freinsheim. On July 18, 1836, she became his wife. This marriage, even though it proved very unhappy, was terminated only by Amalie's death, which occurred April 22,

1848. Critics and friends of Gutzkow are inclined to place the blame for his marital infelicity on his personal unfitness for married life. Unhappy as he was, it is not strange that another woman should soon take possession of his heart. She was the brilliant and beautiful Therese von Bacheracht who for many years played such a fateful rôle in his life. But she never became Gutzkow's wife.

On September 19, 1849, he contracted a second marriage with Bertha Meidinger, a cousin of his first wife. The first years of this marriage were happy, but then this one, too, proved a burden to him; the difference in age was too great. He was thirty-eight years old at the time of this marriage while his wife was only twenty-two. All hope for further matrimonial happiness was destroyed in 1865 by a temporary mental derangement caused by his persecution-mania.

In chapter two Dr. Schinnerer shows how Gutzkow's changing experiences are reflected in his works. He points out that until the year 1834 the author's works were little concerned with women. The social and political questions of his time were his chief interest and consequently his early works have the character of political and social *Tendenzschriften*, they contain no personal elements. In the author's opinion a change took place in Gutzkow's literary work after his acquaintance with Laube. His interest in political and social questions gave way to a keener one in purely literary and esthetic questions. A strong stimulus was given in this direction by Gustav Schlesier, Laube's literary and critical friend, whose principal advice to Gutzkow was that he should be more modern and more personal in his works.

About this time 1833 a crisis was developing in his emotional life. The break between him and Rosalie Scheidemantel became more and more inevitable. His interests were widening day by day, he was becoming ever more liberal in his views, especially in his views on religion. Rosalie on the other hand retained her childlike innocence; was happy and contented in her middle-class environment. Gutzkow felt that a barrier was arising between them. The prime cause of the inner estrangement was the unbridgeable difference between their religious views. He was becoming ever more hostile toward the orthodox church, while she remained the same pious, devout and orthodox girl that she had always been.

The impulse to give poetic expression to this inner conflict became overpowering and the result was first the little satirical sketch, "Kanarienvogels Liebe und Leid." It is, briefly, the story of a canary that falls in love with its own image in a mirror. The mirror, however, prevents all close contact between the canary and the object of its love. This little sketch describes in an ironical manner the hopelessness of Gutzkow's love for

Rosalie. Another and very important work of Gutzkow, "Die Sadduzäer von Amsterdam," later dramatized as Uriel Acosta, faithfully reproduces, as Dr. Schinnerer convincingly shows, his experience with Rosalie. Uriel is Gutzkow and Judith is Rosalie. Through the entire story exact parallels are drawn between Gutzkow's changing fortunes with Rosalie between the years 1830 and 1834 and the struggles between Uriel and Judith.

In spite of this marriage to Amalie Klönne Gutzkow could not forget Rosalie, his love for her lived on in his heart. In his next play, "Werner oder Herz und Welt," he dramatized his devotion to the memory of his love for her. Spurred by his ambition Heinrich Werner, the hero of this drama, breaks off his engagement to Marie Winter in order to marry Julie von Jordan, only to find that he cannot quite banish Marie from his life. Although it is quite impossible to find very close parallels of the action in Gutzkow's own life, it is still quite clear that Marie is Rosalie, Gutzkow is Heinrich and Julie is Amalie. Gutzkow's purpose in "Werner" was, according to Dr. Schinnerer, to give expression to his ideal attachment to Rosalie.

Gutzkow had planned another drama in which a man stands irresolute between two women. It was entitled "Die Schwestern, Schauspiel in 5 Akten." He had already treated this problem in his novel "Seraphine," in which a young man loves the sister of his fiancée and the latter then resigns in favor of the former. The actual background for this play was Gutzkow's love affair with Leopoldine Spohn. "Die Schwestern" remained a sketch. In the summer and fall of 1842 Gutzkow took up the problem anew. Sketches with the titles "Entsagung" und "die Verlobten" preceded the final and completed drama called "Ein weisses Blatt." The fact that the hero stands between two sisters in this play is of minor importance, a third person is introduced, an entirely different woman turns out to be the hero's real love. Gustav Holm, the hero of the play, absent from his native land for five years, leaves there his fiancée Beate. While gone he makes the acquaintance of Eveline Steiner and succumbs to her charms. Upon his return to Beate, he first meets her younger sister Tony, whom he embraces, mistaking her for his fiancée. Beate concludes that he no longer loves her. She is right, but she is mistaken in the reason. During his long absence Gustav and she have drifted apart, there is no longer any real community of interest between them. Again Dr. Schinnerer points out the close parallel between the love conflict in this drama and a similar conflict in Gutzkow's life. The love conflict in "Ein weisses Blatt" is the same that Gutzkow experienced in his triangular relations with his wife and Therese. An entirely new element is introduced into this play, as the author shows, for the first time, it is the social conflict or we might call it a

social problem. Gutzkow who came from the lower middle class always remained conscious of his inferior social status, and this feeling could not help but force its way into his work. In his next work, the novel "Die Selbsttaufe," later dramatized as *Ottfried*, this social conflict plays, in addition to the triangular love affair, an exceedingly important part.

Without following the author through an analysis of Gutzkow's remaining works, we accept his statement that after "Ein weisses Blatt" and "Die Selbsttaufe" "both the social conflict and the triangular love conflict appear again and again in drama, novel and story, in endless variations either as major or minor motives."

In the third chapter Dr. Schinnerer discusses Gutzkow's views of woman's emancipation and free love. He shows how these ideas were introduced into German literature at that time from France where they were propagated by the St. Simonists. It is interesting to note that Gutzkow was not influenced by these doctrines or theories during the early part of his career. This fact explains in part the coolness and reserve with which Gutzkow received Heine at first, who was the chief introducer of St. Simonistic ideas into Germany. With the summer of 1833, however, a gradual change takes place in Gutzkow's attitude toward St. Simonism, although it must still be termed antagonistic for some time to come. By 1835 he seems to have yielded to this foreign influence. The change in his ideas is evident from the manner in which he inveighs against the current conceptions of love and marriage and against the conventional morality of his time. True it is that Gutzkow's attitude toward these questions remained quite moderate, and the author's opinion that Gutzkow's "share in promulgating the ideas regarding woman's emancipation and free love was very small indeed," seems to be thoroughly substantiated by his writings. It is true as he says, these ideas belonged to the "Zeitgeist."

Still the reviewer feels that Dr. Schinnerer did not sufficiently elucidate Gutzkow's own theory of love. Nor did he show sufficiently the influence which a book like Schlegel's "Lucinde" exerted on the "Zeitgeist." At first glance "Lucinde" and St. Simonism seem to have much in common, love, the relation of the sexes to each other, the emancipation of the flesh and kindred themes are treated in both. It is absolutely wrong, however, to put the chief stress in "Lucinde" on what has been called "a glorification of the flesh." The central idea of "Lucinde" is love and this idea is inseparably bound up with Schlegel's philosophy. Body and soul are regarded as one and it is the chief sin of modern education that it tore them apart and made two separate entities of them. Only when the two are united in perfect harmony in an individual can a harmonious

and wholesome personality be developed. To bring about this synthesis between body and soul is the task assigned to Love in Schlegel's scheme of things. By nature Love is both physical, or sensual, and spiritual. In its perfection it is the unity of these two elements. Gutzkow understood correctly the nature of Love as portrayed in "Lucinde" and recommended it, as the author states, "as a corrective for the maimed and stunted love of his day." But he does not make clear to what extent Gutzkow was influenced by Schlegel's conception of love. From the third chapter of this monograph, it seems to the reviewer, that Gutzkow's conception of love is more closely akin to Schlegel's than to that of the St. Simonists.

But aside from these strictures on it, Dr. Schinnerer's monograph is a very thorough and painstaking work. It brings to the attention of the student certain ideas that played an almost dominant rôle in the literary movement in Germany known as "Das junge Deutschland."

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EINE LAUTVERSCHIEBUNGSTHEORIE. By N. Otto Heinertz. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. Lund und Leipzig, 1925.

In this book of eighty-four pages, the substratum theory of sound changes again comes into its own, for the author attempts to show, as others before him have done, that the High German consonant shift was due to the contamination of Germanic speech by certain Celtic speech-habits of the pre-Germanic inhabitants of southern Germany. Heinertz maintains, first, that the shifting in the initial position is due to an exaggeration (*übertreibung*) on the part of the Celtic speaking population in their effort to pronounce the Germanic aspirated stops, to which they were unaccustomed, since their Celtic speech possessed only the pure, unaspirated stops; and second, that the shifting in the intervocalic position is identical with Celtic lenition, that is, a weakening of the muscle tension and a more open mouth position. Concerning the shifting of *p t k* he says: "Die tenuisverschiebung ist die folge einer übertreibung der germanischen laute, verursacht durch die den Kelten ungewohnte aspiration und den ihnen ebenso ungewohnten expiratorischen akzent, in verbindung mit der ihnen gewohnten lenierung von allen intersonantischen lauten." And concerning the shifting of the voiced stops and voiced spirants he says: "Es handelt sich auch hier um zwei treibende kräfte: erstens um die von dem expiratorischen akzent und der dadurch in verbindung mit dem mangelhaften bewegungsgefühl verursachten neigung zur übertreibung der laute hervorgerufene

artikulationsverstärkung des anlautes; zweitens um die den Kelten angeborene tendenz, die intersonantischen laute zu lenieren, d. h. sie mit einer verminderung der artikulationsstärke auszusprechen." And he summarizes his conclusions as follows: "1. Artikulationsverstärkung im anlaut, womit bei gewissen lauten eine durch mangelhaftes bewegungsgefühl verursachte artikulationsubertreibung verbunden ist. Die treibende ursache dieser verstärkung war der ungewohnte expiratorische akzent. 2. Lenierung der intersonantischen laute, d. h. eine geringere intensität bei der artikulation dieser laute, verursacht durch einen lockeren verschluss bzw. (bei reibelauten) eine offenere mundstellung."

In support of his contention that the High German initial affricatives have resulted from a Celtic exaggeration of the Germanic aspirates, Heinertz calls attention to several parallel instances, for example, the Romance initial *gu* for Germanic *w* in *guerre*, *guarder*, and *fl*, *fr*, for Germanic *hl*, *hr*, as in *flanc* < *hlanka*, *freux* < *hrök*.

The shifting of the voiced stops and voiced spirants constitutes a confused and difficult chapter in Old High German grammar, and Heinertz is to be commended for his efforts to reduce the various phenomena, including Notker's Law, to one formula, namely, that in the initial position these consonants were voiceless fortes, in the intervocalic position, voiceless lenes. In this conclusion he is of course in agreement with Braune, who says: (Ahd. Gram. 4 Aufl. §88, Anm. 2) "Andererseits ist aber ein unterschied zwischen anlaut und inlaut deutlich zu erkennen, der auf den gegensatz von verschlussfortis und -lenis hinweist."

Heinertz can hardly be said to present a new point of view, although he has worked out his details carefully and clearly. After all, his main contention is that High German consonant shifting is identical with Celtic lenition, and this view has been expressed, as he himself says, by Hirt, Feist, Ginneken and others. In fact, some of his points, as far as they go, are quite similar to those which the author of this review advanced in the JEGPh, volume 17 for 1918, an article which Heinertz quite evidently failed to discover. Heinertz treats only the High German shifts and distinctly excludes their Primitive Germanic counterparts. This is, in my opinion, a defect of method, for the two groups of phenomena are so similar that we must assign to them a common cause, either a spontaneous inherent tendency or the influence of race and language mixture.

In a concluding section Heinertz expresses the view that several other Old High German sound changes are due to Celtic influence: thus, diphthongizing of $\delta > oa > ua > uo$, and of $\tilde{e} > ea > ia > ie$, he attributes to a Celtic tendency toward a more open articulation at the end of a long vowel, in contrast

to the north German tendency toward a raising of the tongue at the end of the vowel, or the lowering of it at the beginning. The preference of South Germans for the "schwacheschnittener Akzent," and for open syllables he also looks upon as a Celtic trait. It might be noted that in all of these points he is expressing views somewhat similar to those which I advanced in the JEGPh for July 1925, which Heinertz of course could not have known about. In that article I called these peculiarities *Romance tendencies*; they might also be called *Celtic*, but better yet, *Alpine*, for they are, I think, of a racial rather than of a linguistic nature.

C. M. LOTSPEICH

MEDIAEVAL CIVILIZATION AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FASTNACHTSPIELE OF HANS SACHS. By Walter French, Ph.D. Hesperia Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, Nr. 15. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 1925. 88 pp.

The purpose of this study is, as its author states, "simply to present the pageant of Nürnberg life through the medium of her leading literary figure, due allowance being made for his prejudices, the influence of his sources, and the immediate purpose of the individual play." The first part gives a survey of the Shrovetide plays before Sachs, without attempting to add to our knowledge of this field. The second part gives a survey of the Nürnberg types or classes of society, based upon the Shrovetide plays of Sachs, while the third and fourth parts discuss the external life and the intellectual life of the times, as revealed by these plays.

Thus Dr. French's purpose is not to throw new light upon the literary art of Hans Sachs but to throw light upon Nürnberg life of the early sixteenth century, as depicted in Hans Sachs. In view of this it seems to me regrettable that he has limited his study strictly to the Shrovetide plays. Rich as these are in popular types and homely details of the life of the people, much supplementary data could be found in the other writings of Sachs. Another criticism of a general character is that, in my opinion, Dr. French does not observe his declared intention of making due allowance for the immediate purpose of the individual play. The characters of the Shrovetide plays are drawn with a broad humor and a tendency to caricature; also the traits of the characters are determined primarily by their rôles in the plays; it is therefore only with much caution, more than the author often shows, that inferences can safely be drawn from these characters as to the typical traits of the various classes of society of the real life of the times. It seems unwarranted, for instance, to draw inferences about tavern-keepers

in general from the disreputable Bettelwirt of No. 25, or to infer that innkeepers of that period were of low mentality because Hans Sachs humorously makes them gullible in two or three of his plays, or to infer a universal practice of putting water in the beer and of overcharging because these faults are alluded to in the case of two or three innkeepers of poor repute.

The inference (p. 28) that a journeyman might on occasion have to be a Jack-of-all-trades is based upon a misunderstanding of the passage quoted. The innkeeper's wife does not expect the man to do the various tasks mentioned; she is merely trying to ascertain which one of them he does, i.e., what kind of an artisan he is. A certain carelessness is shown by other details, including a goodly number of misprints. Ill-advised is the author's constant use of the form *Lanzknecht*; Sachs' usual form *lantzknecht* is his spelling of *Landsknecht*. On p. 27 the word *landtfarrer* (No. 25, ll. 258-60) is wrongly rendered as *Lanzknechte*. On p. 3 it is stated that the *Schembart* ceased to exist in 1539, "presumably on account of ridicule by Dr. Andreas Osiander," whereas it was Osiander who was ridiculed,—an error that seems to be due to a misunderstanding of Hampe's words "infolge einer dabei vorgefallenen Verspottung des Predigers Dr. Andreas Osiander."

Dr. French's study presents a very interesting survey of the world of Hans Sach's Shrovetide plays, a survey which undoubtedly throws light upon the real life of that time. It brings together useful data, especially in the chapter on the external life of the times, and makes many pertinent observations concerning social customs and conditions.

NEIL C. BROOKS

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INCREASE MATHER: THE FOREMOST AMERICAN PURITAN. By Kenneth Ballard Murdock. The Harvard University Press. Cambridge: 1925. Pp. xv+422.

The two-fold character of this exhaustive volume is set forth in the author's introduction: "I have tried," he writes, "not only to give a 'life' of Mather, based upon all the material now available, much of it unused before, but also to retell in some measure the story of his time in New England as it is revealed in the tale of the character and activity of its foremost citizen." The effect of Dr. Murdock's investigations is to vindicate Mather from the charge of illiberalism and to see the Puritan state as less joyless and less narrowly religious than current views would make it out to be.

The first six chapters trace the story of Increase Mather's boyhood. The seventh is devoted to his "experimental years" in England, Ireland, and Guernsey, and his return to Boston.

The next group of chapters (viii–xii) narrate his rise to religious and political eminence in Boston and Cambridge, and the struggle with Sir Edmund Andros. Chapters xii–xvi are a study of Mather's success as a colonial diplomat in England. Upon his return (chapter xvii) he was shortly confronted with the problem of the Salem witchcraft trials: Dr. Murdock endeavors to exculpate Mather from blame in not preventing the persecution. The next three chapters relate the ousting of Increase from the presidency of Harvard, the story of the split in the Congregational churches, and Mather's old age and death. The final chapter (xxi) is a summing up of Mather's significance in the colony and in American history. There is much incidental information about Cotton Mather.

Dr. Murdock is to be congratulated upon the termination of so much patient work and penitential reading, and upon the skill with which he has marshalled his enormous body of facts. His book is likely long to remain with Wendell's *Cotton Mather*, as the basic book in Mather biography.

It is possible that Dr. Murdock's zeal in dissipating the prejudice by which he felt that Increase Mather has been surrounded, is a defect in his volume. He carries on a long running fight with J. T. Adams, whose *The Founding of New England* is, to him, a wrong-headed interpretation, and having tasted controversy, he too often sets up a man of straw. The anxiety to exculpate and defend betrays him into prolixity and dullness, and sometimes into awkward logic. Thus, he says, rightly, that Increase Mather's interest in science should win him our modern admiration. Next we read that we should not condemn him for not putting down the witchcraft delusion; after all, he was a man of his time, and at any rate his scientific interest led him to state in print that the evidence against witches should be thoroughly sifted. Somehow this seems rather weak, despite all Dr. Murdock's ingenuity. Again, we are asked (quite rightly) to admire Increase when he shows himself to be a liberal churchman, but we are asked to excuse him when he is not liberal because he belonged to his age. In other words, Dr. Murdock brings out Mather's virtues by modern standards, and condones his defects by the standards of Mather's time, and the result is that this reviewer does not know always how to take Mather. The unfortunate result of this anxiety lest we misunderstand the Puritan is that we do not always understand the man. Increase does not step firmly out of the book. He is obscured by documentation and argument.

The happiest section of this massive volume is accordingly that which treats of Increase's career as a colonial diplomat in England. Here the question of illiberalism does not enter, and Dr. Murdock does not have to argue; it is therefore at once the

most firmly written section of the book, and the part in which the figure of Mather is most clearly realized.

An excellent bibliography is appended; together with a good working bibliography of Mather's writing, although the author has rightly left to others the compilation of an exhaustive list of Increase Mather's publications. The book is well indexed. The illustrations, many of them reproductions of contemporary portraits, add materially to the interest of the text.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

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ELISABETH KARG-GASTERSTÄDT. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Parzival. (Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig. Neuere Philologie, Altgermanistische Abteilung, zweites Heft) 157 S. Halle, Niemeyer, 1925.

Eine infolge Ungunst der Verhältnisse verspätet gedruckte, schon 1920 vollendete Leipziger Dissertation, mit einem Anhang, der zu Albert Schreiber, Neue Bausteine zu einer Lebensgeschichte Wolfram's von Eschenbach, Frankfurt, Diesterweg, 1922 Stellung nimmt. Das Problem der Entstehung des Parzival wird sehr kühn von einer ganz neuen Seite angegriffen: Was Ludwig Grimm 1897 durch inhaltliche Kriterien, Zwierzina 1898 durch Studium der Reime herauszufinden gesucht haben, will die mit den metrischen Studien von Sievers wohlvertraute Verfasserin durch klangliche Untersuchungen feststellen. Mit einem ausserordentlich entwickelten Klanggefühl zerlegt sie den Parzival in vier verschiedene Verstypen. Der erste Hauptabschnitt des Buches macht es sich zur Aufgabe, "die erwähnten vier Verstypen nach ihrer Verschiedenheit zu charakterisieren, ihre Verteilung im Parzival festzustellen und daraus die nötigen Schlüsse für dessen Abfassung zu ziehen. Wie aber die Sieverssche Schallanalyse noch ein heiss umstrittenes Gebiet darstellt,—ich verweise auf die Aufsätze von Sievers und Karg in der Festschrift für Streitberg 1924 und des ersteren Bemerkung, dass eigentlich eine Debatte ausgeschlossen ist, wenn der eine etwas hört und fühlt was der andere nicht hört und fühlt—so werden auch diese Klanguntersuchungen zum Parzival verschieden beurteilt werden. Jedenfalls ist es oft sehr subjektiv, ob man einen Vers dem einen oder dem nächst ähnlichen Typus zuschreiben soll, und es ist bedauerlich, dass die Verfasserin bei den zahlreichen von ihr angestellten Kontrollversuchen kein Protokoll geführt hat. Wir können ihre Typeneinteilung nur für die sieben ersten Bücher genauer nachprüfen. In der versprochenen Fortführung der Arbeit sollte für jeden Vers des gesamten Parzival die Typenangehörigkeit bestimmt werden. Dagegen halte ich den Einschluss des Versuchs einer Angabe der entsprechenden

Verse Crestiens in das Schema am Schlusse der Arbeit nicht für angebracht, denn diese Entsprechungen sind nach Zeilen allein oft gar nicht festzulegen. Wenn die Verfasserin zu demselben Ergebnis wie Schreiber mit der Behauptung kommt, dass der Parzival nicht in einem Gusse gedichtet worden sie, stimme ich ihr bei. In der Annahme einer "vielfachen und ins innerste Gefüge der Erzählung eingreifenden Überarbeitung", ja "einer stellenweise mosaikartigen Zusammensetzung" geht sie aber doch wohl zu weit, wenn auch ihre Probeanalyse Seite 27ff sehr geistreich zu nennen ist. Interessant ist jedenfalls, dass die von Nolte als gänzlich unannehmbar bezeichneten Schlussfolgerungen Ludwig Grimms durch die vorliegenden Untersuchungen gestützt werden, indem Priorität der Abfassung den Büchern III–VI zugeschrieben wird, allerdings mit Einschluss kürzerer Teile des zweiten Buches. Typus II wird fortlaufend in den Büchern I und II festgestellt, Typus III in den Büchern VII–XVI. Der vierte Typus wird nur in isolierten kleinen Abschnitten nachgewiesen. Überzeugender als das erste Kapitel wirken die sprachlich-stilistischen Untersuchungen des zweiten Hauptabschnittes, der mit grossem Fleiss Beweismaterial zu der Tatsache bringt, dass Wolframs Wort- und Stileigentümlichkeiten in den in der Abfassungszeit auseinanderliegenden Teilen des Parzival verschieden sind. Die Bücher III, I und XVI werden als charakteristisch herausgegriffen und in bezug auf Vorkommen von Fremdwörtern, Eigennamen, Satzbau (Parataxe und Hypotaxe etc.) verglichen.

Zu der alten Streitfrage, ob Wolfram lesen und schreiben konnte, nimmt die Verfasserin im Sinne Albert Leitzmanns Stellung. Während Schreiber den Dichter einen Analphabeten nennt,—auch ich sehe nicht ein, wie man W. 115, 27 "ich enkan deheinen buochstap" wegzudisputieren vermag—sagt sie S. 78, Anm.: "Wolframs Arbeitsweise setzt notwendig die Fähigkeit des Lesens und Schreibens voraus. Ein derartig wiederholtes, gründliches Umarbeiten eines so umfangreichen Textes kann nicht aus dem Gedächtnis allein erfolgen. Besonders die Entwicklung von Buch II und III zeigt, wie sich Wolfram den Stoff allmählich gestaltete, wie sich Einzelszenen erst nach und nach zu einer laufenden Erzählung verbanden. Das ist nicht Improvisation, sondern langsames, schrittweises Arbeiten, ein bewusstes Ausfeilen. Dazu muss aber Wolfram den Text jeweils schriftlich fixiert vor Augen gehabt und die Änderungen persönlich eingetragen haben. Abhängigkeit von einem Schreiber oder Vorleser erscheint mir dabei ausgeschlossen". Mir kommt die ausfeilende Tätigkeit eines Dichters im 13. Jahrhundert, ähnlich etwa der Überarbeitung des Urfaust, des Buches der Lieder oder der ersten Fassung des grünen Heinrich, etwas anachronistisch vor. In einer anderen vielumstrittenen Frage stimme ich dagegen mit der Verfasserin überein, in der Ableh-

nung einer Kiot-Quelle. Eine sehr schöne Literaturzusammenstellung dazu findet sich in dem Monumentalwerk von J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1923, der mit folgenden Worten auf die Bedeutung der Arbeit von Julius Lichtenstein hinweist (I, S. 322, Anm. 18): "The last named article deals with the Parzival from almost every point of view, and in my opinion nothing better has been written about the poem". Lichtensteins Argumente gegen einen Dichter Kiot sind m.E. unentkräftbar.

Jedenfalls ist es mit Freude zu begrüßen, dass die Parzivalforschung durch das Buch der Verfasserin in neue Bahnen gelenkt wird. Hoffentlich führt ihre gründliche Vertrautheit mit dem Stoff sie bald zu weiteren Veröffentlichungen.

E. K. HELLER

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THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTHERN NOVEL PRIOR TO 1850

"This country," wrote James Fenimore Cooper in 1838, "probably presents as barren a field to the writer of fiction . . . as any other on earth; we are not certain that we might not say the most barren."¹ Of the various themes in which American authors sought the novelty which Cooper considered the only escape from this "poverty of material," none is more truly indigenous than are the frontier and the plantation. Associated with these are the two most picturesque racial types in American literature, the American Indian and the American negro, the latter connected with the white man more intimately in the United States than in any other portion of the world. Illuminating to students both of literature and of society is the gradual process by which American authors, including Cooper himself, became conscious of the negro.

Of that awakening, this paper recounts certain origins. By way of introduction, the place of the negro in English and American literature before 1824 is very briefly summarized. Minor novelists in the Southern United States are then discussed from 1824, when the first significant work appeared, to 1850, after which date the fictional treatment of the negro passed into a new phase. The work of William Gilmore Simms is next examined. Finally, a few suggestions are made as to the general nature of this presentation of the black man in the Southern novel. Due to limited literary production in the Southern states, it has been possible to consider practically all the work which falls within the limits set for this study; every important novel in the period has been examined, and all minor things save a very few rare volumes of slight circulation and influence have been read.² To discuss or even to enumerate all the passages in these novels in which the negro appears is impractical in a brief paper; only the more sig-

¹ *Home as Found*, Philadelphia, 1836, I, iv.

² J. C. Johnson's excellent bibliography, *Southern Fiction Prior to 1860*, Charlottesville, 1909, has been found useful, although his dates have not in all cases been followed.

nificant developments are presented, therefore, and the illustrative material is limited to important scenes and incidents. In commenting on each book, attention is centered on the degree of realism with which the negro is characterized and on his importance in the plot, for these two points are vital to an understanding of the treatment of the negro in Southern fiction.

I.

Although the English slave trade was well established by the middle of the seventeenth century, the negro at that time had appeared infrequently on English soil and in English literature. By the end of the eighteenth century, he had been rather sketchily presented in British literature from, in the main, three standpoints: the naturalistic, the humanitarian, and the realistic. Goldsmith drew a typical naturalistic noble savage in his negro of *The Traveller*; Mrs. Behn in *Oroonoko*, several Romantics (e. g.: Cowper, Blake, and Wordsworth), and certain Revolutionary novelists (such as Mackenzie in *Slavery* and Godwin in *St. Leon*) combined in varying proportions naturalism and humanitarianism; the latter element alone animated references to the negro by Johnson, Southey, and Wilberforce; while Defoe in *Captain Singleton* and *Colonel Jack* and Grainer in *Sugar Cane* were practically unparalleled in their realistic approach. Yet despite this apparently rather considerable discussion of the negro, it is difficult to find in the main channels of British literature previous to 1824 any black men portrayed in accurate detail or any account of negro life written with fullness or realism. It was therefore unlikely, if not impossible, that American authors were extensively indebted to English models in dealing with the negro.

The first negro slaves were landed in the American colonies in 1619; when the Revolutionary War had demonstrated that all men are born free and equal, their number had increased to half a million. In American literature in the North, there was a continuous series of humanitarian references to the black man from Sewall to Woolman, Crèvecoeur, Freneau, and Barlow. Humanitarianism was combined with a modified form of the doctrine of the noble savage by Mrs. Sarah Morton and by Bryant. Dwight is something of the realist in his account of the black man in *Greenfield Hill* in 1794, but in

general these early references to the negro are in the conventional English manner. With the appearance of satire in America, however, the sentimentalized noble Afric began to give way to a recognizable negro. Examples are a brief incident in Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (1792-1797) and again in Royal Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797). More significant is *Salmagundi* (1807-8), for here the black man is, almost for the first time in America, the object, not the agent, of satire. Further, the theme is repeatedly the Haytian negro, at a time when Toussaint L'Overture was yet a Romantic hero and symbol in England. The negro is not always treated satirically in *Salmagundi*, however, for here appears one of the first sketches of a character soon to become most familiar—the loyal old black servant who seems invariably to consider himself “a personage of no small importance in the household.”³

When, in the 1820's, the American novel came into its own, with it came not only the American Indian, but the American negro. Cooper, with his sense for the unusual in character, devoted unprecedented attention in *The Spy* (1821) to a negro, Caesar Thompson, an example, as Cooper points out, of “the old family servant, who, born and reared in the dwelling of his master, identified himself with the welfare of those whom it was his lot to serve.”⁴ Cooper did justice to Caesar's personality, revealing his loyalty, his humor, his shrewdness in judging character, his superstition, and a touch of racial self-consciousness. W. H. Gardiner was therefore justified in stating in a contemporary review that Caesar is “a character which we have never before seen truly depicted.”⁵ Most significant of all, however, is Caesar's place in the plot, for he is allowed to assist substantially in the action, recognition not previously given a negro in American fiction nor again granted before the work of Simms. Knowing the negro and sympathizing with him,⁶

³ New York, 1860, p. 120.

⁴ Chicago, 1914, p. 56.

⁵ *North American Review*, XV, 265 (October, 1822).

⁶ Cooper's daughter states that there were two slaves in her grandfather's home for twenty years during James Fenimore's youth and that several negroes were employed in her father's home. (*Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, New Haven, 1922, I, 13, 24.) Cooper is sympathetic toward the negro in *Notions of the Americans* (1828), *The Deerslayer* (1841), and *Wyandotté* (1843).

Cooper came surprisingly close to admitting the servant to literary equality with his master, for Caesar is, it seems, as carefully studied as any white man in *The Spy*.

To this achievement, contemporary novelists in the North added nothing, for they passed the negro unnoticed save for brief mention in such inconsiderable things as John Neal's *Randolph* (1823). By 1824, therefore, the early misconceptions of the negro as an ideal creature in the state of nature had almost entirely disappeared from the work of Northern authors. This had not been accomplished by the sentimentalists or the humanitarians, for they in America as in England had given little attention to a concrete presentation of the negro, but by the satirists and the novelists, too familiar with the black man to transform him into a noble savage. And yet, even though Cooper made permanent the primary characteristics of the traditional black servant, negro character and manners were as a whole untouched.

II.

Before 1824, the South produced barely a half-dozen pieces of fiction which may be termed novels, and in none of them does the negro appear. In the 1820's, however, there came something of a literary awakening, eventually producing a significant group of novelists in Virginia and a few scattered fictionists elsewhere in the Southern states. After the War of 1812, it had seemed that slavery would gradually disappear in the United States, but between 1820 and 1830, the introduction of the cotton gin and the power loom made cotton raising so profitable that the negro became exceedingly significant from an economic standpoint. Many Americans now actively defended slavery where they had once merely excused it, and the negroes themselves began to make conscious efforts toward freedom. It was during and in part because of this quickening of sectional feeling that the South began to write novels. Inevitably, the slave had a place in this new fiction, and it is here that a study of the negro in the Southern novel becomes possible.

First of the Virginian group, George Tucker, lawyer, economist, historian, and university professor, was the earliest Southern novelist of any literary distinction; likewise, he

was the first novelist to present the old system of Southern feudalism. His novel, *The Valley of the Shenandoah* (1824), is of peculiar significance because of its dual attitude toward the negro. In one aspect Tucker is unusual, if not unique, among ante-bellum novelists: he frankly admits that as a slave the black man was frequently unfortunate and unhappy. Instead of confining himself to the agreeable side of negro life, he occasionally introduces its darker aspects, particularly in his realistic account of a slave auction. Here he even goes as far as to admit that "one not accustomed to this spectacle is extremely shocked . . . and even to those who have become accustomed to it, it is disagreeable."⁷ It is true that the passages of unpleasant realism are few and restrained, but they are sufficient to show that, unlike the fiction of the following decade, this novel was composed before the South became fully conscious of the acute controversial nature of the institution of slavery. In other aspects, *The Valley of the Shenandoah* is the prototype of the plantation novel of the next twenty-five years, for in it appear two conventions in the presentation of negro characters which control Southern authors for several generations. First, Tucker to a high degree idealizes his slaves, emphasizing most of all their undeviating loyalty. For example, his sketches of superannuated Uncle Bristow, gallant young Peter, and old Granny Mott present those individuals in a most favorable light, and the faithfulness of his black men is so great that even the field hands "as completely identify themselves with the family as if the crops were their own."⁸ Secondly, despite his genuine if controlled affection for the negro, Tucker gives him no significant position in the plot of the novel. Slaves perform their customary household and farm tasks, carry messages, and converse briefly and respectfully with their masters, but they never directly influence the action. It would be difficult to determine whether Tucker knew the English or early American naturalistic and humanitarian treatments of the negro. It is evident, however, that such work did not influence him in *The Valley of the Shenandoah*: his humanitarianism is obviously spontaneous, arising from his own kindliness of heart, and his idealization of the negro is equally

⁷ New York, 1824, II, 206.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 68.

personal, due not to his devotion to the concept of a noble savage but to Southern amiability of temper. In these respects, the book definitely indicates the place which the negro was to occupy in Southern fiction before the Civil War.⁹

It was the novelists of the next decade who firmly established the conventional negro types in fiction. Writing after keen difference of opinion had developed over slavery, Kennedy, Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, and Caruthers naturally omitted almost without exception the unpleasant elements of plantation life. Nevertheless, each contributed his share of new details to the steadily developing portrait of the negro and at the same time reënforced the general outlines drawn by Cooper and George Tucker.

Distinguished lawyer and public servant, John Pendleton Kennedy wrote in his leisure three novels. *Swallow Barn* (1832), a charming but inconsequential "book of episodes" written under the influence of Addison and Irving, contains considerable description of plantation life in Maryland. Particularly full is his account of the slave quarters, with their picturesque cabins, noisy poultry, and hordes of small negroes. Yet, except for an old black hostler, Kennedy's slaves are not individualized. Abe and Lucy enter as realistic black folk, but as the story of Abe progresses, they are transformed, perhaps through the influence of sentimental romance, into the colorless conventions of polite fiction. By thus perfunctorily handling the incident, Kennedy destroys, possibly deliberately, its full tragic value as a revelation of the grief and misery of black life, and what might have been a moving portrayal of the tragedy of slavery becomes a formal episode. In the same novel, Kennedy amiably wrote: "To me negroes have always appealed as a people of agreeable peculiarities and not without much of the picturesque,"¹⁰ and yet he passes them over almost in silence in *Horse Shoe Robinson* (1835) and *Rob of the Bowl* (1838). It is true that Kennedy went far toward

⁹ John Pendleton Gaines in his admirable volume, *The Southern Plantation* (New York, 1924), which surveys from a different viewpoint much of the material included in this study, practically ignores *The Valley of the Shenandoah* and terms *Swallow Barn* the first important plantation novel. This paper was completed before Mr. Gaines' work came from the press.

¹⁰ Philadelphia, 1832, II, 244.

establishing in fiction the traditional details of aristocratic life on the Southern plantation, but he was too conventional and too well bred to go below the surface of negro character or to present even surface conditions of slave life if they were offensive to a cultivated taste. His greatest significance in connection with the negro therefore lies in his presentation of the black man as an urbane and cultured Southerner of antebellum days would have him appear, rather than as he actually existed.

It was to be expected that Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, as barrister and at length professor of law in William and Mary College, would continue the Virginian tradition in his dignified, even stately, novels. In *George Balcombe* (1836) appears a sentimental little spectacle which may be not unjustly viewed as an epitome of what a thoughtful and humane Southerner considered ideal relations between master and slave. The hero says of an old slave: "As he spoke thus in a tone of reverential affection, I held out my hand to him. He took it, and drawing it strongly downward to accommodate the lowness of his prostration, bowed himself upon it, and pressed it to his lips. I felt a tear upon it, and if an answering tear had not sprung to my eyes, I should not have deserved to be the object of such devotion, as ardent and devoted as it was hopeless."¹¹ Beverly Tucker as a student of public affairs was more fully conscious of the slavery issue than were most novelists of the day, and his famous novel, *The Partisan Leader* (1836), is therefore well reasoned propoganda. In dealing with the probable conduct of Southern slaves in such a civil war as he imagines in the novel, he is convinced that their devotion would lead them to fight with unswerving loyalty for their masters. This, he explains, will be due to the fact that through the mammy, the black foster brother or sister, and even the mammy's other children, "the great black family . . . in all its branches, is united by similar ligaments to the great white family."¹² Old Tom is the only black in *The Partisan Leader* who possesses a personality of his own and, through Tucker's desire to illustrate the loyalty of the negro in the coming war,

¹¹ New York, 1836, II, 156.

¹² [Washington, 1836], II, 6. Tucker reveals a knowledge of Cooper's *Spy*, for he condemns Caesar Thompson as a caricature.

he is even admitted to a minor position in the plot, a recognition without parallel in the minor fiction of the 1830's. Although George Tucker and Kennedy made little or no attempt to differentiate the speech of blacks from that of whites, Beverly Tucker repeatedly calls attention to the perfect enunciation of his educated negroes, causes Old Tom to assume supposed negro dialect to deceive Northern soldiers, and makes it evident that he finds no difference in the speech of the best informed negroes and that of their masters.

William Alexander Caruthers has nothing important to say of the negro in *Cavaliers of Virginia* (1832) or in *The Kentuckian in New York* (1834). Four rather well drawn servants appear in *Knights of the Horseshoe* (1845), although Dr. Caruthers is too ardent a Virginian to place them in the main action of the novel. June's "small, terrapin-looking eye", "large mouth, kept constantly on the stretch," and particularly his "bandied legs set so much in the middle of the foot as to render it a difficult matter to tell which end went foremost,"¹³ are almost verbatim confirmation of Cooper's portrait of Caesar, to which the reader suspects Caruthers may be indebted. The old negro brings into the novel his banjo and songs, which last contain most of the ingredients of the later sentimental lyric. For example, June sings thus:

"Farewell, old Berginny,
I leb you now, may be forebber";

then takes leave of nets and fish, swamps and woods, and his black friends.

"The chimney corner is all dark now
No banjo dah to make him merry,
A long farewell to my old missus,
A long farewell to my old missus,
Way down in old Berginny."¹⁴

Sharply contrasted with June, representative of the field hands, is Essex, a member of the negro aristocracy who served about the house, a class carefully distinguished from the field hands by Southern novelists of that day. Essex, "with his hair queued up behind and powdered all over,"¹⁵ possesses to a

¹³ As *Knights of the Golden Horseshoe* in *The Magnolia*, III, 75.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 435.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 76.

remarkable degree the negro's subtle skill in adapting the deference of his manner to the social rank of those he serves. Cato is a negro gossip and Caesar is a runaway, whose unfaithfulness is duly and adequately explained, leaving the reader no cause to suspect that there may have been justified discontent among Southern slaves. Caruthers, last of the Virginians, was endowed with less genius than Kennedy or the Tuckers, but he is nevertheless more accurate in describing the black man and he lays a foundation for the later phonetic reproduction of his speech.

The single novel richest in detailed information concerning negro life was written by an author wholly outside the Virginian group and, in fact, Northern born. The author, Mrs. Caroline Howard Gilman, married a New Englander, the Reverend Samuel Gilman, who for thirty years was a pastor in Charleston, South Carolina. Mrs. Gilman is therefore claimed by Southern literary historians as a Southern author.¹⁶ In her novel, *Recollections of a Southern Matron* (1836), the negro portraits, while not always elaborate, outnumber those of her predecessors and contemporaries: old Jacque and Nanny of Revolutionary memories; Jim, good-humored general factotum; Chloe, lady's maid extraordinary; Kate, most atrocious of cooks; Binah, nurse who dies for her white charge; Dick, the runaway; Dinah, old-time dairy woman; widowed, heartbroken Anna; dumb, mad Bella; and a dozen more figures, old and young. Similarly, negro characteristics are discussed with unprecedented fullness: loyalty, superstition, rabid religionism, humor, gaiety, a touch of cruelty, and considerable tenderness of heart. Negro customs had never before been as considerably detailed in fiction: a burial, two weddings, dances, Christmas festivities, a horse race, and a welcome for a white bride. It will be observed that tragedy and evil are by no means excluded from the picture. However, elaborate as is this background for the activities of master and mistress, it remains background; in accord with the unspoken but hardly unconscious Southern convention, blacks do not influence the plot. Yet, with the observing eye of the novelist and the

¹⁶ e. g.: E. A. Alderman, Joel Chandler Harris, C. W. Kent: *Library of Southern Literature*, New Orleans, etc., 1909-13; J. G. Johnson; *op. cit.*; Louise Manly: *Southern Literature from 1579-1895*, Richmond, 1900.

curiosity of a Northerner, Mrs. Gilman caught much that passed unnoticed or unmentioned by those born in the South. Sympathetic with the Southern point of view but writing with Northern readers constantly in mind, this clergyman's wife produced the first novel before *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which to any degree approaches that book in fullness of detail concerning negro life.

In his unregenerate youth, Joseph Holt Ingraham published a mad Gothic romance, *The Quadroone* (1841), which is oddly revelatory of the conventions of the period. A Northerner born, although counted a Southern author by Southern literary critics,¹⁸ Ingraham ventures to present in his romance of New Orleans in 1769 a titled Spanish gentleman (later revealed as the heir to the throne of Spain) as in love with Azelie, a beautiful octaroon, and her brother Renault as beloved by a noble Spanish gentlewoman. After emphasizing Azelie's innocently voluptuous charm due to her mixed blood and referring to the traces of similar ancestry in Renault's countenance, he carries the two love stories through two volumes, undoubtedly to the horror and wrath of his contemporaries. Eventually, however, Ingraham yields to the proprieties of his day and devises as conclusion a resolution and recognition scene so incredible that it becomes excellent, though unintentional, burlesque. Herein the two octaroons are shown to be free from negro blood and are provided with unimpeachable Spanish pedigrees. During his generation, no novelist save this rash and prolific creator of paper-backed tales appears to have toyed even thus timidly with the forbidden theme of racial intermingling.

A few scattered novels supplement these authors but add little that is new concerning the negro. Mrs. Anne Royall enumerates the duties of a black body-servant in *The Tennessean* (1827). In *Northwood* (1827), Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, one of the numerous authors who were later to devote entire volumes to the negro once *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had furnished a precedent and a challenge, presents a negro freeman serving as overseer. Certain serialized novels mentioning the negro were apparently never republished in book form; examples are the anonymous *Lionel Granby* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1835 and *Judith Bensaddi* by H. Ruffner,

D. D., President of Washington College, Virginia, in the same magazine for 1839. Both authors make the negro an exceedingly happy and contented person.

That realism in presenting the negro is proportionate to each author's degree of freedom from polite convention is evident in several volumes of sketches produced during this period. Representative are A. J. Knott: *Novellettes of a Traveller* (1834); A. B. Longstreet: *Georgia Scenes* (1835); John S. Robb: *Streaks of Squatter Life* and *Odd Leaves from the Life of a Louisiana Swamp Doctor* (1843?); William T. Tappan: *Major Jones' Chronicles of Pineville* (1843) and *Major Jones' Courtship* (1844); William Elliot: *Carolina Sports by Land and Water* (1848); and J. H. Hooper: *Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs* (1848). These productions, of small literary merit, are not included in the scope of this paper, but they deserve a word of comment as substantiating the conclusions suggested by contemporary novels. Longstreet shows an admirable understanding of negro psychology in his treatment of black house-servants in *Georgia Scenes*, a book of such homely, jovial realism that its author in his later years regretted its existence and admitted its authorship most unwillingly. More farcical and not always in good taste are the sketches of John S. Robb of St. Louis, a primitive frontier humorist who elevated the negro to unenviable prominence as the butt of vulgar practical jokers. As a country journalist, William T. Thompson wrote of Georgia crackers and negro slaves with a hilarious honesty which some twenty-eight years later forced him to assume an apologetic tone in his preface to a reprint of the sketches (1872). His raciest scene is a runaway marriage between an absurd white man and a supposed gentlewoman, who proves to be one of the blackest negresses in Georgia, with eyes like "peeled onions." This creature, throwing her arms about his neck, exclaims, "Shore did is my husband," whereupon the unfortunate man disappears from Pineville. Such works, on the fringe of literature and by their authors' own confession rather outside the pale of good breeding, contrast sharply with the cultured productions of Virginia.

III.

William Gilmore Simms, the greatest of Southern novelists, was distinctly not a member of the Southern aristocracy,

nor was he ever completely recognized by its members. His mother was of respectable but undistinguished family; his father, Irish by birth, was an unsuccessful small merchant in Charleston, South Carolina. There in 1806 Simms was born and there he grew to manhood without coming into intimate contact with the great plantations or their proprietors. As a boy, he was fascinated by his grandmother's tales of the Revolution, and in his later years he became interested in the ruder side of Southern society by his father's wandering life on the frontier after bankruptcy in Charleston. As a druggist's apprentice, a law student, and a struggling young author, Simms rarely touched Carolinian culture or conventions, and not until his second marriage did he find himself master of a plantation with its feudalism and its slavery. Even then his wife's social standing could not make Simms acceptable to the exclusive South Carolinians, and in 1858 he wrote: "All that I have done has been poured to waste in Charleston, which has never smiled on any of my labours, which has steadily ignored my claims, which has disparaged me to the last."¹⁷ Here obviously was a man likely to be free, at least in part, from the preconceptions of the old regime that are constantly evident in the novels of the Virginian group, and in his works the reader may justifiably expect a degree of realism in the presentation of the negro.

Simms' only novel of pre-Revolutionary days which deals with the slave is *The Yemassee* (1835), a romance of Carolina in the early eighteenth century, in which, as in the *Leatherstocking Tales*, the Indian rather than the negro takes the stage. And yet Hector, a black body-servant, is thoroughly individualized; he stands out as a skillful scout and Indian fighter, resourceful, optimistic, and amusing. At the close of the novel, Hector rejects offered liberty. This refusal of freedom, employed also by the earlier novelists, is repeatedly used by Simms to exemplify the loyalty of the negro.

In his minor melodramas,¹⁸ Simms has no space for the negro or other realistic details; to study his treatment of the black man one must turn therefore to the main body of Simms'

¹⁷ W. P. Trent: *William Gilmore Simms*, Boston, 1892, p. 239.

¹⁸ *Guy Rivers* (1834), *Richard Hurd's* (1838), *Border Beagles* (1840) *Beauchampe* (1842), and *Charlemont* (1856).

work, a series of novels laid in South Carolina during the Revolution. According to the chronology of their events they stand thus: *The Partisan* (1835); *Mellichampe* (1836); *Katherine Walton* (1851); *The Kinsmen* (1841), renamed *The Scout*; *The Forayers* (1855); *Eutaw* (1856); and *The Sword and the Distaff* (1853), later known as *Woodcraft*.¹⁹ Simms was profoundly interested in and thoroughly informed concerning the events in Carolina during the Revolution, and he was more sympathetic with the people of that period than with his contemporaries. He was therefore successful in writing of "the dear, black, dirty scamps of negroes, big and little," as he terms them, "on . . . the old ante-Revolutionary plantations."²⁰

In these seven novels of the Revolution appear a motley company of black folk. Perhaps the most novel types are the responsible negro overseer, as illustrated by Benny Bowlegs, and the negro scout, represented by Abram and Little Peter. The type most often presented, however, is the faithful old family servitor. Typical is Scipio in *Mellichampe*, notable for "unvarying devotion" to his young mistress, her lover, and her family, each of whom he is given an opportunity to aid. He thus becomes one of the chief characters in the book. But it is in the conclusion of the novel that he takes the center of the stage in unusual fashion. As young Mellichampe and Barsfield, an evil specimen of "white trash," come to a draw in their death grapple, Scipio is ordered to kill Barsfield. He naturally hesitates; "I mos' fraid—he dah buckrah—I dah nigger." At last he seizes a pine knot and scatters the villain's brains; "De head," afterward declares the old darkey, "mash flat like pancake."²¹ Thus the author's weakness for melodrama gives good Scipio ghastly distinction among his fictional prototypes and contemporaries.

An amusing variant of the customary personification of loyalty is Captain Porgy's cook, Tom. After minor activities

¹⁹ Although Simms took an active part in the slavery conflict, there is no apparent change in the tone of his novels after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It is therefore possible to include in this study all his Revolutionary novels, even though several titles were published after 1850: the same attitude toward the negro is maintained through the entire series.

²⁰ *Eutaw*, New York, 1856, p. 291. ²¹ New York, 1836, II, 224, 226.

in *The Partisan* and *Mellichampe*, he reaches his highest culinary triumph in *The Forayers*. In the post-war days of *The Sword and the Distaff*, he becomes also valet, barber, and keen but humorous general adviser to his master and heavy-handed tyrant to his subordinates. In the end, Tom refuses freedom, saying, "Free nigger no hab any body for fin' him bittle." "If *I* doesn't b'long to you," he tells the Captain, "*you* be'longs to me." "And thus," concludes Simms, "the matter was settled and Tom remained . . . the cook and the proprietor of his master."²² This amiable domination of master by slave has now become a familiar situation, but in Simms' day novelists did not present such matters to the world at large.

Similar humorous realism places two white men in an unconventional position which a Tucker or a Caruthers would hardly have recorded in his pages. Coming one night on Porgy's sergeant wrapped in his blankets, old black Sappho seizes him firmly, hugs him to her bosom, and kisses him effusively, shouting: "My belubbed infant! I hab you in my arms again, 'fore I dead! De Lord be praise'!" Porgy, drawn by the uproar, appears; whereupon Sappho abandons her first victim and falls sobbing on the Captain's neck, crying: "Dis dah him! Dis dah my own chile!"²³ Her affectionate demonstration finally subsides sufficiently to permit Porgy to discover that she is indeed his old nurse, and two hours of reminiscences follow.

Most unconventional of all is Mingo, negro overseer in the novelette, *The Loves of the Driver* (1841). He is at first almost a heroic figure, "gallant, good looking, and always well-dressed" and "brave as Julius Caesar in his angry mood." It soon develops, however, that Mingo is a servant of Venus, "pliant as Mark Anthony in the mood of indulgence."²⁴ Slipping away from his duties and his wife, he attempts to win a young Indian matron, but as Caloya remains impervious, Mingo reveals a vast self-complacency and a beastly temper. Finally, when he deludedly believes that success is just before him, his termagent wife breaks in upon the maudlin scene,

²² New York, 1853, p. 509.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

²⁴ *The Magnolia*, III, 226.

routs the Indians who are in reality about to murder Mingo, and drives him home in utter disgrace. The incidents of plantation life are made very real, and negro conduct and mentality are presented with understanding. Inevitably, such realism offended Southern taste, and when the first installment appeared in *The Magnolia*, protest was at once made to the editor. In the next issue Simms replied, defending the work not for its truth, which no one appears to have challenged, but for its essential morality in that he makes evil unsuccessful. Sentiment in the North apparently agreed with that in the South, for a contemporary critic in the *North American Review* attacked "the coarseness which deforms this story" and concluded that not virtue but nausea led Caloya to refuse Mingo.²⁵

Such are the more picturesque of the negro characters in the novels of Simms. Other figures fill out the scene: Mira, affectionate mammy; faithful old Bacchus; Cato and Sam, stupid but well meaning coachmen; Pomp, gay little fiddler; intelligent John Sylvester; Congaree Polly, "mighty smart and scrumptious;" and many others—Bull-Head Dabney, Slick Sam, Tony, Bones, Caesar Fogle, Snub-Nose Martin.

Simms, although a whole-souled defender of slavery, clearly is not entirely orthodox in dealing with the negro. Early interested in humble life, he had formed his conceptions of the black man before he became master of many slaves. His biographer, W. P. Trent, cautiously suggests that his inclinations and sympathies may have been somewhat plebeian and that he was perhaps never a thorough aristocrat. Only such an author could have found the courage to allow old Scipio to kill a white man as the climactic scene in a novel of Southern life, the cook Tom to browbeat his master or toothless Sappho to caress the luckless Captain, and Mingo to conduct in public his amorous pursuit of an Indian woman. Given a man who fails to appreciate the indecorum of recounting the sexual weaknesses of the black race and who is occasionally overcome by a desire to tell the truth in its entirety, and new aspects of the negro will inevitably appear. Simms is therefore to be credited with introducing or establishing in fiction the black man's pomposity, his

²⁵ LXIII, 373 (October, 1848).

overbearing nature, his untruthfulness, his insolence, his ungovernable temper, his liking for drink, and his lust. Although his later associations and aspirations were such that in many respects Simms could not but become a conventional idealizer of the negro, the accidents of birth and early environment, perhaps reënfined by heredity, combined to make the chief Southern novelist the one outstanding realist among all ante-bellum Southern authors who ventured to describe the negro. This realism may be estimated correctly only if one remembers that Simms defied not only the preconceptions of the Southern aristocracy but the good breeding of Northern critics as well; it was a New York magazine which rebuked him for the "spiritless vulgarity of the scenes in low life" in *The Partisan*.²⁸

IV.

As has long been recognized, the Southern colonies were settled by men who still retained much of the notion of feudalism, and the great slave plantations of Virginia and Maryland were therefore feudal in many respects, particularly during the first and the second century of American history. As a result, the Southern attitude toward the negro was from the outset limited by taboos and restraints, many of them natural and necessary, all of them understandable. An aristocratic overlord could not publicly reveal concern in the personal activities of his serfs; well-bred gentlemen could not exhibit interest in the vulgar and often offensive doings of semi-barbarians. As has been indicated, these influences developed conventions in the early novel somewhat resembling those of the heroic drama in England, until the negro was held to a subordinate position or eliminated altogether from fiction. On the other hand, the old regime developed in the typical master a very real love for the negro, difficult for a Northerner to appreciate today and never paralleled in the North. It is possible that this affection led Southern authors to pass over in silence aspects of the negro which were likely to be misunderstood by those not familiar with him. A kindly exponent of this old order was George Tucker, who produced

²⁸ *The American Monthly Magazine*, III (New Series), 86 (January, 1837).

in *The Valley of the Shenandoah* the only novel dealing with the negro in what may be called the older manner.

Then in the 1830's came a modification of this attitude. The conventions of feudalism and good breeding continued to be influential, but to them was added the requirement, more or less consciously realized, that slavery must be defended. It has been pointed out that Kennedy, Beverley Tucker, and Caruthers under these compulsions developed a negro who often spoke excellent English and at times behaved like his master. As far as he was made a distinct racial figure, their negro was idealized, his sentimental creators discreetly hinting at only a few vices. Such an extreme transformation of unruly material could not long be maintained, of course, and even while it was developing, realism began to intrude. The Southern conventions regarding the color line were so strong, however, that this realism came from Northern-born authors or from those somewhat outside the old Southern aristocracy. That Ingraham and Mrs. Gilman, Longstreet, Robb, Thompson, and, above all, Simms gave a larger proportion of space to the negro than did the Virginian novelists reveals nothing regarding their relative literary ability, but it does indicate that the former were decidedly less handicapped by sectional inhibitions than were the Virginians. It may be concluded, therefore, that where Southern proprieties ruled, the negro was a minor figure in fiction; only when the equalitarianism of primitive society or of non-slave holding groups intervened, or social inferiority broke the power of conventions, did the negro rise to prominence.

By 1850, then, the personal appearance of most negro types on the coastal plantations had been described; their speech was gradually being mastered, so that Simms was occasionally able to suggest their sonorous and musical expression; their habits and manners had in part been recorded; but negro psychology was still in the main an unplumbed mystery into which no novelist particularly cared to intrude. If one may judge from the amount of attention devoted to each characteristic of the black man, the composite portrait of the negro thus developed reveals a figure of perhaps six parts unadulterated loyalty, three parts minor virtues (mainly derived from that same devotion) and one part as-

sorted vices. Although they mentioned such characteristics, the early novelists failed to present adequately his optimism, his native humor, his musical talent, his pietism, his indolence, his deceit, and his irresponsibility. Save in the work of Simms and an occasional veiled reference elsewhere, no one recognized his grumbling, his rebelliousness, and his extreme licentiousness, which some historians suggest almost destroyed the race. His insolence, his meanness and grossness, his essential barbarism were suppressed. No one adequately presented the negro's amazing power of adaptation, fatalistic perhaps, which enabled him to find some happiness under the most adverse conditions. Inevitably many relations with the white man were never recounted, such as the actualities of field labor and the results of absentee landlordism. The phenomena of interbreeding between whites and blacks were dealt with by no one save Ingraham, and he eventually avoided the issue. Certainly, the portrait was greatly retouched.

When in 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared, it is not surprising that 3000 copies sold on the day of publication and 300,000 in the first year. Mrs. Stowe was the first American novelist to center her attention on life among the lowly, and that alone, without the significance of the book as an abolition tract, was sufficient to make it sensational. In fact, aside from the unexampled emphasis on the horrors of slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was unusual chiefly in this very shift of emphasis and proportion, for most of the characteristics of her negroes had already been suggested, at least in embryo, by Southern authors. That is, her negroes were not novel in traits or manners, but in the detail and fullness with which she presented them and in the partisanly sympathetic point of view from which they are drawn. To be exact, Harriet Beecher Stowe, not Uncle Tom, was unique.²⁷

Thus, controlled somewhat by eighteenth century good manners in literature but without restrictive literary models or even suggestive forerunners save Cooper, the Southern novelists idealized the negro into a permanent convention.

²⁷ Aspects of the treatment of the negro in the following decade appear in Jeanette Reid Tandy: "Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI, 41-50; 170-178 (January, April, 1922).

Ignoring and possibly ignorant of the British and early American noble Afric developed under the influence of Rousseau, these authors in their own fashion created a new negro. Left free by the absence of substantial literary realism throughout the United States but moved by national worship of propriety and by powerful regional inhibitions, they shaped his character not according to preconceived notions as to how primitive man should conduct himself, but in such a fashion as to provide an appropriate lay figure in the sympathetic staging of ideal plantation existence. Through the influence of forces beyond the control of any individual author involved, there was thus produced an appealing but falsified type which was to be accepted for fifty years as an actual portrait of the negro, although it must be said that this sentimentalized negro was an advance in realism over the slaves conceived by early humanitarians and is also nearer actuality than is the clogging, banjo-thumping "nigger" of twentieth century comedy. Not until the black race became partially articulate, some three hundred years after it reached America, did the pleasant old darkey of fiction begin to disappear and the real negro to emerge in the serious work of recent novelists, white and black. In short, American literature, in one of its first encounters with native material, reacted in an entirely uncritical and sentimental fashion.

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BORROWINGS FROM THE *ERLÖSUNG* IN A "MISSING" FRANKFURT PLAY

The Frankfurt Passion Play of 1493 (F.) is known to be a revision of an earlier play and it is thought¹ to be at least a third revision of the play represented by the Frankfurt Dirigierrolle (D.).

That there were copious borrowings from the "Erlösung" (E.) in the text of the play represented by the Dirigierrolle (D.) has long been known.²

It is usually assumed that the Frankfurt group of plays show that a "missing" Frankfurt Play, which was based upon the play of D. and which served as the intermediate source for the later plays, made use of the text of the "Erlösung" for further borrowings not known to D. Carl Schmidt³, for example, says of the play of D.: "Als Grundlage ist demnach eine nicht erhaltene, dem Original mindestens sehr nahe-stehende Hs. (*der Erlösung*) anzunehmen, vielleicht das Original selbst. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der zweiten Gruppe von Versen, die das verlorene Frankfurter Spiel selbständig übernommen hat. . . . Also hat auch dieser Gruppe (*d. h. die späteren Spiele, A. F. H.*) eine gute Hs. der Erlösung zu Grunde gelegen, vielleicht dieselbe, die auch schon das Spiel der Dirigierrolle benutzt hat."

Lest we lose our sense of proportion let us observe that the total number of lines in the Frankfurt Play of 1493 (F.) for which Schmidt⁴ cites correspondences with the Erlösung is 304. The play F. contains 4408 lines. Of the 304 lines cited, 135 are indicated as present in D. and F., usually also in the Alsfelder (A.) and/or the Heidelberger (H.) play. Seventy six

¹ Froning: *Drama des Mittelalters*, D. N. L. 14, 2 p. 336.

Brooks, N. C. *On the Frankfurt group of Passion Plays*, MS. Harvard Diss. 1898, pp. 264-270.

² Froning, D. N. L. 14, 2 p. 331.

³ Schmidt, Carl: "Studien zur Textkritik der Erlösung." *Marburg Diss.* 1911, pp. 50-51.

⁴ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54.

Froning: D. N. L. 14, 3 pp. 998-1004 cites but 277 lines as he has not collated the Prag MS. of E. in his tabulation.

lines from E. are found only in D. and F. Of these, 50 belong to the Prophet Play. According to the table of Mr. Schmidt,⁶ 93 lines have been taken from E. in F. and one or both A. and H., for which no parallel in D. is noted and which he says:⁶ "die FrD. nicht kennt." These are the lines to which one must look for evidence of the independent use of E. by the hypothetical or "lost" Frankfurt play, which is thought to have served as an intermediate source for F. A. and H.

By what criteria shall one judge whether lines parallel to the text of E. and found in F. and/or A. H. or G. (the St. Gall Play) were or were not present in the play represented by D? If we find such lines in speeches which are not indicated by D. as having been in the play of the Dirigierrolle, we must concede an expansion of the later texts resting upon secondary borrowing from E. I shall show that this does not occur. If D. indicates that the speech concerned was in the text of the play it represents, but that the first line read differently from the corresponding line as found in F. A. or H. we may have to do with a version based upon secondary borrowing by a "missing" Frankfurt play. This is not necessarily the case however, as we may have in the later plays merely a rewriting⁷ of the original text of D. When the first line of a speech as indicated by D. corresponds to the first line of a parallel speech in the later plays and when there is no evidence of the introduction into these plays of new speeches based upon E. to break the sequence of the dialogue shown by D. it may be regarded as a fair inference that the later plays present the speech in question essentially as it appeared in the play of D. Even under such circumstances a "missing" Frankfurt play might have been expanded at the point in question by a secondary use of the source E. Each speech must be considered in the light of the particular circumstances surrounding it.

It is clear that any assertion to the effect that the plays of the Frankfurt group reveal the secondary or intermediate use of E. as a source independent of the play of D. must rest upon a subjective judgment. So far as I can ascertain, the

⁶ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ Cf. paragraph 14 below.

evidence in this case has never been set forth in detail. I propose therefore to examine the text of those passages which are cited by Schmidt⁸ as borrowed from E. but unknown to D.

The following tabulation of parallel passages is that of Schmidt: the figures in parentheses refer to the paragraphs below.

E. 4141-4143	F. 1073-75	A. 1991-92	H. 480-482		(1)
E. { 4226-43	F. { 1572-90	A. { 2425-46	H. { 3017-30		(13)
{ 4248-57	{ 1591-1602	{ 2450-58	{ 3035-38		
			{ 3041-46		
E. 4262-65	F. 1619-22	A. 2461-65	H. 3091-94	G. 58-59	(14)
E. 4266-73	F. 1625-34	A. 2468-75	H. 3101-06		(15)
E. 4285-4303	F. 1767-84	A. 2483-89	H.		(16)
E. 4320, 4322-24	F. 1797-1804	A. 2515-18	H. 2673-82		(2)
E. P. ⁹ 54-56	F. 1355-57	A. 2818-20	H. 2768-70		(3)
E. P. 91-100	F. 1962-66	A. 3072-76	H. 3367-71		(4)
E. P. 109-111	F. 1959-61	A. 3069-71	H. 3364-66		(4)
E. P. 118-122	F. { 1976-77	A. 3096-3100	H. 3423-26		(5)
	{ 1982-87				
E. 4470	F. 2222	A.	H. 3765		(11)
E. 4492-93	F. { 2319-20	A. 3370-71	H. 3815-16		(6)
	{ 2330-31				
E. 4569-71	F. 2644-49	A. 3618-21	H. 4543-46		(8)
E. 4594-97	F. 2630-33	A. 3602-05	H. 4061-64		(7)
E. 4622-25	F. 2733-36	A. 3694-97	H. 4589-92		(12)
E. 4626-27	F. 2510-11	A. 3467	H. 3967-68		(9)
E. 4630-31	F. 2514	A. 3470-71	H. 3971-72	G. 878	(9)
E. 4900-01	F. 4149-50	A. 6272-73	H.		(10)

The first point to be observed is that not one of these parallels occurs in a speech which is not indicated by D. to have been present in the play of the Dirigierrolle. This assertion is supported step by step in the following discussion.

To insist that the pertinent passages in F. A. and H. show that some intermediate play, let us say the "missing" Frankfurt play, has in these instances borrowed anew from the text of the Erlösung, subsequently to and independently of the

⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54. The citation from the St. Gall play (G.) refer to the edition of Mone. I shall quote, however, from that of Wolter, *Germanistische Abhandlungen* XLI. Since I am chiefly concerned with the Frankfurt Passion Play of 1493 I have omitted those few passages in which that play is not concerned.

⁹ E. P. stands for the Prag text of the "Erlösung" as given by Kelle, *Germania* III, pp. 465-480.

text of the play of D. is equivalent to saying that, whereas the speech in question is found in the play of the Dirigierrolle, it did not there contain the lines from E. now found in the plays F. A. and H. Unless it can be shown that the later plays have been expanded at the points concerned by the addition of lines from E. which are not in speeches indicated by D., or unless it can be shown that there are significant variations from the text of the Dirigierrolle in the later plays pointing to fresh use of E. as a source there should be a presumption against the belief that secondary borrowing by a "missing" intermediate source has taken place.

In the following paragraphs I propose to consider in turn the various alleged secondary borrowings cited in the table above.

1. E. 4141-43, F. 1073-75, A. 1991-92, H. 480-82.

E. 4141-43.

E. er sprach 'ja die hânt selic leben,
die gerne hören gotes wort
und dar nâch wellen leben fort.'

F. 1072-75

Ein, das hastu recht uss gegeben!
siech, die han alle selic leben,
die gerne horen gottes wart,
und das behalden sidder der fart.

A. 1990-93

Ja du host viel recht gehort!
seligk synt, die gottes wort
horen und die behalden woil:
mynes vatter rich en werden sail!

H. 479-482

Dys wortt sint rechtt gegebenn,
Wann die haben all sellig lebenn,
Die gerenn horent gottes wortt
vnnnd das mit vleys bewarnn fort.

F. 1072 and H. 479 correspond to D. 91 "Ia, daz has dū rehte ir gebin!"

A. 1990-91 has a rime different from that of F. H. or D. but not taken from E. The deviation from E. 4143 in F. 1075, A. 1992, H. 482 is given by the biblical text, Luc. 11, 28 "Beati, qui audiunt verbum dei, et *custodiunt illud.*"

There is in F. A. and H. immediately following this speech a new speech by "Magdalena" which has replaced D. 91a.

Aside from this the sequence D. 90,91,92 is intact in the later plays and this new speech does not come from E. The evidence here is unfavorable to the thesis that these passages rest upon an intermediate or secondary use of E.

2. E. 4320, 4322-24, F. 1797-1804, A. 2515-18, H. 2673-82.

E. 4320: ir solent finden sunder wân—

E. 4322: an ein seil gebunden.

daz löst ir zu den stunden,
schiere bringet mirz alher.

F. 1797: Hort, was ich hain begert!
get hen gein der stede wert,
die dort vor uch gelegen ist;
da findet yr yn dieser frist
ein eselin gebunden,
das lasset in den stunden
und brengt mirs gefurt alher!
nu gehet und erfüllet myn begert!

A. 2512 Horet, wes hon ich begert:
gehet hen gen der stede wert,
die dort vor uch gelegen ist!
do findet er yn der frist
eynen esel gebunden;
den losset yn den stunden
und brenget en vort here
und erfollet mynn begere! etc.

H. 2673 Ir jungerenn, macht vch vff denn pfadtt
Vnnd gett hin zcu der statt,
Die dortt vor vch gelegenn jst,
Vnnd findett jr zcur selbenn frist
Einn eselin angebundenn,
Das lossennt ab zcu denn selbenn stunden.
Ob vch jemannt fragtt zcur selbenn frist,
Sprecht: der here sein nottfürfftig jst,
Vnnd brengennt mir gebundenn herre,
So erfüllennt jr mein begere.

F. 1798, A. 2513 correspond to D. 126—"Ir get hin gein der stede wert"—The later plays have amplified this speech at least by the addition of a riming line before D. 126. The speech has in F. 8 lines, in A. 14 lines, in H. 10 lines. The play of D. is clearly an amplification of the text of E. in this speech, which lacks the equivalent of "Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est." of Matth. 21, 2, 3, (Luc. 19, 30) The only close parallel is that of E.4323 to F. 1804, A. 2517, H. 2678. It is incon-

ceivable that this line could have been missing from the play of D. as the Latin text "Ite in castellum etc." is indicated in D. and the words "azinam alligatam" must have yielded "gebunden" in the play of D. as in E. 4322 to which this line is the given rime.

None of the material in A. and H. not found in F. can be traced to E. There is no break in the sequence indicated by D. 125, 126, 127 in the later plays. The material alleged to have been borrowed after the play of D. is the essential substance of the speech and cannot but have been present in that play in some form or other. Since E. is known to have been used for the speech of D. 125 I should infer that it was also the source for this speech to D. 126 and that the parallels we find between E. and the later plays result in this case from the text of the play of D., the variations being due to later activity on the part of several authors of F. A. and H.

3. EP. 54-56, F. 1355-57, A. 2818-20, H. 2768-70.

EP. 54-56 Ir mogint arme luede han
Zû allin ziden, wan ir wolt,
Vnlange ir mich doch habin solt!

F. 1352 Ir herren, saget: umb was
draget ir der frawen hasse?
gute werck hat sie gethan!
ir moget arme lude han
zu allen zijden, wan ir wolt:
unlang ir mich doch haben solt!

A. 2815 Ir herren, saget umb was
draget er der frawen hass?
gude werck hot sie gethayn!
ir moget arme lude hayn
zu allen zyden, wan er wylt:
nicht lange er mich haben solt!

H. 2765 Ir jüngherenn, sagennt mir vmb was
Drogennt jr vff diesse frauw hass?
Gute werck haitt sie jnn mir gethann.
Ir mogennt woll arme lewëdt hann
Zcu allenn zeyttenn, wann jr wolt:
Nitt lanng jr mich habenn soltt. etc.

In H. this speech has 14 lines, none of the added material is, however, derived from E. F. 1352, A. 2815 correspond to D. 134—"Ir herren, saget, umme waz—". H. 2765 shows an unim-

portant variation from D. 134. The sequence indicated by D. 133, 134, 135 is unbroken in F. and A. If the speech in the play of D. conveyed any meaning at all it must have contained the material of EP. 54-56 and while we concede borrowing from E. in the play of D. at this point, I regard it as entirely unlikely that the text of E. was again used for this passage in the later plays, or in the "missing" Frankfurt Play. The passage is based on Matth. 26, 10-13.

4. EP 109-111 F. 1959-61 A. 3069-71 H. 3364-66
 EP 91-100 F. 1962-66 A. 3072-76 H. 3367-71.

EP. 90 Vnse herre sprach also:
 'Wir gein zû Iherusalem wert,
 Wan ich mit vlize han begert,
 Daz ich diz abintymbiz dv̄
 Mit vch, e ich doch morne vrû
 Lidin mûze mine not.'

EP. 109 He sprach: 'diz sal daz leste sin,
 Daz ich mit vch ezsin sal,
 Des dût mir diz ymbiz wal.'

These two passages from EP. are found in a single passage in the later plays.

F. 1958 Vornemet, liebe frunde myn:
 secht, dis sal das leste sin,
 das ich mit uch essen sall
 des thut mir das ymmes woll!
 mit fiis han ich das begert,
 als ich nu recht bin gewert:
 das ich dis osteryms du
 mit uch, ee das ich morn frue
 liden mus myn noit
 und an dem krutz sterben dot!

A. 3068 Vornemet, lieben frunde mynn:
 dijt sal das leste essen synn,
 das ich mit uch essen sail!
 des thut mer das essen woill
 myt flyss hon ich das begeret,
 (das ich byn gewert!)
 das ich das osterlamm essen thu
 myt uch, want ich morn froe
 lyden muss myn noit
 und an dem cruz sterben doitt!

H. 3363 Vernement, liebste freunde mein:
 Shennt, das sall das lest ymbs sein,

Das jch mitt vch essenn soll;
 Des thutt mir sicher dys ymbs woll.
 Wann mitt vleys hann jch es begerett,
 Also bin jch auch nun gewerett,
 Das jch dys oster ymbs thu
 Mitt vch, ehe das jch morenn frw
 Leydenn muss mein noitt
 Vnnd an dem cretüz leydenn denn doit.

F. 1958, A. 3068, H. 3363 correspond to D. 142. "Hort irs, liebe frunde min"—. The sequence noted in D. 141, 142, 143 is broken in the later plays between 141 and 142 by the insertion of speeches given to the returning disciples and warranted by the situation. None of the material in these amplifications is derived from E. There is no break in the sequence indicated by D. 142-143 in F. or H. while A. has introduced here some material which appears a bit later in H. 3387 ff., F. 2075 ff.

It is clear from D. 142 and the rime in F. A. and H. that the passage EP. 92-100¹⁰ was in the play of D. The only possible reason for inferring that the passage EP. 109-111 was not also in the play of D. would seem to be the fact that in that case the two passages had been taken out of their original sequence in E. and transposed by the author of the play of D. Since D. yields generally only the first line of a speech it is impossible to prove that this was done elsewhere in the play of D. but the reason suggested does not seem of itself to be particularly convincing. It is clear that in separate speeches the author of D. was not averse to taking material from E. out of its sequence in the epic. For example D. 17 corresponds to E. 2148-63, while D. 20 corresponds to E. 2064-83. That there are not more such instances is to be explained by the fact that the course of the life of Jesus has determined the sequence of the material in E. as well as in D. If it could be proved that there is material in the later plays which has been borrowed from E. independently of the play of D. the present passage might possibly be suggested as one in which such borrowing is present. Unless secondary borrowing can be proved from other passages I do not regard the present one as sufficient evidence to support the thesis that such borrowing took place.

¹⁰ Cf. Germania III, p. 472, where Kelle has made a mistake in numbering the lines with the result that the passage 91-100 has but 5 lines.

5. EP. 118-122, F. 1976-77, 1982-87, A. 3096-3100, H. 3423-26.

EP. 118 Ich wil lieben sagin doch,
 Daz ich verradin werdin noch,
 He ist alhie gesezsın,
 Mit mir hat he gezsın,
 De gebrewen hat den rat,
 We he vimmer doch hat!

F. 1972 Nu nemet: das ist auch myn blut!
 Das selbe, ir lieben, nach mir thut,
 das ir da bij gedencket myn!
 myn getzugenys sal is sin!

(Detur calix)

Ich sagen uch, lieben, allen doch,
 das ich verraden werden noch!
 under uch allen eyner ist,
 der noch hint in dieser frist
 den Judden wil verraden mich!
 uff mynen dot flisset he sich!
 und ist alhie gesessen,
 mit mir hat er auch gessen,
 der getriben hat den rat!
 we und leyt he ummer davon hat!

A. 3092 Nemmet hen! das ist myn blut!
 wie dick ir das thut,
 doby solt er gedencken mynn:
 mynn gezeugniss sail das syn.

(et subjungit)

Ich sagen uch, lieben frunden, allen doch,
 das ich werde vorraitten noch!
 hie ist alhie gesessen
 und hot mit mer gesszen,
 der mich schyer gibbet yn den toid:
 so muss ich lyden groisse noid!
 eme werre besser, hie enwere nye geborn:
 wie em! hie muss ummer syn vorlorn!

H. 3423 Liebenn freündtt, horennt mich vffenbor.
 Ich sagenn vch sicher furwar:
 Einer ist vber disch gesessenn
 Vnnd greyfft mitt mir jnn das essenn,
 Der wirtt mich ver roittenn vorwar,
 Das sagenn jch vch offenbar.
 Vnnd des menschen soen wirtt ghann,
 Als man findtt vonn jm geschriben stann.
 We aber dem zcu aller stundtt,
 Der jnn ver retht mitt seynem mundtt;
 Es were jm besser zcu allenn stunden,
 Das er nitt were vff erdenn komenn

The material for which secondary borrowing is here alleged stands in the second division of the speech of Jesus indicated by D. 144, "Nu nemit! daz ist auch min blut!" It might be thought that this need not imply that this second part of the speech was present in the play of D. but D. 144a adequately refutes this inference: "Hoc audito discipuli singulatim dicant: Numquid ego sum, do(mine)?" It is impossible to justify D. 144a without assuming that the play of D. had in the speech to D. 144 at least in substance the material for which secondary borrowing from E. has been claimed. This is the central thought of the passage, founded on Matth. 26, 23-24. Schmidt¹¹ concedes borrowing in the first portion of this speech in the play of D. The only possible reason for denying it for the second portion of the speech is the thesis that this portion, not being specifically noted in D. could not have been in the play of D. This thesis is untenable in the light of D. 144a which proves that the material of this portion of the speech was in the play of D. and which with D. 144 and its parallels admitted would seem to me to create a strong presumption that the whole passage from E. viz. EP. 116-122 was borrowed by the play of D.

6. E. 4492-93, F. 2319-20, 2330-31, A. 3370-71, H. 3815-16.

- | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| E. 4492 | Er sprach 'ir herren saget mir,
wen wellent und wen süchent ir?" |
| F. 2319 | Ir Judden alle, nu saget mir:
was wollet ir und wen suchet ir? |
| F. 2330 | Ir Judden, wult ir sagen mir:
was wollet und wen suchet ir? |
| A. 3370 | Ir herren, nu saget mer,
wen wollet er? wen suchet er? |
| H. 3815 | Ir herrënn, sagennt alle mir,
Was wollennt vnnd wen süchent jr? |
| D. 160 | Ir herren alle, sagit mir— |
| D. 162 | Ir herren, wolt ir (sagen mir)— |

This speech, the "Quem queritis?" of Joh. 18, 7, is found twice in the play of D. The Nürnberg and Prag texts of E. agree in reading "wen wellent und wen suchet ir?", the Trier text however, reads: "was wilt yr ader was suchet yr?" We

¹¹ Op cit., p. 53.

don't know what the text of the play of D. was, but I suspect it was closer to the original text of E. than either EP, EN or ET. and possibly read as we find it in F. and H. I am unable to see in the variant of A. any adequate reason for assuming a subsequent use of a text of E. in such a brief and perfectly obvious utterance as this speech. Indeed it is not impossible that the play of D. itself was not dependent upon E. for these lines, since the biblical text could hardly have been translated by the playwright in a different manner from that of the epic poet.

7. E. 4594-97, F. 2630-33, A. 3602-05, H. 4061-64.

E. 4594 sie slügen in durch ir spot.
sie sprächen 'já já bistu got,
já bistú gotes sun, só rát,
wer dich nú geslagen hát.'

F. 2630 Ertzeuge, Jhesus, din gebot!
lass uns sehen, bistu got?
ja, bistu godes sone zurad,
welcher dich geslagen hat!

A. 3602 Bezeuge uns, Jhesus, dyn gebott!
loss uns sehen, bistu ware gott!
bistu gottes sone, sso raid,
wilch under uns dich geslagen hot!

H. 4061 Jhesus, erzeyge vnns dein geboitt.
Loyss vnns sehenn, bistu gott.
Bistu gottes soen, so roitt,
Welcher dich geschlagenn hoitt?

F. 2630 and H. 4061 are equivalent to D. 187: "Erzeige, Jhesu, din gebot—" The version of A. shows *Bezeuge* for *Erzeige* neither of which forms comes from E. The matter is biblical (Luc. 22, 64) and the sequence indicated by D. 186, 187, 188 is preserved in F. and A. In H. there is an expansion which is not related to E. The speech was in the play of D. and there is no reason for supposing that E. was later resorted to for this passage in the plays F. A. or H.

8. E. 4569-71, F. 2644-49, A. 3618-21, H. 4543-46.

E. 4569 sie jáhen 'waz gêt uns daz an,
waz dir hie mac geschehen?
daz saltú iedoch wol gesehen.'

- F. 2644 Frunt, was get uns das an?
 din gelt drag mit dir von dan!
 daran keren mir nit unsern mut!
 hastu gethan ubel odir gut,
 das wirdestu her noch gewor!
 wiltu an den galgen, zufare!
- A. 3618 Frunt, was gehet uns das an?
 dyn gelt trage mit dir von dan!
 was dir darumb magk geschen,
 das saltu selber nach wol sehen!
- H. 4543 Judas, was gett vnns das ann,
 Haistu woll oder vbell gethann?
 Dir mag woll oder vbel gescheenn,
 Do lossenn wir dich selbs zcusehenn.

That this speech was in the play of D. is shown by D. 189, "Frunt, sage, waz get uns das an?" The sequence represented by D. 188-189 is not broken in F. A. or H. After this speech, however, the pantomime of D. 190 is supported in the later plays by a speech put into the mouth of Judas, who is in process of hanging himself. In A. this expansion extends to A. 3680 which picks up D. 190 again: in F. to line 2729 and in H. to line 4574. None of this new material is from E. There is in the case of this passage no reason for supposing that the play of D. contained anything less than the three lines of E. which are alleged to have been borrowed subsequently by the "lost" Frankfurt Play.

9. E. 4626-27 F. 2510-11 A. 3467 H. 3967-68
 E. 4630-31 F. 2514 A. 3470-71 H. 3971-72 G. 878

- E. 4626 er jach er wère ein konic rich:
 gein dem keiser sazte er sich.
 unser ê hat er verkart,
 nûwen rât hât er gelart,
- E. 4630 nûwen rât hât er gegeben.
 hie mit hât er verworht daz leben!
- F. 2508 Ich sagen uch, was ich han gehort:
 Ihesus was so gar verdort,
 das he sich nant ein konig rich!
 widder den keiser satzt er sich:
 des keisers zins he uns verbot!
 da mit macht he grosse not!
 sus hat he verschult das leben,
 als ich das recht kan gegeben!

- A. 3464 Ich sagen, was ich hon gehoret:
 disser selbe was sso gar verthoret,
 hie nant sich gottes son, sso lebe ich!
 widder den keysser saczt er sich,
 syn zinse hie uns verboitt!
 damidde macht hie uns groisse noit,
 also hot hie vorwircket syn leben,
 als ich orteyl han gegeben!
- H. 3963 Gezeugknus habenn wir zwar vill.
 Der erst jch selber sein will.
 Ich sagenn vch, was jch han gehortt:
 Er ist gewest also verdortt,
 Das er sich nandtt einn konig reych.
 Gegenn dem keysser saczt er sich:
 Seinen zcinsse er vnns verboitt,
 Do mitt er macht grosse noitt.
 Domitt hoitt er verworcktt sein lebenn.
 Sollichs gezeugknus kann jch jm gebenn.
- G. 875 Er hat verboden vber al,
 daz nieman dem keyser sal
 vorbaz sine sture geben.
- 878 dar vme hat er verwirket sin leben.
 er nimmet sich auch des riches an,
 den keyser als smehen han.

We may properly disregard the parallel from the St. Gall play since the single line may readily be explained as a coincidence of composition conditioned by the common subject matter.

The speeches cited appear in the testimony of the false witnesses against Jesus before Caiaphas. F. 2508. A. 3464, H. 3695 correspond to D. 170 "Ich sage uch, was ich han gehort!" The speech in H. begins with 3963 which corresponds to D. 169, "Gezuge han wir harte vill!"

In F. the sequence indicated by D. 169, 170, 171 is interrupted after the speech of D. 169 by the insertion of a speech of 4 lines, none of which comes from E. The sequence D. 170, 171 is intact in F. A. and H. In A. there is no interruption of the sequence D. 169, 170 while in H. the speeches from D. 169 and D. 170 have been compressed into one speech, followed at once by D. 171.

In these parallels the alleged secondary borrowing is concerned with material which could not have been lacking from

the play of D. if the speech to D. 170 had any significance. The speech was in D.¹³ and I see no reason for inferring a later and secondary borrowing, from E.

10. E.4900-4901 F. 4149-50 A. 6272-73

- E. 4898 'herre ja mfn sêlic drôst,
der wære got der mich erlöst
hât mit innichtcher gir,
mnen geist bevelhe ich dir
hûte, herre, in dîn hant.'
- F. 4149 Herre, in din hende bevele ich dir
meynen geist mit gantzer begir!
- A. 6272 In dyn hende, vatter myn,
Bevelle ich den geist myn!

The text of F. and A. is almost literally that of Psalm 31, 6 (Vulgata, XXX, 6) "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum:" etc.. It is my opinion that no borrowing at any stage by the Frankfurt plays from E. is proved by this parallel. However, granting that the two lines might come from the text of E. we are in this case able to prove that they were both in the play of D. for in D. 236 we find: "In dine hende, vater min, sal dir min geist bevolhen sin." Here the first line agrees entirely with A. 6272. The only conceivable ground for including these lines as a possible instance of secondary borrowing from E. is the fact that F. uses a rime differing from that of D. and A. As will be observed from the citation of E. above, the rime *gir*: *dir* is used in this passage. If the rime in F. were in any way unusual this might be significant, but *Begir* appears in F. in rime frequently: viz., 990, 1388, 2718, 2896, 1137, 1289, 1812, 4150, 2304, 4313, 4359. Futhermore, the utmost this passage can be alleged to prove is that E. was used by F. independently of the other plays of the group as the source for these lines, since A. shows a variation from F. in favor of the reading of D. No borrowing by a "lost" Frankfurt play is proved by this parallel.

11. E. 4470 F. 2222 H. 3765.

- E. 4464 Er sprach 'ei vater magez geschehen,
mac dise pfn die ich sehen
mit dînem willen mich vergên:

¹³ Cf. paragraph 12 below.

- doch sol der wille an mir niht stên.
 der geist zu fromen ist bereit,
 iedoch ist kranc die menscheit.
 4470 din wille ergê von mir vil gar.'
- F. 2216 Vatter, mag iss gesin,
 so nym von mir diese phin!
 mit dime willen lass sie verghen!
 doch sal die kure an dir sten!
 der geist zu lijden ist bereit,
 yedoch ist krang die menscheit!
 2222 din wille an mir ergee vil gar!
 siech, das neme sicher war!
- H. 3761 Here vatter, mag es gescheenn,
 So layss die pein, die jch sehenn,
 Mit deinem willenn vonn mir ghen,
 Doch soll die kore nitt an mir sthenn:
 3765 Dein will sall an mir ergann gar
 Sich, des nym, mein lieber vatter, war.

H. 3765 corresponds literally to D. 157, "Herre Vatr, mag geshehin" and to EN. cited above. F. 2216 corresponds to EP. and ET. 4464, which have here: *mag ez gesin*. Schmidt¹³ regards the version of EN. and D. as the correct and original reading of E. He is perhaps forced in his explanation of the text of EP. and ET. at this point, when he maintains that this *gesin* is dialectical for *geschehn* in rime with *sin* dialectically for *sehn*. This is impossible in the dialect of F. What we have in F. 2216 is a direct translation of Latin text which precedes the line: viz., *Pater, si possibile est*. It is admitted by all that the play of D. had the first line at least of this speech. The alleged secondary borrowing here is concerned with one line later in this speech, and a line included in the direct discourse of that passage from E. from which the play of D. admittedly made a borrowing in D. 157. The material which we find in the plays F. and H. is all given in Matth. 26, 39 "Pater mi, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste: verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu." Moreover the sequence in D. F. and H. is that of Matth. 26-39, 40. There is, to be sure, a break in the sequence indicated by D. 156, 157 in both F and H. This break is caused in both the later plays, however, by the omission of the material indicated between D. 153 and D. 157. This cer-

¹³ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

tainly does not point to borrowing by the "lost" Frankfurt play. The thesis for secondary borrowing in this case rests upon the assumption that the play of D. borrowed a part of the direct discourse from E. 4464-70 and that later the "missing" Frankfurt play sought out the text of E. and completed the quotation. It also pre-supposes that the play of D. did not render completely the biblical verse, Matth. 26, 39 although it proceeded directly to Matth. 26, 40. In my opinion it is most improbable that the parallel cited at the head of this paragraph rests upon a secondary borrowing by a "lost" Frankfurt Play, and was unknown to the play of D.

12. E. 4622-25 F. 2733-36, A. 3694-97 H. 4589-92.

- E. 4622 Sie sprächen 'richter herre,
wie frägest dū sō verre?
sich heter niht ubels begangen,
wir heten in niht gefangen.
- F. 2733 Philate, richter und herre,
was fregestu so ferre?
het er nit bossheit begangen,
so were er auch nit gefangen!
unser ee hat er verkart
und ein ander gelart!
darzu ist er ein kebisich kint:
das wissen alle, die hie sint!
dar umb sal er sterben nach der ee,
die wir han von Moise!
- A. 3694 Pilate, richter und herre,
wie fragestu also sere?
het hie nicht bossheyt begangen,
so enhetten mer en nicht gefangen!
unser ee hot hie vorkart
und ein ander ee gelart!
darzu ist hie eyn kebes-kynt:
das wyssen alle, die hie synt!
des muss hie sterben nach der ee,
die mer haben von her Moysel!
- H. 4589 Pilatus, richter vnnd here,
Was frogestu also sere?
Sich, hett er nichts begangenn,
So wer er nitt hie gefanngen,
Vnnsere ehe hoitt er verkerett
Vnnd hoitt einn ander ehe gelerett;
Des muss er sterbenn noch der ehe,
Dye wir hann vonn herre Moyses.

F. 2733, A. 3694 and H. 4589 correspond to D. 192: "Kayphas respondeat: Eya rihter (und herre)—" and the speech was therefore in the play of D. The sequence indicated by D. 191, 192, 193, is unbroken in F. and A. H. omits the speech to D. 193 and proceeds to D. 218-219 returning to D. 193a at H. 4603. It will be observed that H. above has omitted the two lines corresponding to F. 2739-40, A. 3700-01, which do not come from E. but from the *Gesta Pilati*,¹⁴ whether directly or otherwise. There is a difference among the plays with respect to E. 4625. F. and H. read *were er* with EP., while A. reads *enhetten wir* with EN. and ET. This is a deviation which might easily arise from the independent revision of the original text of the play of D. without secondary reference to E. by an intermediate source such as a "lost" Frankfurt Play. The variation of A. and H. which in the second line of this speech read *sere* for *ferre* in F. and E. is also not conceivably due to fresh borrowing from E. after the play of D. Concerning the portion of the text for which secondary borrowing is here alleged I believe there can be no doubt that these four lines were in the play of D. substantially as they are now in E. and F.

A problem of a very interesting nature is offered however, by remainder of this speech in the later plays. There is in the text of E. only one passage in which testimony against Jesus is taken by a judge, in this instance Pilate. This is the passage E. 4622-4631. In paragraph 9 above I have cited the lines E. 4626-31 from which certain lines appear in the later plays earlier in the sequence of events than the material of other lines of this same passage of E. It is clear from the citations of paragraph 9 that the lines E. 4628-29 were omitted from the later plays at the point there in question, likewise that the lines E. 4622-25 which belong in the same bit of direct discourse in E. were not taken into the play of D. at the same point as the lines E. 4626-31.

In the citations given for the present parallels, however, we find that all the lines of this passage of direct discourse in E. not used in the earlier speeches cited under paragraph 9 have been used in the later plays. In addition the two lines represented by F. 2739-40 and A. 3700-01 have been added, although H. shows no trace of this addition.

¹⁴ Tischendorf: *Evangelia apocrypha*, Lipsiae MDCCCLXXVI, pp. 344-5.

Fortunately the text of D. proves that in the play of D. there were at least two instances in which testimony was taken before a judge concerning the alleged crimes of Jesus, namely at D. 169, 170, 171 before Annas and Caiphas and at D. 191, 192 before Pilate. H. has in the latter instance omitted the speech to D. 193, to follow the biblical version of John 18, 31. In D. F. and A. we have immediately after the speech to D. 192 a speech by Nicodemus. D. 193 does not indicate the text of this speech at all, but does show that the speech was in the play. The two lines added by F. and A. and not in H. are based upon the Gospel of Nicodemus (or the *Gesta Pilati* II.) and in that Gospel Nicodemus plays the part of a defender of Jesus. For example in the *Gesta Pilati IX*¹⁵ we read: "Et convocans Pilatus Nicodemum et duodecim viros qui dixerunt quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione, dicit ad eos:" etc. From this and from the evidence of F. and A. I believe that the speech of the play D. indicated by D. 193 contained the same material as that found in the later plays, and that therefore the speech preceding it (D. 192) must have contained the two lines not found in H, but present in F. and A. Did it also contain the lines parallel to E. 4248-29? If it did we have before us a very interesting instance of the economical use of a passage from E. to serve as the foundation for two separated but closely similar passages in the play of D. We know that the two separated but closely similar passages existed in D. and that in each there are borrowings from one and the same passage of E. The later plays have omitted in the first of these speeches the line E. 4630: "nuwen rat hat er gegeben" and in its stead supplied a new line to rime with E. 4631 which they have. (F. 2514, A. 3470, H. 3971.) E. 4360 could have been used by the play of D. and the later plays had they not desired to omit E. 4628-29 and these two lines are used by them for the second speech corresponding to D. 192. It seems to me that there is here reason to believe that the entire passage of direct discourse was made use of by the author of D. who very economically made it serve for two separate speeches. In any case no evidence can be advanced to show that the material from E. was borrowed by two different sources for the later plays at different times, for both speeches were in the play of D.

¹⁵ *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, p. 358.

13. E. 4226-43 F. 1572-90 A. 2425-46 H. 3017-30
 4248-57 1591,1602 2450-58 3035-38
 3041-46

The citation of the passages here indicated would require more space than is commensurate with the need of having them before us in full.

In F. the material concerned is in two speeches, 1572-90, and 1591-1602, which are put into the mouths of two different characters. In A. and H. the same lines with relatively few variants are found in one speech. The author of F. has divided a long speech of his original into two shorter and more manageable ones.

The initial lines of these speeches are as follows:

- EN. 4225 und sūchten ein consilium,
 daz in dōtschem ist ein rāt.
 sie sprāchen 'waz ist dirre dāt?
- F. 1572 Ir herren, findet eynen rat
- A. 2425 Ir herren, nu fyndet eyn raid
- H. 3017 If herren, findet ewer roitt
- D. 119 Ir herren, findet eynen rat

D. 119 is indeed as closely parallel to E. 4225-26 as the play ever is to epic matter in E. E. proceeds in 4227 to direct discourse which runs unbroken to E. 4259 and which is a catalogue of the accusations made by the Jews in council against Christ. Since there is a direct relation between D. 119 and E. 4225-26 it is not beyond sane inference to suppose that the play of D. may have contained the entire speech found in E. The later plays have all the material, and it is impossible to prove that the play of D. lacked any of it.

F. is the only text of the later plays to introduce material not in E. and this occurs only at the point where the author of F. divided the long speech.

This passage stands at the beginning of the scene: The Council of the Jews. In F. it is joined to the Lazarus scene by a speech of ten lines borrowed by F. alone of the group from the St. Gall play, lines 531-540. It is followed in F. by a repetition of the lines F. 108-118 and a second speech which is substantially equivalent to A. 2459-60, both putting E. 4260

into dramatic form. In A. these two lines are the only transition from the long speech of D. 119 to A. 2461 which is the speech of D. 120. In H. the transition is still more amplified than in F. The three plays are in this respect so different that it is difficult to refer them to a common antecedent play as a source at this point. One must rather conclude that individual amplifications have been made by the authors of F. and H. None of the added material comes from a secondary use of E.

With reference to the parallels cited at the head of this paragraph we have then to believe either that the speech of the play of D. although clearly related to E. 4225-26 did not contain all the material from E. which we now find in the later plays, or to believe that the speech in the play of D. since it began with this bit of direct discourse from E. and since its author surely had the text of the Erlösung before him at the time, probably contained all the material from the epic which was in the passage of direct discourse and which we find in the later plays. Since it is most unusual for the plays to lack any lines from a passage of direct discourse in E. which they have used at all, the presumption seems to be that this entire speech was in the play of D. and that what we find in the later plays does not result from any intermediate use of E by a "lost" Frankfurt play.

14. E. 4262-65 F. 1619-22 A. 2461-65 H. 3091-94 G. 58-59.

- | | |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| E. 4260 | herre zû sprach Caïphas,
der daz jâr ein bischof was,
'vernemet mich, ich sage ûch daz:
es fûget unde komet baz,
das ein mensche sterbe,
'ê allez volc verderbe.' |
| F. 1619 | Ir herren, nu mirket das:
mich dunket, iss were doch bazz,
das ein mensch sturbe,
dan die gantz wernt verdorbe! |
| A. 2461 | Des horet, was ich sagen sail!
iss fuget und bekommet uns woil
und ist viel besser sicherlich,
dass der, der do so berymmet sich,
vor uns alle sterbe! |
| H. 3089 | Ich bins Caïphas genant,
Ein bischoff jnn der Juddenn landtt. |

Nu horentt, was jch sagen soll.
 Es fugett vnnd zcyemett sich woll,
 Das dür die lewde (ein mensch) sterbe,
 Dann das alles volck verderbe.

The lines G. 58-59 have nothing to do with the material of the foregoing passages.

A. 2461 and H. 3091 correspond to D. 120, "Des horet, waz ich uch sagin soll!" F. is here a paraphrase. The material which precedes these passages is different in each of the later plays, as has been pointed out in the preceding paragraph. The two introductory lines in H. have an adequate basis in D. 120—*Kaiphas pontifex dicat*: and need not be referred to a separate use of E.

The rime in F. 1619-20 is the same as that in EN. 4262-63, while the rime of D. A. and H. is that of ET. 4262-63 "vernetmet was ich uch sagen sal—es foget sich und komet wal". The most that could be maintained here is that F. has used E. independently of the other plays for these lines. This is exceedingly unlikely, for F. has taken a somewhat clumsy couplet and paraphrased it with resulting greater clarity and good sense. The rime word *bass* common to F. and ET. is frequently found in F., viz., lines 157, 204, 480, 1432, 1620, 2344, 2700, 3455, 3711, 4324, 2413, 3307, 3406, 3602. In the present case it makes somewhat better sense than the positive degree *wol* of the other plays. We have no evidence of secondary borrowing from E. by a "lost" Frankfurt Play in these parallels.

15. E. 4266-73 F. 1625-34 A. 2466-75 H. 3099, 3106.

E. 4266 sie dühte dise rede güt.
 ez was gilch ir aller müt,
 daz man Jhësum finge
 und an ein crüze hnge.
 doch wart under in geschritt
 'ja schönen wir der höchzit,
 daz sich vome volke iht hebe
 ein grüsen unde ein getrebe.'

F. 1625 Horet auch, ir herren, mynen rat,
 der gar wol zu gude ergat!
 ab iss euch alle duncket gut
 als iss mich entruwen dut:
 das man jhesum fahe
 und an ein krutz slagel

so schonen wir dieser hochzijt,
 die hie by so nahe lit,
 das sich von dem folg hebe
 ein grunsen und ein grosse gedobe!

A. 2466 Horet auch, ir herren, mynen raid,
 der gar wole zu gude gaid,
 ab ess uch alle duncket gut,
 also es mich yn truwen thut:
 das man Jhesum fahe
 und an eyn cruz hange
 sso schone vor disser hochzyt,
 die hie sso nahe lyt,
 das sich von dem volck icht hebe
 ein mormeley und eyn groiss getrebel

H. 3099 Horentt auch, jr herenn, meinen roitt,
 Der zwor auch woll zcu gutt er gott,
 Ob es vch alle dünckett gutt,
 Als es mich entraüwen dutt,
 Das wir schonnen diesser hochenn zeytt,
 Die itzundtt also nahe hie leydt,
 Das sich jnn dem volck nitt er hebe
 Einn gräussam vnnd einn groyss gedrebe.

The material here cited follows in the texts almost directly after that discussed in the foregoing paragraph. In F. and H. there is an intervening speech, which is an expansion of two and of four lines respectively. None of this new material comes from E. F. 1625, A. 2466, H. 3099 correspond to D. 121 "Hort auch, ir herren, minen rat!" H. is unique in omitting the equivalent of EN. 4268-69 and is thereby more sensibly in accord with Matth. 26, 5 than either F. or A. The sequence indicated by D. 120, 121 is broken in F. and H. as just stated, it is intact in A. and the sequence D. 121, 122 is intact in all the plays. This speech was in the play of D. and it there contained the material of Matth. 26, 5. That it also contained the two lines E. 4268-69 seems to be a fair inference from the fact that both F. and A. have these lines which would hardly have been *added* in any revision of the play. I can see no reason for supposing that the form of this speech in the play of D. was different from that which we find in F. and A. or that the similarity in the later plays to the text of E. is conceivably due to later borrowing by a "lost" Frankfurt play; on the other hand all the indications are that the play of D. had this speech

as it appears in F. and A. and that the author of H., who used his bible more freely than the others was the only man who had acumen enough to make the passage mean something.

16. E. 4285-4304 F. 1767-84 A. 2483-99.

Immediately following the material represented by D. 122, a response by "Lauwendin Iudeus," approving the speech cited in the foregoing paragraph, there was in the play of D. a Latin song, upon the completion of which the action shifted to a new scene: Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. This Latin song has been replaced in F. by an expansion of 125 lines: viz., 1641-1766. There is no such expansion in A., where the sequence indicated by D. is unbroken at this point. H. has omitted this portion of the text. In the expansion of F. there is no material from E., except F. 1643-48 which repeat F. 233-238 (D. 17) and which hence do not imply secondary borrowing from E.

The speeches in A. and F. cited in the above parallel are in each case eighteen lines long and rest upon the direct discourse of E. 4285-89, 4292-4304. The first lines are:

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|
| F. 1767 | Ich sage uch allen offenbare |
| A. 2483 | Ich sagen uch allen uffenbar, |
| E. 4285 | Er sprach 'vil lieben, nement war |
| D. 123 | Ich sage uch allen sundir bar— |

from which it is clear that the play of D. had this speech, and from the sequence D. 124 "Waz wilt du, lieber herre, dar?" it is a fair inference that the subject matter in the play of D. was that of the text of F. and A. at this point. The plays F. and A. have the entire passage of direct discourse from E. except lines 4290-91 which are redundant with E. 4288-89 and which may readily enough have been lacking from the particular text of E. used by the play of D.

Here, as in paragraph 13 above, if we are to concede secondary borrowing by a "lost" Frankfurt play we have to believe that the play of D. although having this speech failed to take all the material at hand and that this was later sought out by the "missing" Frankfurt play and added to the text. Such a thesis cannot be proved and on the other hand we have

not found any good evidence to support the belief that the play of D. ever failed to take all of a passage of direct discourse from E. if it took any portion of it.

The parallels discussed in paragraphs 13, 14, 15 and 16 above all come from a portion of the text of the plays in which there are evidences of expansion in one or the other of F. A. and H. In each instance we have found that in those portions of the text which clearly were not in the play of D. there are no parallel lines from the Erlösung. We have shown that in the portions of the text of the plays in which parallels to E. are found there is always evidence that the play of D. contained a speech corresponding in content and sequence to those found in the later plays. There is never any evidence to the contrary of this proposition. It is therefore my opinion, that in the revisions of these portions of the texts of the later plays, what is new in them is not borrowed from E. but is fitted around the framework of the play of D. which at this point consisted largely of lines taken directly from the Erlösung.

Every line of F. which has been said to reveal secondary borrowing by a "missing" Frankfurt play from the Erlösung has been considered in the foregoing discussion. We have been unable to find any evidence to support the thesis that such borrowing took place, on the contrary it seems entirely unlikely that the text of the Erlösung was ever used as a source for material in the expansion of these plays subsequent to the version of the play of the Dirigierrolle.

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THE COMPOUND WORDS IN SPENSER'S POETRY

In his *Defense of Poesy* Sidney pays his native language the following tribute: 'But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world; and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, near the Greek, far beyond the Latin, which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language.' Whatever may be the actual facts about the much-disputed Areopagus, it is a common-place that the French Pleiade had a marked influence upon the Elizabethan poets, and inspired and encouraged them to enrich the native tongue. One concrete result was the effort of the English poets to heighten their diction by the invention of fresh and daring compounds, especially verbal adjectives. This impulse, to be sure, did not come from France alone, for the Hellenizing impulse which swept over the sixteenth century affected English diction at first hand as well as through the French. The reaction of the two literatures to this Greek influence was in turn characteristically national, for whereas the French language shortly rebelled against an importation essentially foreign to its genius, the English rediscovered thereby an ancient kinship and liberated native forces which for centuries had been largely smothered. The cautious and scrupulous invention of compounds by Ronsard and Du Bellay was succeeded by the extravagances of Du Bartas, which invited in turn the annihilating raillery of Saint-Amant. Sidney, Shakespeare and Spenser, on the other hand, set a fashion which has enriched our poetry for more than three centuries. When we contemplate such an exquisite phrase as Rossetti's 'this close-companioned inarticulate hour', we at once recognize that the English language is therein being essentially loyal to itself.

The following paper attempts to study Spenser's use of compounds, and to draw such conclusions therefrom as would seem to be warranted. These compounds are interesting in themselves as a cross-section of the poet's vocabulary, and they throw some light upon the poet's literary art and changing

taste, as well as possibly making some slight contribution to the chronology of certain of the poems.

‡ The compounds in Spenser may be divided into those words in general use which were a part of accepted diction and employed without any special artistic intent, and those which the poet coined, or if he did not actually coin, employed for a conscious poetic effect. It is the latter group with which we are concerned.

The principal compounds may be classified as follows: verbal adjectives, that is, adjectives of verbal origin modifying nouns; participles in a participial office proper, and verbal adjectives in a predicate position; pure adjectives; nouns; verbs; and adverbs.

The verbal adjectives modifying nouns furnish by far the largest class; then come the participles, adjectives, and nouns, all about equal in number; then the verbs; and finally the adverbs, of which there are but few. To be sure, there are a large number of compound nouns, some 260 in all, but of these only some fifty can lay any claim to original usage, and of these several may very well be questioned.

In determining whether or not a word shall be classed as a compound, I have followed the usage of the *New English Dictionary* and of the *Spenser Concordance*, which are at least self-consistent. One can probably afford to disregard those border-line words which these authorities do not recognize as compounds.

The following tables list the compounds in alphabetical order, according to the above classification, and indicate where they occur. The Roman numerals stand for the respective books of the *Faerie Queene* and the other abbreviations follow the usage of the *Concordance*.

Verbal adjectives: air-cutting (Mui. 154); all-concealing (Hub. 340); base-born (V. 5.47.4; T. M. 392; T. M. 219; Ti. 424; H. L. 173); bees-alluring (Mui. 191); bitter-breathing (Ti. 405); black-browed (III. 4.19.3); black-lidded (Hub. 1228); blood-desiring (Ro. 13.3); blood-frozen (I.9.25.7); bloody-handed (II.3.2.2); book-read (Hub. 358); bow-bent (V. Pr. 6.1); brass-paved (I.4.17.7); brass-plated (I.11.20.3); bright-blazing (I.4.8.7; H. H. B. 162); bright-burning (II.9.15.6; III.3.48.6); bright-burnished (III.11.28.9); bright-embroidered (V.3.33.7); bright-shining (I.11.14.1; III.5.53.1; V.i.11.7; VII.6.8.3; Hub. 476; Col. 518; H.B. 175); broad-blazed (I.10.11.4); broad-outstretched (Mui. 335); broad-plated (IV.3.34.6); broad-spreading (V.9.28.5); close-bleeding (Am. 1.8);

cold-congealed (I.11.13.5); corn-fed (II.7.16.6); cruel-minded (V.5.13.1; VI.5.13.3); dead-doing (II.3.8.1; Am. 1.2); dead-living (II.11.44.7); dead-seeming (II.8.27.4); dead-sleeping (II.7.52.3); dear-beloved (VI.5.15.4); dear-loved (I.3.15.6; I.4.1.4; I.12.23.6); deep-conceived (III.11.14.1); deep-devouring (I.11.12.7); deep-digged (Gn. 444); deep-dinted (I.5.6.8); deep-engrafted (III.3.18.3); deep-engulfed (III.2.32.6); deep-groaning (Mui. 438); deep-rooted (I.11.22.8; V.10.22.4); deep-wounded (I.2.24.8; II.6.45.7); der-doing (II.7.10.1); dew-burning (I.11.35.6); dewy-dropping (Col. 250); divers-colored (Am. 4.1); double-folded (III.5.31.6); down-rolling (Gn. 636); drink-quickening (Mui. 196); earth-born (Ro. 10.14); ever-burning (I.7.18.4; I.9.50.3; V.8.40.7); ever-damned (I.1.38.3; I.11.49.1); ever-drizzling (I.1.41.3); ever-drooping (I.1.39.8); ever-dying (I.10.9.5; H.H.L. 129); ever-living (I.10.50.6); ever-moving (H.H.B. 194); ever-whirling (VII.6.1.1); evil-gotten (III.9.4.2; V.2.27.7) evil-matched (III.12.18.6); evil-ordered (III.12.23.4); eye-glutting (II.7.9.8); eye-spotted (Mui. 95); faint-hearted (I.9.52.6; V.7.20.5); fair-blushing (V.3.23.4); fair-burning (II.2.7.6); fair-filed (II.1.3.6); fair-forged (I.2.2.2); fair-powdered (III.2.25.9); fair-seeming (H.H.B. 17); fair-shining (II.Pr.3.6); false-forged (Am. 85.7); false-instilled (III.1.56.4); far-infixed (I.11.39.4); far-rebounded (I.6.8.3); far-reported (I.7.46.1); fast-fixed (V.3.18.6; Mui. 340); fast-flying (U.V. 2); fast-streaming (VI.11.28.6); fiery-footed (S.C. Jul.18; I.12.2.2); fiery-mouthed (V.8.40.1); fine-fingered (Mui. 260); fire-mouthed (I.9.52.9); fire-spitting (II.7.3.9); first-conceived (H.L. 203); first-engrafted (III.2.17.5); fore-damned (III.10.56.8); fresh-flowering (I.4.37.3; III.5.54.6; Van. 2.4); fresh-renewed (I.7.28.6); fresh-springing (Gn. 119); fresh-steaming (VI.6.24.7); fruitful-headed (I.8.20.1); gay-beseen (VI.5.38.5; Am. 27.5); gay-painted (II.3.36.4); gay-seeming (H.H.B. 299); gentle-warbling (II.12.71.9; S.C. June 4); grey-eyed (IV.11.48.5); great-lamenting (I.3.44.1); great-tormenting (IV.8.9.8); half-gnawn (V.12.39.3); harness-bearing (II.11.43.1); head-purging (Mui. 197); heart-binding (IV.1.1.4); heart-breaking (T.M. 6); heart-burning (II.7.22.3; III.2.52.4); heart-fretting (IV.5.45.1; H.L. 259); heart-frozen (Am. 30.6); heart-gnawing (V.4.47.1); heart-murdering (II.5.16.4; V.5.30.8); heart-piercing (III.11.30.2); heart-quelling (Proth. 97); heart-robbing (V.8.1.6; Am. 39.8); heart-swelling (Mui. 5); heart-thrilling (II.3.6.6; II.8.41.8; III.2.5.3; Am. 12.1); heart-wounding (III.4.28.4); heavy-clouded (H.H.L. 222); hell-born (VI.12.32.1); hell-bred (I.11.40.3); hell-dreaded (III.2.18.7); high-advanced (II.12.40.5) high-aspiring (Col. 612); high-blowing (Ro. 13.9); high-conceited (H.H.B. 5); high-flying (H.H.B. 135); high-minded (I.5.50.7); high-reared (IV.10.24.5); high-soaring (V.9.34.7); home-bred (I.1.31.2); home-made (VI.9.7.9); honey-laden (III.12.18.8); hot-burning (Ro. 24.5); hot-embroiling (II.5.18.5); ill-advised (V.5.40.1); ill-disposed (II.9.52.8); ill-faced (II.12.36.4); ill-favored (I.8.46.8; II.4.4.9; II.7.3.5; III.5.6.3; III.12.24.5; V.12.28.4); ill-grounded (IV.4.1.9); ill-succeeding (I.2.2.4); iron-braced (II.5.7.5); iron-coated (I.7.2.8); iron-headed (Gn. 653); ivy-winding (Mui. 299); lamp-burning (II.9.7.5); last-left (I.7.39.9; II.4.13.4); late-attempted (I.6.46.3); late-beguiled (I.2.11.2) late-betrothed (IV.6.42.8); late-born (I.6.23.6); late-decayed (I.10.2.9); late-devoured (I.11.13.4); late-forbidden (I.12.36.7); late-maimed (Hub. 272); late-miswardred (III.7.18.9); late-received (IV.4.26.8); late-renewed (I.11.35.5); late-succeeding (Ti. 170); late-wounded (I.11.25.9); lately-bruised (III.9.19.9);

lately-wrought (II.5.36.5); leather-winged (II.12.36.6); life-consuming (VI.7.31.3); life-devouring (II.7.17.9); life-giving (Col. 861; H.L. 65); life-resembling (III.Pr.2.2); light-fluttering (Mui. 290); light-foote (IV.11.49.4; I.2.8.3; I.6.18.3; I.8.25.7; II.8.10.4; II.11.25.6; III.4.7.1; III.4.46.4; S.C. June 26; T.M. 31; Epith. 67); light-giving (Epith. 19); light-shunning (III.4.58.2); like-seeming (I.3.26.6); lily-handed (III.4.41.1); long-borne (D. 32); long-endured (I.8.43.9); long-enduring (I.10.32.9; III.3.9.4); long-expected (III.4.60.2); long-gotten (III.1.10.9); long-grown (I.9.35.4); long-lacked (I.3.27.1; Am. 1.12); long-lasting (Gn. 59; Ti 53); long-lent (II.1.36.7); long-lingering (I.2.6.5; III.4.60.5; S.C. Oct. 3); long-living (Ded. Son. 3.8); long-passed (Ded. Son. 10.9); long-pining (H.B. 285); long-resting (H.H.L. 78); long-slumbering (II.11.31.7); long-wandering (I.3.21.5; I.5.11.2); long-wished (I.12.21.8); loud-thundering (II.6.10.7); love-affamished (Am. 87.12); love-kindling (H.B. 19); love-learned (Am. 43.12; Epith. 88); love-pined (Am. 2.2); low-looking (IV. 10.24.6); maiden-headed (IV.4.17.4); many-folded (II.3.1.9); many-headed (I.8.6.2); milk-dropping (Gn. 115); nectar-dewed (VII.6.30.7); never-dead (H.H.L. 126); never-dying (Ro. Env. 14; III.3.1.9); never-resting (Hub. 1247); new-born (I.11.34.9; IV.3.23.5); new-budded (S.C. May 214); new-come (I.11.15.4; II.2.16.2; II.12.49.5; VI.9.40.8); new-found (I.7.15.5; IV.1.31.9); new-grown (Gn. 84); new-supplied (I.11.35.4); newly-budded (I.11.34.7); nigh-aimed (Hub. 742); nigh-forwearied (I.11.45.8); nimble-shifting (T.M. 34); old-said (S.C. July 98); old-conceived (II.2.9.3); out-breathed (I.12.2.5); out-gushing (Bel. 1.7.6); pure-sighted (H.H.L. 276); quick-moving (III.8.7.3); rash-witted (IV.8.29.2); raw-bone (I.8.41.6; I.9.35.8; IV.5.34.4); rich-fleeced (I.2.16.2); rich-laden (Am. 81.5); rosy-fingered (I.2.7.1); rougher-rined (Gn. 209); sad-afflicted (II.3.31.9); salt-bedewed (IV.11.51.2); savage-minded (V.5.40.6); sea-beaten (V.4.11.6); sea-shouldering (II.12.23.6); sea-walled (IV.12.18.5); self-consuming (II.7.25.1; III.11.1.8; D. 436; H.H.B. 275); self-disliked (IV.8.14.9); self-loved (I.4.10.8; II.3.5.4); self-murdering (III.10.57.1); self-pleasing (III.4.6.1; VI.1.15.2; Am. 5.14); self-willed (I.6.17.9); seven-folded (II.5.6.3); seven-headed (Ti. 71); seven-mouthed (I.5.18.2); shaggy-bearded (VII.7.41.5); sharp-head (I.3.35.2); sharp-pointed (VI.4.5.6; As. 58; II.5.36.1); sharp-staring (II.9.52.6); silver-dropping (Ti. 683); silver-sounding (II.12.71.5); silver-streaming (Proth. 11); silver-winged (Mui. 17); silver-ruling (VI.10.22.1); sky-threatening (V.10.23.4); snaky-lock (III.11.42.8); snaky-paced (Ro. 13.10); snaky-wreathed (VII.6.18.2); snowy-necked (IV.11.49.9); soft-feathered (III.1.58.7); soft-groaning (IV.7.33.4); soft-rumbling (IV.10.24.4); soft-sliding (IV.11.29.6); soft-trembling (I.12.71.3); soul-diseased (I.10.24.1); soul-enchancing (H.B. 14); spring-headed (II.12.23.6); steel-head(ed) (II.6.40.1; II.8.32.7; II.3.29.3; II.5.3.6; III.9.16.1; IV.6.11.3; VI.9.36.5; Mui. 322); still-changing (I.9.42.7); still-moving (H.L. 57; H.H.B. 51); storm-beaten (Am. 40.13); storm-bet (II.12.32.7); sweet-bleeding (I.1.9.6); sweet-breathing (Proth. 2); sweet-pleasing (VI.9.10.3); sweet-slumbering (I.1.36.4; Gn. 323); sweet-smiling (IV.Pr.5.7); sweet-sugared (D. 299); swift-running (Gn. 450); thick-entangled (I.11.11.4); thorough-piercing (II.1.38.5); three-forked (I.8.9.6; III.11.40.4; IV.11.11.1; VI.12.28.2; Mui. 315); to-rent (V.8.4.8); true-meaning (I.2.9.5); true-seeming (I.1.38.7; I.5.27.4; Ti. 168); two-headed (V.10.10.6); vein-healing (Mui. 197); vile-hearted (Hub. 986); well-attuned (I.12.7.4); well-beseeming

(I.10.15.7); well-beseen (I.12.5.3; III.3.58.9; VI.5.36.9; VII.7.29.4; Gn. 651; T.M. 180; H.L. 293; Epith. 40); well-consorted (II.3.11.1); well-deemed (Col. 695); well-deserved (I.6.20.4); well-favored (I.5.28.2; VI.10.23.3); well-guided (I.7.42.1); well-known (IV.2.21.7; V.8.40.6; VI.4.38.8); well-learned (VI.7.11.1); well-plighted (III.9.21.3); well-pointed (III.11.55.9); well-proportioned (II.12.79.7); well-proved (II.11.17.2); well-rigged (II.11.4.3); well-ruling (V.5.25.4); well-savored (II.7.51.7); well-tempered (Am. 83.6); well-timbered (V.11.29.1); well-tuned (Col. 418); well-wonted (IV.9.14.1); well-woven (As. 97); white-hand (IV.11.49.1); wide-devouring (I.11.26.3); wide-embayed (IV.11.44.1); wide-glancing (V.5.35.9); wide-sparkling (H.H.L. 17); winged-foot (VII.6.17.1); wing-footed (Ti. 666; V.8.33.4); wingy-heeled (III.12.12.6 (original version)); woe-working (II.5.16.3); wood-born (I.6.16.1).

Participles proper: back-starting (V.11.61.5); base-begot (To his Booke 14); base-minded (T.M. 88); bloody-mouthed (I.8.6.6); bright-glistening (V.9.21.7); broad-blazed (V.3.14.9); broad-spreading (Ti. 452); double-eyed (S.C. May 254); dry-shod (I.10.20.5); fast-fixed (I.9.36.8; I.11.43.1; I.12.29.6; II.12.73.2; III.10.41.2; V.5.27.4); fore-lifting (I.11.15.2); free-born (Hub. 133); heavy-laden (VII.7.38.2); high-mounted (VII.6.41.2); ill-apaid (II.12.28.7; III.10.25.4; V.7.18.8; V.11.64.9; VI.2.18.8); ill-assayed (S.C. Aug. 5); ill-bested (I.1.24.1; II.1.30.4; II.1.52.7; V.1.22.4; V.12.23.5); ill-disposed (II.4.22.3); ill-favored (I.1.15.7; III.12.15.1); ill-fitting (VII.6.37.1); ill-gotten (Hub. 1149); ill-headed (IV.1.3.4); iron-studded (V.12.14.8); longest-lived (II.9.57.2); mean-debased (Van. 1.6); nimbler-handed (VI.1.38.6); nimbler-jointed (Mui. 121); off-shaked (II.11.33.4); off-shaking (I.11.55.6); out-hired (V.Pr.3.8); out-quenched (VI.11.16.9); out-wrought (II.7.65.6); sea-beate (S.C. Feb. 34); sweet-smiling (II.12.78.6); through-lanced (Am. 57.7); to-bruised (V.8.44.2); to-rent (IV.7.8.3; V.8.43.8); to-torn (V.9.10.9); to-worn (V.9.10.8); well-advised (II.12.26.1; II.12.61.4; V.6.1.7); well-apaid (III.2.47.7; III.5.36.5; S.C. Aug. 6); well-beseen (I.12.8.8; V.8.29.4; III.1.45.8); well-eyed (S.C. July 154; IV.3.7.8); well-feathered (Bel. 11.5); well-known (V.11.49.2; VII.6.40.6; Ti. 616); well-seen (IV.2.35.3; V.3.5.9); well-shaped (VI.9.9.2); well-skilled (IV.11.19.8; VI.1.20.5); well-thewed (S.C. Feb. 96); wide-gaping (VI.10.34.6); wily-witted (II.3.9.5); winged-heeled (III.12.12.6).

Adjectives: angel-like (V.9.29.7); balm-like (Bel. 9.4); basin-wide (Hub. 670); beam-like (IV.4.24.1); blood-red (I.10.53.3); bloody-red (II.5.2.8; V.7.11.3); brass-scaly (I.11.11.2); coal-black (I.1.24.9; I.4.44.2; I.5.20.8; I.11.44.8; II.7.3.6; IV.7.27.8); crimson-red (S.C. Feb. 130); dry-foot (I.10.53.5; IV.11.16.3); fair-fearful (I.3.26.9); fiery-bright (Am. 16.7; V.3.19.2); fiery-fierce (I.2.8.4); fiery-hot (I.10.26.8); fiery-red (I.4.33.5; I.7.31.7; Gn. 350); filthy-feculent (II.7.61.4); frory-hoar (III.8.30.3); golden-fleecy (V. Pr.5.6); gore-bloody (VI.12.28.3); half-horsy (Gn. 41); hearty-hale (Mui. 198); heavenly-wise (H.L. 282); ivory-white (Epith. 172); lily-white (I.12.22.7; II.3.26.4; II.9.19.1; IV.11.49.5; VI.10.11.8); love-lavish (IV.9.20.9); love-sick (III.2.48.7; III.5.50.7; V.5.28.2; V.6.3.9); mellow-ripe (S.C. Dec. 107); milk-white (I.1.4.9; III.1.15.2; III.7.30.8; IV.11.49.9; S.C. April 96); moon-like (V.7.13.6); mossy-hoar (I.9.4.6); overbold (IV.10.54.2); rosy-red (I.11.46.2; II.1.41.4); rusty-brown (V.12.14.6); saturn-like (III.11.43.3; Bel. 7.4; Bel. 9.4); shepherd-like (Ro. 18.13); shiny-clear (IV.6.20.6); silver-scaly (Epith. 57); snow-white (III.1.63.7); soldier-like

(Hub. 204); solemn-sad (I.1.2.8; II.6.37.5); stony-hard (D.246); stoope-gallant (S.C. Feb. 90); sullen-sad (III.12.18.2); sun-bright (I.5.2.8; I.11.40.9; S.C. Oct. 72); sun-broad (II.2.21.5; III.7.40.4); sun-like (V.8.41.2); sunny-bright (I.5.21.1); tomb-black (II.8.16.7); victor-like (IV.4.25.4); vine-prop (I.1.8.7); war-able (II.10.62.1); woman-like (III.12.7.7).

Nouns: Albanese-wyse (III.12.10.4); being-place (H.H.L. 23); best-beloved (V.5.35.6); eye-glance(s) (II.4.37.9; III.12.15.4; IV.2.9.4; Am. 17.9; H.B. 239); faint-heart-fools (IV.10.17.4); fellow-furies (Gn. 423); fellow-gods (VII.7.15.2); fellow-pagan (V.8.8.9); fellow-shepherds (D.5.19; Col. 947); fellow-swains (D. 524); fever-fit (I.7.6.9; III.2.5.4); gore-blood (II.1.39.7; V.12.20.6; VI.3.27.4); heart-sore (II.1.2.4); high-aspiring (V.2.50.9); huckster-man (Hub., 9.25); ill-pleasing (Hub. 799); laughing-game (T.M. 204); lightning-brand (I.8.21.8; IV.6.14.1); lightning-fire (III.11.33.4); lily-white (I.10.13.1; IV.10.52.4; S.C. Feb. 130); love-lads (S.C. May 2); love-stealth (III.10.16.6); loving-books (I.4.25.8); loving-lays (T.M. 413); loving-verses (Hub. 809); mock-king (Hub. 1091); mock-knight (IV.4.13.4); money-god (II.7.39.1); night-raven (II.7.23.3; II.12.36.5; S.C. June 23; Epith. 346); not-deserver (H.L. 159); praise-desire (II.9.39.8); rosy-red (II.9.41.3; III.2.5.6; III.5.29.9); scarlet-red (I.2.13.2; V.7.13.5); school-trick (Hub. 512); scoffing-game (II.6.6.9); sea-satyr (II.12.24.5); self-assurance (Am. LIX.9); self-deceiver (V.9.19.7); self-delight (T.M. 525); self-despite (VI.8.10.7); self-feeling (III.1.54.2); self-regard (Col. 682); self-resemblance (I.12.8.8); shiny-beam(s) (V.4.45.1; Am. 24.7); star-rede (V.Pr.8.2); thunder-darts (Bel.4.11; T.M. 56); Venus-star (D. 483); war-monger (III.10.29.5); water-sprinkles (IV.3.25.9); woman-wight (III.9.21.8); woman-wronger (VI.7.7.3).

Verbs: after-send (I.5.10.9); fore-read (Mui. 29); forth-grows (Ro. 30.3); out-find (I.2.43.6; IV.12.21.3; IV.12.25.6); out-found (I.12.3.5); out-lanced (Mui. 82); out-learn (IV.8.22.6); out-reigned (II.10.45.2); out-ward (V.1.10.8); out-weed (II.4.35.7); out-well(ed) (I.1.21.3; Gn. 502); out-win (IV.1.20.6); out-wind (V.3.9.5); out-wrest (II.4.23.5); over-red (III.11.50.4); over-swim (III.3.33.8); over-wrestled (I.7.24.6); re-ally (VII.6.23.4); re-echo(ed) (II.1.38.2; VII.6.52.9); re-edify (II.10.46.4); safe-conduct (VI.3.15.8); thunder-drive (VII 6.30.6).

Adverbs: far-forth (III.Pr.3.6; III.9.53.4; VI.9.12.6; Van.9.1); greedy-wide (V.7.15.5); true-love-wise (Epith.44);

The compounds which have been excluded from the above lists because commonly used are as follows:

Verbs: cross-cut, out-ran(run), out-stretch, out-wear, etc., over-awe, over-flow, over-look, etc.

Adverbs: nigh-hand, oft-times, topsy-turvy, well-nigh.

Adjectives: i-same, love-sick, rake-hell, stone-dead, three-square.

Nouns: altar-stone, back-gate, bailiff-errant, banquet-houses, bay-branches, bay-leaves, bead-roll, beetle-stock, bel-accoil, bell-wether, belly-full, blood-guiltiness, boar-spear, bousing-can, brain-pan, bramble-bush, bramble-leaves, breast-plate, broom-flower, bubble-glass, butt-end, by-way(s), candle-light, cannon-bit, castle-hall, castle-wall, cedar-tree, chamber-door, chamber-floor, chariot-wheels, city-gate, coat-armour, cock-boat, corner-stone, counter-cast,

creaming-pans, crystal-glass, crystal-stone, day-spring, derring-do, dwelling-place(s), earth-pot, elder-branches, eye-pits, eye-strings, faery-land, fee-simples, fir-bloome, fisher-bark, flood-gate, foot-pace, foot-stool, fore-part, forest-bill, forest-side, fork-head, foster-child(ren), foster-father, fountain-side, fowling-net, free-will, gallows-tree(s), grave-clothes, great-grandfathers, great-grandmother, great-grandsire, ground-hold, harvest-hope, hay-de-guys, head-piece, head-stall, heart-blood, heart-root, heart-sore, heart-strings, hell-gate, hell-mouth, herd-groom, holy-bush, holy-water, honey-bee, honey-crock, honey-dew, horse-back, horse-feet, horse-foot, hour-glass, house-fires, house-room, hugger-mugger, hurly-burly, ill-luck, in-dwellers, iron-rust, ivy-garland, ivy-tod, ivy-twine, jelly-blood, judgment-hall, judgment-seat(s), kitchen-clerk, kitchen-room, knife-hook, land-herds, larum-bell, laughing-stock, laurel-bough(s), laurel-branch, laurel-garland, laurel-leaf, laurel-tree, levin-branch, liege-man, life-blood, lightning-flash, lion-whelps, looker-on, looking-glass, love-lay, magnes-stone, maiden-child, main-sheet, main-yards, man-child, mark-white, may-bush, may-game, may-lady, mercy-seat, merry-make, mill-dam, mill-wheel, morning-star, mother-wit, new-year, news-man, night-watches, north-side, nose-thril, olive-branches, olive-garland, olive-tree, ox-eye, palm-tree(s), passage-money, passage-penny, passers-by, pear-tree, pebble-stone, pike-head, pit-side, ploughing-share, plough-irons, pole-ax, poplar-branch, prison-door, pumice-stones, queen-apples, resting-place, rush-rings, sabbath-day, saddle-bow, safe-conduct, safe-conducting, safe-guard, sea-coast, sea-god(s), sea-gulls, sea-horses, sea-mark, sea-monsters, sea-nymph, sea-shore, setting-forth, she-bear, sheep-hook, shell-fish, shepherd-grooms, shepherd-lasses, shepherd-swain(s), shoulder-plate, shriek-owls, shritch-owl, soar-falcon, star-gazers, steel-head, summer's-heat, summer-time, supper-time, sweet-briar, temple-gate(s), thistle-down, three-quarters, thunder-clap(s), thunder-light, tilt-yard, top-gallant, to-day, to-morrow, town-gate, turtle-dove(s), vine-leaves, wag-mire, wagon-beam, walnut-tree, water-course(s), water-flood, water-ford, water-mill, water-nymphs, water-stream(s), weasand-pipe, wedding-day, well-doing, well-head(s), well-spring, wild-wood, wine-fat, wood-god(s).

Certain of the adjectives and nouns placed in the accepted lists are doubtless open to question, for an absolutely authoritative segregation can hardly be made. Such adjectives as *blood-red*, *milk-white*, *coal-black*, *rosy-red* were doubtless poetic commonplaces. This does not mean, however, that Spenser did not think of them as compounds. Again *stony-cold* is only a slight alteration of the common *stone-cold*, yet the alteration is deliberate and made for the sake of the scansion. Among the nouns the compounds of *fellow*, *mock*, and *self* bespeak no special originality since the prose-writers as well as the poets freely employed these prefixes. Thus *fellow-bishop* occurs as early as the fourteenth century; *mock-gospellers* is used by Latimer; and the *self+* words were coming

into accepted use all through the sixteenth century. Again the use of *night* as the prefix for defining animals and birds commonly associated with the night, was a sixteenth century commonplace. Moreover *loving-books*, *loving-lays*, and *loving-verses* were but prosodic variants of *love-books*, *love-lays* and *love-verses*, which must have been common enough. The lists are fairly conservative, however, and the doubtful words are so few that they do not materially affect any conclusions that may be drawn.

The next table shows the number of times that each type of compound appears in a particular poem, and the total number of compounds in each poem. It also shows the frequency with which compounds appear, the last column indicating the figure secured through dividing the total number of lines in a poem by the total number of compounds. Thus the compounds in Book One of the *Faerie Queene* average one to every thirty-nine lines; in the Second Book, one to every sixty-four lines; etc.

In his very earliest poems, *The Visions of Bellay* and *The Visions of Petrarch*, which were a school-boy's experiments in translation, Spenser had not yet attempted the coining of verbal adjectives. There are no compounds whatever in the ninety-eight lines of *The Visions of Petrarch* and in *The Visions of Bellay* only such commonplace adjectives as *balm-like* and *saturn-like*, such a commonplace noun as *thunder-darts*, and the participle *well-feathered* in the verse: 'A bird all white, well-feathered on each wing.' In the *Ruines of Rome*, however, a translation that, though late, is likewise assigned to his university days, the poet had begun to experiment vigorously with his verbal adjective compounds and in one sonnet alone tries three such epithets as the following, no one of which was suggested by the original French: *

Nor ruthlesse spoyle of souldiers *blood-desiring*
 Nor th' horrible uprore of windes *high-blowing*
 Nor swelling streames of that god *snakie-paced*.

*Sonnet XIII. The French line read:

Ny le degast du soldat furieux
 Nyl'esbranler des vents impetueux
 Ny le débord de ce Dieu tortueux.

Henceforth he consciously invented compound words, especially verbal adjectives and participles, to enrich his diction and to heighten the pictorial effects. When however he assumed the style of homely narrative as in the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, or the archaic style as in *The Shepheardes Calender*, *Daphnaida* and *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, he largely avoided such words.

	Verbal adjectives	Participles	Adjectives	Nouns	Verbs	Adverbs	Total in each poem	Frequency
I.	99	10	21	6	5		141	39
II.	64	12	11	10	5		102	64
III.	49	7	10	10	2	2	80	78
IV.	29	5	8	6	4		52	106
V.	30	18	12	8	2	1	71	73
VI.	21	6	2	3	1	1	34	148
VII.	6	4		1	3		14	73
Bel.		1	4	1			6	35
Ro.	6		1		1		8	58
Van.	1	1				1	3	56
S.C.	6	7	5	3			21	105
Gn.	11		2	1	1		15	46
Hub.	8	2	2	4			16	86
TM..	6	2		4			12	50
Ti.	8	1					9	76
Mui.	16	1	1		2		20	22
Ded. Son.	2						2	119
H. L.	6		1	1			8	39
H.B.	4			1			5	57
H.H.L.	6			1			7	41
H.H.B.	9						9	33
D.	2		1	3			6	94
As.	2						2	97
Col.	6		3	2			11	87
Am.	16	1		4			21	58
Epith.	4		2	1		1	8	54
Proth.	3						3	60
Total	420	78	86	70	26	6	686	

But what shall be said in explanation of the fact that there are four and a half times as many compounds in the first book of the *Faerie Queene* as in the sixth, and that the poet grew steadily more conservative in their use as his great romance

proceeded? In the first book there is one compound in every thirty-nine lines, in the sixth book, one in every 148: in the first three books there are 323, in the last three books 119. With the exception of Book Five, of which we shall have occasion to speak later, each book shows fewer compounds than its predecessor, and the sixth book largely discards them.* On the other hand, the poet freely coined such words in the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, written in 1593-4 while he was at work upon the later books; and in the *Prothalamion* written in 1596, after the completion of the sixth book, adorned his verse with such mellifluous epithets as 'sweete-breathing Zephyrus' and 'silver-streaming Thames' and with such a daring creation as Venus' 'heart-quelling sonne.' There can be only one explanation: Spenser had come to regard words of this character as more happily accommodated to lyrical than to narrative verse. That he had not changed his feeling about the artistic merit of compounds as such is evidenced by the fourth hymn, in which they occur with greater frequency than in any other poem excepting the *Muiopotmos*, that most delicate of Spenser's compositions. The sublimity of this hymn is clearly responsible for the frequency of the compound words and refutes any notion that the poet had come to regard them as intrinsically cheap and tawdry.

A study of the word lists is interesting for the light that it throws upon the poet's experimentation with his compounds. Thus certain words are employed as the first members of compounds in a single book of the *Faerie Queene* and thereafter ignored; others are employed in the earlier poetry but not in the later; still others with fair regularity throughout the poetry. In the first book of the *Faerie Queene* the poet experiments with compounds of which *far* is the first member—'*far-infixed* sting,' '*far-rebounded* noyce,' '*far-reported* praise'; in the second book he experiments with compounds of which *dead* is the first member—'*dead-doing* hand,' '*dead-living* swayne,' '*dead-seeming* knight,' '*dead-sleeping* poppy,' returning to them only once

* As the verbal adjectives and participles form the most distinctive and clearly original compounds, it is perhaps worth noting the frequency with which they occur in the successive books of the *Faerie Queene*. The frequency table for these words is as follows: I, 51; II, 82; III, 111; IV, 162; V, 108; IV, 187; VII, 102.

again to speak of 'dead-doing might' in the *Amoretti*; in the third book with compounds of which *evil* is the first member—'evil-gotten masse,' 'evil-matched paire,' 'evil-ordered trayne;'; in the third and fourth books with compounds of which *soft* is the first member—'soft-feathered nest,' 'soft-groning sound,' 'soft-rombling brookes'; and in the fourth and fifth books with compounds of which *to* is the first member—'to-rent' in the fourth, and 'to-bruised,' 'to-rent,' 'to-torn' and 'to-worn' in the fifth. Compounds appearing in the earlier poetry, but not in the later are: *blood*+compounds occurring once in the *Ruines of Rome* and five times in the first two books; *deep*+compounds occurring once in *Virgils Gnat* and eight times in the first three books; and *long** compounds occurring fifteen times in the poetry written prior to the poet's return to Ireland, and only once in the poetry written thereafter, 'my soules long-lacked foode,' found in the *Amoretti*. Words compounded of *ever* plus a verbal adjective or participle occur eight times in the initial book of the *Faerie Queene*, and are not again met with in the first three books; with the two later hymns, however, they reappear, and are also used in the seventh and fifth books.

The more common prefixes which enjoyed the poet's favor throughout are *ill*, *well*, *late* and *self*. The *ill* and *well* compounds are much the most numerous of any, the former numbering twenty-eight, and the latter, fifty-three.

It is difficult to conjecture why certain of these compounds ceased to commend themselves to the poet, and why others continued to enjoy his favor. The preponderance of compounds made up of *ill* or *well* and a verbal adjective or participle is not hard to explain because the use of such words was becoming very general in both poetry and prose. As in the Greek, *ill* and *well* were conceived of as hardly more than prefixes, giving a common adverbial determination to a succeeding adjective or participle. Such compounds, though enjoying little poetical distinction, would therefore readily suggest themselves to the mind. But why the later neglect of compounds adverbially introduced by *deep*, *far* and *long*, words which made for economy of expression and called for no greater imaginative deliberation? To this question we can suggest no answer. On the other hand, the abandonment of compounds introduced by *dead* and *blood* may well have been

Faire marigoldes and bees-alluring thime
 And reade the sorrowes of my dying spright,
 Written with teares in harts close-bleeding book

'Mammon,' said he, 'thy godheads vaunt is vaine,
 And idle offers of thy golden fee;
 To them that covet such eye-glutting gaine
 Proffer thy giftes, and fitter servaunts entertaine'

The great magitien Merlin had deviz'd,
 By his deepe science and hell-dreaded might,
 A looking-glasse

Then gathering plumes of perfect speculation
 To impe the wings of thy high-flying mynd

The lether-winged batt, dayes enemy

All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee:
 Spring-headed hydres, and sea-shouldering whales

But both his handes, most filthy-feculent,
 Above the water were on high extent

'Whom what should hinder, but that we likewise
 Should handle as the rest of her allies,
 And thunder-drive to hell.'

Many of the compounds are translated or adapted from the Greek, and show the extent to which the Hellenic revival influenced the poet's diction. 'The rosy-fingred Morning' is of course the Greek *ροδο-δάκτυλος Ἠώς*, common to Homer and Hesiod; 'that long-wandring Greeke', Homer's *πολύ-πλαγκτος Ὀδύσσειος*; 'The worldes light-giving lampe' is suggested by the Greek *φωσ-φόρος* an epithet of *Ἠώς* and other deities; and 'heavens bras-paved way', over which Juno drives to the abode of Jove, is adapted from the Greek *χαλκο-πεδος* or *χαλκο-βατής*, applied by Pindar and Homer to dwellings of the gods.

But though Spenser thus freely translated or adapted the Greek epithets, he did not hesitate upon occasion to substitute epithets of his own when dealing with a classical original. This is strikingly illustrated in the enumeration of the sea-nymphs who attend the marriage of the Thames and the Medway in the fourth book, a passage which, taken in the light of the original, is most revealing as to Spenser's

workmanship, as well as to his taste. The passage reads as follows:

And after these the sea nymphs marched all,
 All goodly damzels, deckt with long greene haire,
 Whom of their sire Nereides men call,
 All which the Oceans daughter to him bare,
 The gray eyde Doris: all which fifty are;
 All which she there on her attending had:
 Swift Proto, milde Eucrate, Thetis faire,
 Soft Spio, sweete Eudore, Sao sad,
 Light Doto, wanton Glauce, and Galene glad,

White hand Eunica, proud Dynamene,
 Joyous Thalia, goodly Amphitrite,
 Lovely Pasithee, kinde Eulimene,
 Light foote Cymothoe, and sweete Melite,
 Fairest Pherusa, Phao lilly white,
 Wondred Agave, Poris, and Nesaea,
 With Erato, that doth in love delite,
 And Panopae, and wise Protomedaea,
 And snowy neckd Doris, and milkewhite Galathaea.

Speedy Hippothoe, and chaste Actea,
 Large Lisianassa, and Pronaea sage,
 Evagore, and light Pontoporea,
 And she that with her least word can asswage
 The surging seas, when they do sorest rage,
 Cymodoce, and stout Autonoe,
 And Neso, and Eione well in age,
 And seeming still to smile, Glauconome,
 And she that hight of many heastes Polynome,

Fresh Alimeda, deckt with girlond greene,
 Hyponeo, with salt bedewed wrests,
 Laomedea, like the christall sheene,
 Liagore, much praised for wise behests,
 And Psamathe, for her brode snowy brests,
 Cymo, Eupompe, and Themiste just,
 And she that vertue loves and vice detests,
 Evarna, and Menippe true in trust,
 And Nemertea, llearned well to rule her lust.

The passage is based upon Hesiod's *Theogony*, lines 240-262:

Νηρηῶς δ' ἐγένοντο μεγάρτα τέκνα θεῶων
 πόντῳ ἐν ἀτρυγέτῳ καὶ Δωρίδος ἠϊκόμοιο,
 κόρης Ὀκεανοῦο, τελήεντος ποταμοῦο,
 Πρωτῶ τ' Εὐκράτη τε, Σαῶ τ' Ἀμφιρίτη τε,
 Εὐδώρη τε θέτις τε, Γαλήνη τε Γλαύκη τε,

Κυμοβόη, Σπειώ τε βοή, θαλίη τ' ἑρέεσσα,
καὶ Μελίτη χαρίεσσα καὶ Εὐλιμένη καὶ Ἄγαθή,
Πασίτη τ' Ἐρατώ τε καὶ Εὐνίκη ῥοδόπηχυν,
Δωτώ τε Πρωθῷ τε, Φέρουσά τε Δυναμένη τε,
Νησαίη τε καὶ Ἀκταίη καὶ Πρωτομέδεια,
Δωρίς καὶ Παρότη καὶ εὐειδῆς Γαλάτεια,
Ἴπποβόη τ' ἑρέεσσα καὶ Ἴππονόη ῥοδόπηχυν,
Κυμοδόκη θ', ἢ κύματ' ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
προιᾶς τε γαχρηῶν ἀνέμων σὺν Κυματολήγῃ
ρεῖα κρηθνεὶ καὶ εὐσφύρω Ἀμφιτριτῇ,
Κυμώ τ' Ἡϊόνη τε εὐστέφανός θ' Ἀλιμῆδη,
Γλαυκονόμη τε φιλομμείδης καὶ Ποστοπόρεια,
Λειαγόρη τε καὶ Εὐαγόρη καὶ Λαομέδεια,
Πουλινύμη τε καὶ Αὐτανόη καὶ Λυσιάνασσα,
Εὐάρνη τε, φύην τ' ἑρατὴ καὶ εἶδος ἔμωμος,
καὶ Ψαμάθη, χαρίεσσα δέμας, δίη τε Μερίππη,
Νησώ τ' Εὐπόμπη τε, Θεμιστώ τε Προρόη τε,
Νημερτής θ', ἢ πατρός ἔχει νόον ἀθανάτοιο.

A comparison of the passages reveals not only that Spenser has used many more epithets than Hesiod but that he has altered at will. In common with the other Elizabethans, Spenser fell heir to a venerable cataloging tradition inherited from the medievalists, a tradition which made it difficult for him to avoid adjectives and descriptive phrases in any enumeration, be it of flowers, trees, maidens or nymphs. And this tradition placed no ban upon the practical or prosaic. A Greek would hardly have clad his nymphs in such robust and prosaic figures as those wherewith Spenser has endowed Lisianassa and unfortunate Autonoe, they who, as their names imply, were once free in love and instinct with sense, but the English poet felt no more impropriety in this than in 'The birch for shaftes, the sallow for the mill'. But with full allowance for all such domestic and unimaginative detail, we yet find in Spenser's passage some very picturesque and sensuous epithets. For the most part, indeed, he surpasses the original in the refinement and distinction of his pictures. If Hesiod's 'fair-ankled Amphitrite' is more interesting than Spenser's 'goodly Amphitrite', Spenser's 'white-hand Eunice', 'milk-white Galatea', 'snowy-necked Doris' and 'Hyponeo, with salt-bedewed wrists' are more distinctive and engaging than their 'rosy-armed', 'well-shaped', 'fair-haired' counterparts. Moreover Glauconome with her half-smile, lingering Giaconda-

wise, is more charming than when merely a 'laughter-loving' maiden. Again Psamathe, 'most lovely in body', becomes more individualized in her beauty when the later poet speaks of her 'brode snowy brests'; and the description of Alimeda likewise gains when for 'well-garlanded' Spenser substitutes 'Fresh Alimeda, deckt with girlond greene.' Possibly we need the robust figures of Autonoe and Lisianassa to set off the beauty of these more favored daughters of Oceanus. Nor after beholding this fair company, beauty-clad, shall we be impatient with the poet if ere the close of his description he feels a twinge of Puritan concern and changes Evarna 'fair in form and faultless in figure' for her 'that vertue loves and vice detests', and Nemertes (Unerring) 'who has the mind of the eternal father'—whatever that may have been—for Nemertea who had 'learned well to rule her lust.' Indeed have we not in the handling of this passage a rather complete epitome of the poet's eclectic impulses, his medievalism, his Renaissance Hellenism, his Puritanism: his medievalism in the over-detailed enumeration, sometimes distinctly homely and prosaic; his revived Hellenism in the more sensuous imagery; his Puritanism in the graver group who conclude the picture, Themiste, Evarna, Menippe and Nemertea.

It remains to observe that the frequency of the compounds may be of some slight significance in determining the order in which the later books of the *Faerie Queene* were written. A reference to the table will show that in the third book there is one compound to every seventy-eight lines, and in the fifth and seventh books one to every seventy-three; that in the fourth and sixth books, on the other hand, there is only one to every 106 and 148 lines respectively. May it not be that Book Five and the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* were written prior to Book Four?

Professor Greenlaw has already pointed out that certain parts of Book Three and the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* are concerned with the same large cosmic questions and that the poet seemingly went through a period of deep concern over the whole problem raised by the doctrine of chance.* The frequency of the compounds in the *Mutabilitie* cantos would encourage the conclusion that they were written relatively early, perhaps even before

*See *Studies in Philology*, 17.330 ff., 439 ff.; 20.216 ff.

the poet's first return to England, while his mind was engrossed with this fundamental problem. This conclusion is further supported by the decorative pageantry of the cantos, which is after the manner of the poet's earlier work.

As to the fifth book, in view of the relations of Artegall and Britomart what more logical than that the poet should have followed the Legend of Chastity with the Legend of Justice. Does Book Five actually admit of this hypothesis, or are the episodes dependent upon antecedent episodes in Book Four? As a matter of fact, the announcement of the forthcoming marriage of Marinell and Florimell in the opening stanzas of Canto Two, the marriage festivities in the following canto, and the story of Britomart's liberation of Artegall from Radigund in Canto Six, with its assumption that Artegall and Britomart were already affianced, are the only episodes in Book Five that rest upon events in the preceding book.

Now the events leading up to the marriage of Marinell and Florimell are presented in the last two cantos of the fourth book. In 3. 8. 29 ff. Proteus rescues Florimell from the fisherman, makes love to her, and, when she resists him casts her into a dungeon. There she remains until Marinell hears her singing a love-plaint and falls ill for love of her in 4. 12. 5 ff. Similarly, in 3. 4. 19 ff. Cymodoce finds Marinell wounded by Britomart, bears him to her chamber, and goes in search of Tryphon to cure his wounds, and nothing more is heard of him until, in 4. 11. 5. ff., his story is resumed at the very point where it was dropped. Cantos Eleven and Twelve of Book Four must therefore have been written prior to the writing of Book Five. But what of the earlier cantos?

In the tourney which celebrates the wedding of Marinell and Florimell, Braggadochio presents the False Florimell who had given herself to him at the close of the Tournament of the Girdle, described in the fifth canto of Book Four. She was actually in Braggadochio's possession, however, at the close of Book Three—though subsequently reft from him, and her history in Book Four is not needed to explain either his presentation of her at the second tournament or her conduct there. She does indeed bring to the second tournament the girdle of Florimell which she had received at the earlier tournament, but only a slight modification of an original version of

the episode in Book Five would have been necessary to provide for this. As a matter of fact, in 5. 3. 27 the poet identifies the girdle by recalling the circumstances under which Florimell had long before lost it (3. 7. 31), and the passage gives the impression of picking up a long-neglected strand of the narrative:

But Artegal that golden belt uptooke
 The which of all her spoyle was onely left;
 Which was not hers, as many it mistooke,
 But Florimells owne girdle, from her reft,
 While she was flying, like a weary weft,
 From that foule monster which did her compell
 To perils great; which he unbuckling eft,
 Presented to the fayrest Florimell;
 Who round about her tender wast it fitted well.

This explanation would certainly appear unnecessary in the light of events in Book Four, for the tournament held for the possession of this very girdle dominates the narrative in the first five cantos of that book. This stanza would therefore support the hypothesis that at least the earlier cantos of the fourth book were composed later than Book Five. Moreover the stanza next following still further encourages this hypothesis for, likewise disregarding the history of the girdle in the preceding book, it presents the apparently novel information that many ladies had attempted in vain to wear it:

Full many ladies often had assayd
 About their middles that faire belt to knit;
 And many a one suppos'd to be a mayd:
 Yet it to none of all their loynes would fit,
 Till Florimell about her fastned it.
 Such power it had, that to no womans wast
 By any skill or labour it would sit,
 Unlesse that she were continent and chast,
 But it would lose or breake, that many had disgrast.

In short there is essentially nothing in Cantos Two and Three of Book Five that rests upon any prior events in Book Four.

But what of the Britomart-Artegal-Radigund episode, which clearly assumes that Britomart and Artegal were already betrothed? One must frankly admit that this episode, *as here narrated*, presupposes Book Four, Canto Six. On the other hand, Spenser may have rewritten the episode after

composing Book Four. This would have necessitated revision of the opening stanzas of Book Five, Canto Six, where Britomart awaits word from Artegall and receives Talus, and the concluding stanzas of Canto Eight, where Britomart and Artegall are reunited. The suggestion of such revision is not so unreasonable as might at first appear, for Britomart's dream in the Temple of Isis and the priest's interpretation of it (Canto Seven) are analogous to her earlier dreams and the prophecies of Merlin, and are in keeping with the venerable romantic tradition that an unknown lover should be revealed in a vision. It would have been dramatically effective for Artegall and Britomart first to have met upon the occasion of her liberating him from the tyranny of another woman, and the dream in the temple would have been a natural forerunner of such a meeting.

In any case, we suggest to other scholars the possibility that Book Five was written before the first ten cantos of Book Four. Cantos Eleven and Twelve of the fourth book could hardly have been a subsequent composition, since they lead up to the marriage festivities of Marinell and Florimell, but they may have been designed originally as a part of Book Five. It is worth noting in this connection that the frequency of the compounds in these two cantos is one to every fifty-six lines, whereas in the first ten cantos, it is only one to every 121 lines.

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THE EARLIEST MUSICAL SETTING TO GOETHE'S *FAUST*

According to Karl Eberwein the idea of preparing at least a part of "Faust" for the stage with some kind of a musical setting was suggested by Pius Alex. Wolff to Goethe in the year 1816, and Goethe is quoted as saying: "Ich werde gleich einer Maus an dem Gedichte nagen und nach und nach ein ganzes daraus fertigen." But at the time Eberwein gave the above information to the world, in 1853, he was an old man, 67 years of age, and little reliability can be placed on his statements. At this time Goethe's glory had spread far beyond the confines of Germany, and Eberwein, a third-rate musician, was not unwilling to share in some of the perquisites of greatness, no matter how insignificant.

Eberwein was in error in his first statement that it was in 1816 when he had his conversation with Goethe, for reference is made to this same and subsequent conversation in letters exchanged between Goethe and Zelter, which indicate they must have taken place a year earlier. That Goethe was moved by these conversations to contemplate for the first time a stage production of "Faust," either with or without music, is ridiculous, for as early as 1810 scenes from the first part of the drama were given at Breslau and it makes no difference that these were probably produced without the participation or knowledge of Goethe, for in the same year Goethe requested Zelter to write the music for a performance to be given at Weimar, a request that Zelter declined confessing his inability to do it justice. As early as May 7, 1807, Goethe, referring to the progress his "Faust" was making, remarked: "Es sind Dinge darin die Ihnen von musikalischer Seite interessant sein werden." This may or may not have had reference to future stage production; I am rather inclined to think it does, however, for notwithstanding Eberwein's claim, he was a musical apprentice when Zelter and Goethe interested themselves in this development, Goethe by giving him a position as fiddler in the Weimar theater, Zelter by rendering him assistance when he appeared in concert in Berlin, where Zelter was a sort of musical demi-god.

A letter from Goethe to Zelter at this time expresses very clearly Goethe's opinion of Eberwein's talents. The letter was written with reference to the Goethe-Eberwein conversation concerning the Faust music and is as follows: "Des jungen Mannes Talent kennst du, es ist ein geerbtes, auesseres und mit nichts gefuettert. Deswegen klebt's mit Lust an der Erde und begreift nicht warum es sich vom Boden heben kann. Was ich mit Faust vorhatte, sollte er nicht begreifen, aber er sollte mir folgen und meinen Willen tun, dann haette er gesehen was es heisse." Upon the publication of the Goethe-Zelter correspondence in 1834 Eberwein learned of this letter and proudly relates how Goethe turned to him for the music to the Faust performance in 1829—in Weimar—. He admits it was inspired music and do to him justice several short lyric pieces are very creditable.

It seems evident that Goethe's first impulse toward a musical setting for Faust took place shortly after his long acquaintance with Zelter began. As early as 1796 the Buchhändler Unger in Berlin showed Zelter's compositions to Goethe, and Zelter contributed some musical Beitræge to the "Musenalmanach" for this year that brought him more directly to Goethe's notice, and we find Goethe on June 17, 1798, replying to a letter from A. W. Schlegel saying: "Wenn ich irgend jemalsneugierig auf die Bekanntschaft eines Individuums war, so bin ich's auf Herrn Zelter. Gerade diese Verbindung Zweyer Kuenste ist so wichtig, und ich habe manches ueber beide im Sinne, das nur durch den Umgang mit einem solchen Manne entwickelt werden koennte. Gruessen Sie ihn gelgentlich auf's beste." Their correspondence began in 1799, and while desultory at first, it grew more and more frequent, and continued with ardor, enthusiasm and reverence from Zelter, and with dignity and warm appreciation from Goethe until 1832; Zelter's last letter to Goethe being written on the day the great German poet died.

With the exception of Schiller and Meyer, Goethe had no more extensive correspondence than this with Zelter, and to no one did he exhibit the same degree of affectionate kindness. Zelter was the only individual to whom Goethe addressed the familiar "Du," an intimacy that began in 1812, occasioned by the suicide of Zelter's son, at which time Goethe wrote a

beautiful and touching brotherly letter, expressing a tenderness of feeling that was remarkable for him.

This association seems the more remarkable when it is remembered that Goethe was by nature an aristocrat, while Zelter came from a lower middle class family and was trained for a master mason. Neither this intimacy with Goethe, the friendship of royalty, the fact that he ultimately forsook trade for the musical profession, founded the *Liedertafel*, became director of the *Singacademie*, and enjoyed an acquaintance extending through all classes of society, ever quite succeeded in eliminating an innate coarseness of mental fiber that his letters betray again and again.

His letters took the place of newspapers for Goethe; in them are detailed musical and dramatic criticisms. There is a fund of information about life in Berlin during the early years of the century, and illuminating commentary upon members of his particular branch of art. A good deal of it just, but not a little savage in condemnation of any movement that indicated progress; for he was essentially a conservative, to whom Beethoven's music, to give a single striking example, was as little comprehensible as the ultra-modernist is in our day to the average musician. He was just the balance wheel needed, and Goethe was so little a musician that he regarded Zelter as his court of last resort in passing musical judgment. Goethe's attitude at times was that of a grateful potentate to an admiring subject who adored him.

It will never be known what Goethe's musical intentions were regarding Faust before he met Zelter. It may be assumed that if he gave consideration to the matter at all his plan involved merely the insertion of lyrics like the "Koenig in Thule," after the manner of Shakespeare, not necessarily accentuating the force of the text, but lyrics to illumine the text while being no part of it. Association and personal contact with Zelter, however, changed that point of view, if it existed, and we find the idea of a musical Faust, or a Faust with a musical setting, growing stronger.

Zelter's refusal to undertake the composition of the music and Eberwin's inability seemed for a time to extinguish the hope that it could be accomplished, and in a conversation with Eckermann, commenting on a letter received from Zelter

regarding the performance of one of his pupils, that proved a fiasco; Goethe attributed it to the efforts made in Germany to get rid of the French: painters, natural philosophers, sculptors, musicians, poets, all were weak and the general mass was no better.

Eckermann replied that while such might be the case he did not give up hope of seeing suitable music composed for Faust. Goethe's answer to this pious wish immediately determines the limits of his musical understanding: "Quite impossible, the awful, repulsive passages which must occasionally occur are not in the style of the time. Mozart should have composed for Faust. Meyerbeer would perhaps be capable; but he would not touch anything of the kind." There have been three composers who possibly could have done justice to the philosophical content of Goethe's great work, (Beethoven, Brahms, and Schumann) Mozart never; and Meyerbeer deserves even less consideration.

There can be no doubt that the idea of a musical Faust remained ever simmering in Goethe's mind, and I should date the inception of the idea from the occasion of Zelter's first meeting with him in Weimar in 1803. They met in Lauchstedt in 1805, Teplitz, in 1810 and in 1816, 1823, 1827, 1829, and 1831, at Weimar. The fourteen days Zelter spent with Goethe in 1803 were devoted to discussions on many topics, but the invariable direction in which they led was towards the progress of the Faust tragedy and its musical adaptation. This is learned from casual hints culled from many letters of the period; while there is no specific account of the progress made in this direction, Goethe's vague hints that he was continuing the composition of the Faust, with the musical idea in mind, is clear from his longing for conversation with Zelter about the work; June 19, 1805; Zelter's reference to the "Walpurgis Nacht" scene a little later, and on May 17, 1807, Zelter rejoices over the progress the drama is making. April 20, 1808, parts of the work were sent to Zelter for his inspection. On July 13, 1808, reference is made to the new birth of the devil and Gretchen, and then the first mention of Prince Radziwill, March 14, 1810. This is important in a study of the Faust music, for Radziwill was the first musician of ability to interest himself in Faust in the sense most desired by Goethe.

Pauline Gotter makes reference, December 27, 1810, to compositions received from Radziwill which pleased Goethe, especially the "Hexen Kueche" and "Spaziergang," and about the same time Bettina Brentano wrote to Goethe: "I have heard the Faust music by Prince Radziwill. The song of the shepherd is simply charming, entrancing, it cannot be composed any better. She further stated that the choral "Drinnin sitzt einen gefangen"; "Es geht einen durch Mark und Bein," and finds that the choral of the spirits where Faust sleeps was also splendid.

These selections were not the earliest "Faust" music, but they do represent the earliest attempt to give a musical setting to Goethe's Faust, done with the sanction and approval of Goethe himself, who changed a number of scenes under the influence of this musical element. Spohr completed an opera of Faust in 1813 that was performed in Berlin, and which for a long time was considered the first attempt to treat the subject in a musical-dramatic manner. Some writers have erred in maintaining it was a direct imitation of Goethe's Faust when it was nothing of the kind. It is probable that Goethe's literary fame and the knowledge that he was writing his Faust tragedy stimulated renewed interest in the old folk play and in this manner indirectly influenced J. K. Bernhard, who was responsible for the text for Spohr's work. Even the most casual examination will at once prove there is little resemblance between either the Faust "Fragments" or the completed Faust. Further investigation will show that the material is very largely borrowed from the old folk play, with occasional borrowings from F. M. Klinger's "Faust's Leben Thaten und Hoellenfahrt."

In Bernhard's poem Faust sold his soul with the mental reservation to use his natural cleverness to escape from the hellish bonds. He intends to use the devil-given power to do good, soften human misery, protect the innocent and to punish evil. The results were not happy; for while the spirit was willing the flesh was woefully weak. Every time he tries to carry out his good intentions Mephisto thwarts him, so that with promises full of hope of heavenly bliss and a comfortable conscience, the hero plods his weary way to inevitable destruction. From which it will be seen there is practical independence of the

Goethe conception and no comparison can be made, while the music, rich in typical Spohr melodies, is not dramatically treated.

But Spohr was not the first to attempt a musical Faust for in the last decade of the eighteenth century, or before the first part of Goethe's Faust was published, an opera written around the central figure of Faust was performed in several German cities most of the text being a deliberate steal from Goethe's "Fragment,"* as Philipp Spitta has pointed out with a good deal of sardonic humor, and not a little contempt for Heinrich Schmieder, who was responsible for the text. The "Journal fuer Theater und andere Schoene Musik" announced in 1796 that this work was nearly completed, and in 1797, December 28, it was given a first performance at Bremen, which was followed by other performances, notably one at Hannover, June 8, 1798, of which fairly accurate records have been preserved. Scenes and text pirated from the 'Fragment' are woven into a work, that, despite the crudities and coarseness which characterize all that is original in its composition, seems to have won a fair measure of success as a stage production, due, no doubt, to Schmieder's ability as a producer.

Ignaz Walter, the composer of the music, apparently knew nothing of this text thievery, for in the "Euphrosyne" for 1800, a collection of songs by Ludwig Wm. Werner, we find "Der Koenig in Thule" attributed to the opera "Dr. Faust". The collector must have received it from Walter, for the opera was never published, and it is certain that had Walter been aware Goethe had written it he would have given him credit, for the sake of popularizing the volume.

With some changes Walter's music was used in later years for another Faust opera text by C. A. Maeninger, who acknowledges his indebtedness to Goethe's Faust, although he did not utilize it to anything like the extent we find in Schmieder; but he has used Klinger's Faust and the allegorical drama of 1775. The date of the appearance of this work on the stage is undetermined, for it was never published; it was, however, while Walter was in Regensburg later than 1802. Zelter speaks well of Walter as a musician, and he held rank in his own day not far behind Mozart, whom he imitated.

*"Deutsche Rundschau": Jan. & März 1889, "Die älteste Faust-Oper und Goethe's Stellung zur Musik" s. 376-397, v. Philipp Spitta.

Goethe himself was extremely tolerant toward those who utilized his material, as we may learn from the controversy forced upon him by his friends, who claimed that Byron had borrowed both for his "Manfred" and "The Deformed Transformed." He remarked: "Warum soll er sich scheuen Blumen zu nehmen wo er sie findet? Nur durch Aneignung fremder Schatze entsteht ein Grosses. Hab ich nicht auch in Mephisto den Hiob und ein Shakespeare Lied mir geeignet? (Mephisto's "Lied zur Zither") "Was machst du mir," sung before Liebchen's door, and he might have mentioned other instances, such as Byron pointed out in his reply to the criticism.

The same tolerant, even appreciative spirit was manifested April 28, 1829, when Hector Berlioz sent him two copies of his Faust, which is not Faust at all, but a chain of episodes selected from the original, as are all operatic creations based on Faust. Goethe felt honored at the appreciation shown his Faust and wrote a rather jubilant letter to Zelter, to whom he sent the partitur. Zelter's reply is characteristic, somewhat indecent and altogether unjust.

²"Gewisse Leute koennen ihre Geistesgegenwart und ihren Antheil nur durch lautes Husten, Schnauben, Kraechzen und Ausspeien zu verstehen geben, von diesen einer scheint Herr H. Berlioz zu sein. Der Schwefelgruch des Mephisto zieht ihn an nun muss er niesen und prufthen, dass sich alle Instrumente im Orchester regen und spuken—nur ein Faust ruehrt sich kein Haar." He further expresses his determination to give a talk about the *Abcess*: "einer Abgeburt welche aus Graeulichen Ineeste entsteht."

The same intolerance has been, and is manifested against Bizet's, Boita's and Gounod's "Faust," when none of them claim to do more than give melodramatic musical expression to some of the principal scenes in the poem. They cannot injure it in any way by presenting these scenes, and in fact, outside of Germany, the vast majority of those who have learned something of Goethe's immortal work have done so through the medium of these operas.

But these operatic scores are merely incidental to "Faust," not of it, and we must turn to the Radziwillian music as the earliest attempt to carry out the musical ideas of Goethe with

² Brief 649. 21 Juni bis 5 July 1829.

regard to his poem. There is a peculiar interest attached to the genesis and evolution of this music, for it grew with the growth of Goethe's *Faust* and was written subject to his approval or that of his musical mentor, Zelter, and so far as is ascertainable it coincides with Goethe's ideas, and because of the music the poem was subjected to some minor changes. Some additions were made, not of very vital importance to be sure, but sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of the *Faust* student.

It is clear that Radziwill, while following out the wishes of Goethe, worked independently in many particulars. For example there are passages in *Faust*, as in any great poem, that do not require the addition of music to give them musical expression, as Zelter pointed out; they are complete in themselves; for the needed musical element already exists and the attempt to accentuate poetic passages by the addition of a musical setting not infrequently detracts from the poetic value of the work, since the attention is naturally divided between the music and the poem, creating a division of interest. That this music possessed enduring qualities may be called into question since the majority of professional musicians whom I have interviewed know practically nothing about it at the present time. Conductors with the standing of Bruno Walter, Albert Coates, Emil Oberhoffer and Henri Verbrugghen profess ignorance of its character. There is a copy at the Congressional Library in Washington—the original is in the Berlin library—and consists of 600 pages of manuscript.

It is established that Radziwill set the whole of the first part of *Faust* to music, completing his task shortly before Goethe's death. Spitta³ commenting on the music remarked: "wirklich kann man sagen, dass es, aehnlich vielen kleineren Gedichten Goethe's ganz und gar im musikalischen Aether schwimmt." He further assumes that it was Radziwill's work that inspired Beethoven to say to Rochlitz: "den *Faust* zu componieren!" Carl Loewe, the greatest composer of ballads the world has known, a musician whose opinion is of distinct value, was deeply impressed when he heard portions of the *Faust* music by Radziwill and commented in this manner: "After the

³ S. 396. *Deutsche Rundschau*: 1889. Jan.-März.

concert I ate with Zelter and I am grateful to him for my first invitation to visit Prince Radziwill, where I had the good pleasure of hearing the compositions to Faust. I heard here something new, original, powerful and original genius of my art. My attention grew more intense at each number, a bold and extraordinary comprehension of the undying poem, mingling with tone forms and heart-searching melodies, such as only a deep, true feeling, a bold swing of fantasy is capable of comprehending. One can truthfully say, we have now a Faust in musical literature."

Two comments by Bettina Brentano and Pauline Gotter on individual numbers have already been made; but the most complete information and the most illuminating information on the Radziwill music is to be found in the correspondence between Goethe and Zelter, extending over approximately thirty years, in which the development may be traced step by step and with which this article deals.

While the entire poem was absorbed in the musical plan it must be emphasised that there are many passages which lose their poetic intensity by the distraction music supplies, a fact Goethe clearly recognized, for he points out that: "Schwindet ihr dunkeln Woelbungen droben," the "Geistergesang" needed no further support for its interpretation than the voice of the player, it was too musical in itself for music, and under the same caption may be classified: "Weh, Weh, du hast sie zerstoert," and even chorals like: "Welch tiefes Summen, welch heller Ton," set to music lose something of their poetic fragrance, because there is danger of extending them to wearisomeness. The "Dom" scene is another example, music streams from it and the real significance of the text is lost sight of in the effort to fit it into the tonal expression.

In the scene where Mephisto cries: "Sie ist gerichtet" and a voice from above replies: "ist gerettet" has been inserted a brief angelic choir, that sings the "Gloria in excelsis Deo gerettet, gerettet." This Spitta finds objectionable and the presumption is that Goethe had no such scene in mind for a place where rapid action is demanded by the accumulation of tempestuous feeling, and the same author referring to the Vorueberitt am Rabenstein points out that the conflicting elements of stormy motion and pictorial beauty could be

wonderfully expressed instrumentally; but the words are needed here to fill out the scene and so the power of music is incapable of giving fullest expression to the poet's meaning.

Zelter, as late as 1829, comments in somewhat similar fashion about Radziwill's music monopolizing every inch of poetic canvas, when occasional intermissions would have added to its effectiveness.

The first reference to Radziwill's music was made in a letter from Zelter to Goethe in which the former writes appreciatively of the ability of a foreigner to capture the spirit of the Goethe poem. Goethe sent excerpts of the Faust Feb. 18-20, 1811, with the request that Zelter set them to music, but Zelter's refusal served for a time to cool Goethe's enthusiasm for a musical setting.

In 1816, thanks to Radziwill's industry and interest, and not less to Zelter's indefatigable efforts, we learn that the royal princes have determined to give a performance of Faust with Zelter as director. For this performance Goethe sent some additions and Zelter succeeded in inducing Prince Karl of Mecklenburg to play Mephisto.

Several rehearsals were held with orchestra and choir, followed by a reading rehearsal with Karl as Mephisto and Lemm, a noted actor of the period, in the role of Faust. The performance took place March 30, 1816, before the royal princes and a number of their friends. At this time only scenes were read in which Faust and Mephisto participated. No reference to this performance was made by Graef in the list he published.

Zelter's comments are clear and concise; Karl, he remarked, was good, Lemm, in comparison like a donkey to a horse. "Christ ist erstanden" was not churchy enough and several other things were lacking to bring out the full force of the text. "Spaziergang vor dem Tor" was good in general but deals too much with details. The orchestra played splendidly; but the composer gave himself full rein with the soldiers, forgetting they are taking a walk and not marching. "Drinnen gefangen ist einer" he found incomparable, but the whole Beschwoering scene needed music, although it went fairly well with just reading. "Schwindet ihr dunkeln" was really artistic and could scarcely have been improved upon. "Weh! Weh! du hast sie zerstoert" was especially good.

The piece has to be given in three parts and the second part was to open with the scene in Auerback's Keller, for which they were going to start rehearsals at once, and these rehearsals did commence on April 7, with the King present as an interested listener. Presumably regular rehearsals were held and for the most part with some degree of satisfaction, although on June 15, Zelter expresses his dissatisfaction with the composer, who has failed to grasp the whole and lays too much stress on details.

Apparently Zelter's objections had weight for there is no record of further rehearsals until May 2, 1820, although Graef refers to a performance of portions of the first part of Faust in 1819. There is apparently an error here for there is no reference to such a performance in the Zelter-Goethe letters where anything bearing upon Goethe's masterpiece was sure of comment.

Concerning the rehearsals that commenced in May 21, 1820, Zelter speaks of new choruses, which he says have been handled fairly well. The Jewel Casket scene was now given for the first time, and we may assume that the assumption of the role of Gretchen by Madame Stich did not prove an unqualified success in Zelter's judgement, for he asserts she was too affected. The music went through the whole scene without stop and contains many beautiful passages, but because of that fact is disturbing, for it expresses too much and the rise and fall of the speeches suffer. The scene with the rat proved very effective, while the scene with Mephisto was not so well done. This first rehearsal lasted from six o'clock to midnight.

On May 22 another rehearsal took place and Zelter proclaimed the scene where Faust enters the room with the Pudel praiseworthy as here set to music, and when Gretchen decorates herself with the jewels it was altogether charming.

A performance of the work was given on Radziwill's birthday May 24, which, on the whole, proved successful; but there was some occasion for bitterness, for in acquiescence to the prudery of some women certain words had been omitted and others changed, and as many of the company were conversant with the poem these omissions and corrections were remarked; one woman saying: "da man soviel sage; so sey nicht zu begreifen,

† Brief 145, 14-20 März 1810.

† Brief 229. 18 Feb. 1816.

wie man nicht alles sage was geschrieben steht." Zelter wrote: "Wenn Radziwill's Composition auch gar kein eignes Verdienst haette, so wuerde man ihm doch das grosse zugestehen muessen: dies bisher im dicksten Schatten verborgen gewesene Gedicht ans Licht zu bringen, was jeder, indem er es gelesen und durchempfunden, glaubte seinem Nachbar vorenthalten zu muessen. Ich wuesste wenigstens keinen andern der Herz und Unschuld genug gehabt haette solchen Leuten solche Gerichte vorzusetzen, wodurch sie nun erst Deutsch lernen." He seems to be peculiarly impressed with the conditions under which the performance took place: A prince as Mephisto, a prince composer, the first actor of Germany as Faust (Wolff) the first actress of Germany as Gretchen (Madame Stich); a really good king as the first hearer, with his children and court; an orchestra of the first class, and finally a choir composed of the best voices in the city.

Goethe's reply to Zelter is quietly appreciative of the unconscious irony that suggested this immortal work was being well advertised by this musical performance:⁶ "Was soll ich zu Eurer Faustischen Darstellung? Die treue Relation die ich dir verdanke, setzt mich ganz klar in die wunderliche Region. Die Poesie ist doch wirklich eine Klapperschlange, in deren Rachen man sich mit widerwilligen Willen stuerzt. Wenn Ihr freilich wie bisher zusammen haltet, so muss es das seltsamste Werk sein, werden und bleiben was die Welt je gesehen hat."

On Nov. 22, 1822, Zelter refers to a "Faust" by Christian Ludwig Schoene, which he derides, and says: "Moege Faust dem Herrn Schoene immer noch einmal erscheinen und ihm sagen:" "Sieh mich doch noch einmal an ob ich wirklich ein so dummer Esel bin als Du mich machst?"

Infrequent references to the progress of Faust were made from this time on. Radziwill was busy with other affairs and, according to Zelter, the work on Faust languished. On January 1829, Goethe wrote to Zelter asking for information about Holtei's Faust: "Johannes Faust der wundertaetige Magus." Zelter's reply is characteristic and detailed in its criticism of each character: "Der Holteische Faust ist kein' anderer als Dein Faust, in bescheidene vier Acte gehuell, . . . Ein

⁶ Brief 340. 6-7 Juny 1820.

vollstaendiges Vacuum, Volksmelodrama genannt." "Faust's Magie besteht darin dasz er dem Herzog von Parma lebende Bilder Zaubert." "Mephistophel ist ein ganz abgeschmackter dummer Teufel, spricht das erbaermlichste Zeug und schreit so sehr, dasz man den Unsichtbaren in ganz Wittenberg hoert." In this manner Zelter continues his analysis of each character and two days later adds a postscript: "Zu vorstehendem grauenhaften Possenspiel macht nun das Orchester Musik, die manchmal ganz curiose eintritt und wieder loslaesst. Das Publicum sitzt und sperrt das Maul auf und keiner weisz was ihm geschieht."

On November 21, 1830 Zelter wrote of the completion of three new scenes by Radziwill, which are not mentioned by Graef. The scenes were I. "Todtenmesse" for Gretchen's mother, which begins before the church. Gretchen hears the organ tones from a distance. The Requiem begins and the priestly office goes on. During the singing of the "Dies Irae" Mephisto steps behind Gretchen. As Zelter pointed out, however, it is a mistaken idea that the choir singing should be disturbed by interpolated speeches and besides it is uncatholic. 2. Introduces the walk before the gate with Wagner, and particularly the conversation about the Pudel. Zelter thinks the verses and music fit beautifully.

3. This third scene pleased Zelter most of all and introduces the "Spaziergang im Garten." "Hier geht die Musik Hoechst artig, bald herzig, bald ironisch fort und haengt geschmacksmaeszig aneinander. Verse und Reime sind so zart und metrisch in den Gang der Musik verwebt, dasz ich es Fuer das Beste gelten lasse was noch in dieser Art gewagt worden; . . ."

There are occasional references to Faust during the next eighteen months and from March 3-6, 1832 Radziwill gave scenes new and old from Faust assisted by Zelter and forty others. Graef makes no mention of this performance. Zelter complains that the lengthening of certain situations by music is harmful; for no art is so transient as music. "Dies Irae" was not successful because it is difficult to clothe matters of belief in tones.

Rehearsals were held during the second week of March in the presence of the court, with a fine orchestra and a selected choir led by Zelter. (No reference in Graef). Radziwill's music is

praised in the highest degree by Zelter, who insists that the music and poem fit each other perfectly, and in his last letter to Goethe, March 22, 1832, we find a comment on a Faust overture for which Radziwill had selected a clever fugue from Mozart. Zelter concludes with the remark: "Man ist froh endlich den Faust zu haben." Indicating that this composition rounded out the completion of Radziwill's musical setting coincident with Goethe's death.

The reasons for this survey of the evolution of the Radziwill music to Faust have been principally because it was the first incidental music written to Goethe's poem; that it was written subject, for the most part, to the scrutiny of either Goethe or his representative Zelter, and because the numerous subsequent compositions upon the Faust poem were inspired in great measure by Radziwill's great undertaking. Detailed reference to these later compositions do not belong to this account. I have, however, accumulated a great deal of material concerning them that will be utilized at a future time.

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JAMES HOWELL AS A PRACTICAL LINGUIST

"To bee a *πολύγλωσσις* to have the knowledge, especially the *practicall* knowledge (for the *Theory* is here not so grateful nor useful) of many languages is one of the richest and pleasingst kind of *Notions* that is," thus speaks James Howell, B.A., Clerk of the Council, in his *Instructions for Forreine Travell*,¹ issued in 1642 and of which eight years later a second edition was published. He was educated in the free school at Hereford, afterwards went to Jesus College, Oxford, "took a degree in arts, and then, being a pure cadet, a true cosmopolite, not born to land, lease, home, or office, was in a manner put to it to seek his fortune. But by the endeavours of his friends and some money that his father assisted him with, he travelled for three years into various countries, whereby he advantaged himself much in the understanding of several languages," thus Anthony à Wood.² Among these friends it was especially Sir Robert Mansel who enabled him to start out on his grand tour. He first employed Howell as steward to his glass-house, then selected him as travelling agent to secure for him beryllia in Spain and Italian workmen from Venice, both needed for his manufacturing enterprises, incidentally also giving him a general education. After Howell had been "safely restored to the bosome of his owne Countrey," his career was a checkered one. It included a special, but futile, mission to Spain, "to recover of the king of that place a rich English ship, seized on by the vice-roy of Sardinia for his master's use, upon some pretence of prohibited

¹ The quotations in this article are from the third edition of the work: *English Reprints*. JAMES HOWELL, B.A. Clerk of the Council. *Instructions for Forreine Travell*. 1642. Collated with the second edition of 1650. Carefully edited by Edward Arber. London, 1868. The spelling, italics, and punctuation of the original are retained; matter enclosed in square brackets shows the variations of the second edition.

² *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), III, 744. Wood's account in this monumental work on Oxford and her worthies deals rather briefly with the life of Howell, but gives a fairly exhaustive list of his works. A fuller account of both is to be found in Sidney Lee's article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and in the excellent edition of the *Letters* by Joseph Jacobs, *Epistolæ Ho-Elizianæ. The Familiar Letters of James Howell*. Edited, annotated, and indexed by Joseph Jacobs. 2 vols. London, 1892.

goods therein;" a secretaryship with Lord Scope, Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the North; election to Parliament as burgess for Richmond; a position as orator and secretary with Robert Earl of Leicester, Ambassador Extraordinary to the king of Denmark; an appointment, soon lost, as clerk of the Council; then commitment as a prisoner to the Fleet, probably because his loyalty was suspected and not because of debts. Finally, after the return of the King, 1660, he was made "*Regius Historiographus (in Anglia primus)*" and died in 1666, about seventy-two years old, "*domi forisque huc usque erraticus, hic fixus,*" as the inscription on his tombstone states. All through his life, he was engaged in literary labors so that a contemporary, Sergeant-major Payne Fisher, poetlaureate to the Protector, calls him "the prodigie of his Age, for the variety of his Volumes: for from his *Δενδρολογία*, or *Parly of Trees*, to his *Θηρολογία*, or *Parly of Beasts*, there hath pass'd the Press above forty of his works on various subjects; useful not only to the present times, but to all posterity." Of these, his *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ* are the most renowned; Anthony à Wood, who in a summary statement speaks slightly of Howell's literary output, calls the *Letters* "one of the most amusing volumes extant,"³ and Thackeray, in his *Roundabout Papers: On Two Children in Black*, classes them with Montaigne's *Essays*: "Montaigne and Howell's *Letters* are my bedside books. . . . I love, I say, and scarcely ever tire of hearing, the artless prattle of those two dear old friends, the Perigourdin gentleman and the priggish little Clerk of King Charles's Council."⁴

James Howell was somewhat more than a mere amateur in the field of linguistic study. He had begun his endeavors as a learner of languages while in the glass-house of Sir Robert Mansel by acquiring the rudiments of Italian from Venetian workmen, and he continued them until he had a rare practical knowledge of the chief European tongues; he boasts that he could pray to his Maker in a different tongue every day of the week. He edited Cotgrave's *French-English Dictionary*, compiled a *Lexicon Tetraglotton: An English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary*, 1660, a valuable mine still of obsolete words in all

³ *Athena Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), III, 752.

⁴ For further opinions of the value of the *Familiar Letters* see Jacobs, pp. XV-XX.

four languages, and in 1662 published *A New English Grammar Prescribing as certain Rules as the Language will have for Forrenners to learn English*. There is also another *Grammar of the Spanish or Castillian Toung*. With some general remarks upon the Portugues Dialect. There likewise came from his pen *A French Grammar, and a Dialogue consisting of all Gallicisms with Additions of the most useful and significant Proverbs*, published posthumously and printed twice, the last time in 1673, according to the testimony of Anthony à Wood. He was interested in spelling reform as indicated by some remarks on French spelling in the introduction to his edition of Cotgrave's *Dictionary*, and also did pioneer work in it as shown by a special chapter on the subject, added as an "Advertisement" at the end of Book II of his *Familiar Letters*. In this latter place he states that "the Author hath taken pains to retrench redundant unnecessary letters," such as the final *e* in *done, come some*; that he favors *physic, logic* instead of *physique, logique*; *honor, favor, labor* instead of *honour, favour, labour*; *pity, piety* instead of *pitie, pietie*; and he tries to follow this preference, "tho' the Printer hath not been so careful as he should have been." Naturally, these linguistic labors of that remote time bear the marks of infancy as compared with the advance made since then, but they give evidence of a lively interest in philological matters and show a wide acquaintance with the current notions of his day.

Next to Howell's *Familiar Letters* in interest to us stand his *Instructions for Forreine Travell*; they are not only actually instructive, they also furnish pleasurable reading and make it worth while to go back nearly three hundred years and see what this ancient worthy, who was a keen observer, has set down on the subject of learning foreign languages. "T'is to be observed, that in all his writings there is something still *New*, either in the *Matter, Method, or Fancy*," says Payne Fisher, the editor (1664) of *Mr. Howell's Poems upon divers Emergent Occasions*.⁵ This dictum applies to his observations on the study of foreign languages as found in his *Instructions*; in fact, these observa-

⁵Jacobs, p. LX, "suspects that Howell himself had the main hand in bringing the poems together, and even wrote or touched up the compliments on himself which were prefixed to the volume"; with the exception of one phrase, his grounds for this suspicion are not very definite.

tions on the means and avenues of approach form a fairly good methodology, which in many points anticipates what the decades since the publication of Victor's *Quousque Tandem* have brought to light. To be sure, they are not cast in the form of a systematic treatise on the theme, *How to Study Modern Languages*; as "he chalks out a Topical and exact way for Foreign Travel, not roving in general Precepts only" (Fisher, quoted by Arber), he records what undoubtedly was his own procedure and enjoins others to go and do likewise if they wish to have a real grasp of the foreign tongue and an understanding of the people that speak it. Some fifty years after the time when Sturm was making a bid for fame by his success as a teacher of languages; only seven years after the death of Ratichius, who had been teaching the classical languages and French in Holland and Anhalt-Köthen and elsewhere on the continent, and had been making quite a stir by proclaiming a new method on a more or less empirical, inductive basis; at the very time when Comenius was rising to the height of his influence and was charting a new course for foreign language teaching by yielding to rules only an ancillary position, but stressing oral and aural practice in reading, hearing, repeating, copying, written and oral reproduction and imitation; in fact, at the very time of the visit of Comenius to England, 1641, to join a commission appointed by Parliament to reform the system of education, James Howell delivered himself of similar precepts and was striking so modern a note that he deserves to have his memory refreshed among those who essay the fair adventure of teaching modern languages.

A little more than twenty years after he had returned from his grand tour he published his *Instructions*, sometimes called "the first continental handbook." His journeys covered a wide area. "Having thus passed the diameter of *France*, run over *Spaine*, crossed the Mediterranean to *Italy*, and observed the multiplicity of Governments therein; having thus climbed the *Alpes*, and traversed the best part of *Germany*, having also taken the length of the *Belgique Lion*;" and, "then passe through many of the Stately proud cities of *Germany*, till he comes to *Bruxels*," and, "Having put some small time in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, he may be safe conduct, as is usuall, passe to *Holland*;" these words may well be taken as describing his itinerary if we

may assume that he actually visited all the countries of which he speaks with apparently intimate knowledge.

The title page of the first edition of his booklet puts it as the secondary intention of the writer to show how one can "arrive to the practicall knowledge of the Languages to good purpose," and it is my object to lift from the mass of information on "the Kingdomes and States of Christendome" a little of what bears on this point. He is chiefly concerned with the Romance languages, and it is but natural that his most extensive commentary should be on the language of the country which it "is most requisite for the *English* to know," France, "our nearest neighbor." As a propaedeutic he suggests that it is very "behoofful that he (the learner) have passable understanding of the *Latine* tongue, whereof the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and *French*, are but as it were *branches* of the same Tree; they are but *Dialects* or *Daughters*, and having gain'd the good will of the *Mother*, he will quickly prevayle with the *Daughters*."

Reasons lying behind the efforts made in this and other countries, to move the teaching of modern languages back into the grammar grades, to begin at a time when speech organs are still plastic, when unaccustomed sounds of the foreign tongue can be acquired easily and correctly, were not unobserved by James Howell. "The younger one goeth to *France*, the better [it is], because of the hardnesse [difficulty] of the accent and pronunciation [to an English mouth], which will be hardly overcome by one who hath passed his minority, and in this point the *French Tongue* may be said to be like *Fortune*, who, being a woman, loves youth best." And at the outset he counsels boldness of attack on the language: "The *French tongue* like the [Gentry of that] Nation, is bold and hardy speech, therefore the learner must not be bashfull or meale mouth'd in speaking anything whatsoever it is, let it come forth confidently whither true or false *Sintaxis*; for a bold vivacious spirit hath a very great advantage in attaining the *French*, or indeed any other Language [over a soft and bashfull nature]." Such injunctions have a familiar ring; many a teacher of modern languages who treats his subject as something actually living, as a medium that is used, and used now, for the exchange of ideas and intellectual commodities, and who believes in the value of a good pronunciation, has echoed them, and has wished that he might

get his pupils under his tuition at a time when they would approach the subject with the boldness and unconcern that mark the younger years, when they would talk in the foreign tongue "with the same ease with which a dog barks."

These observations as to the best time when the study of a foreign language should be begun, and as to the spirit in which the work should be attacked, have the endorsement of good sense and modern pedagogy. The same may be said when it comes to the question of the means by which the best results might be obtained; naturally, it should be remembered that his injunctions apply to those who have the good fortune of pursuing their study while in the foreign country. The dilemma, where to go in order to profit most, he meets with some shrewd advice: "Being come to *France*, his best course will be to retire to some University about the *Loire*, unfrequented by the *English*, for the greatest bane of *English* Gentlemen abroad, is too much frequency and communication with their own Country-men, and there let him apply himself seriously to gaine the practicall knowledge of the *Language*, and for the time *hoc agere*. [Which hee may doe by studying matter as well as words.]" He counsels repairing to the "*Courts of Pleading*, for in *France* they presently fall from the *Latine*, to dispute in the vulgar tongue;" to the public schools; to the "*New Academy*, erected lastly by the *French* Cardinall in *Richelieu*, where all the *Sciences* are read in the *French* tongue." To complement his absorptive powers and facility in understanding the spoken language with abundant practical exercises in the oral use of it, he offers suggestions, somewhat hesitantly and cautiously, as to how to go about this, in a rather inexpensive way it would seem: "Some have used it as a prime help to advance *Language*, to have some ancient Nunne for a *Divota*, with whom hee may chat at the grates, when hee hath little else to do, for the *Nunnes* speake a quaint *Dialect*, and besides they have most commonly all the *Newes* that passe, and they will entertaine discours till one bee weary, if hee bestow on them now and then some small bagatels, as *English* *Gloves* or *Knifs*, or *Ribands*; and before hee go over, hee must furnish himselfe with such small curiosities; but this I dare not advise him to [this must be done with much caution], in regard the *Hazard* one way may bee greater, than the *Advantage* the other way."

The answer to the question, what to read, shows again the insight of a practical mind; one can almost hear the slogan of modern days, "Land und Leute," as one follows his leading. Read the general history of France; read about "the politicall and martiall government;" read the French poets of the time; gather up the proverbs of the country, "for every nation hath Proverbs and Adages peculiar to itselfe;" dip into the "*Pamphlets* and *Pasquils* that are every week dispersed in Paris and drop'd up and down;" glean information from the "*Gazets* and *Courants* and feel the generall pulse of Christendome in them, and know the names of the most famous men that are up and down the world in action;" do not forget that "for *Sundayes* and *Holydayes*, there bee many Treatises of Devotion in the *French* tongue full of pathetic ejaculations and Heavenly raptures."

"And touching *Bookes*, as a noble speculative *Lord* of this Land said, some are to be *tasted* only, some *chewed*, and some *swallowed*: Hereunto I will adde that some are to be *dissected and anatomized* into Epitomes and Notes." This hint points already to the further pedagogical task of how the advantages to be gained from reading may be firmly secured. Let the student, when reading Aesop's fables, "relate some fable every day or some other by heart;" in other words, let there be some memory work, some free reproduction also. "The most difficult taske in gaining a forrain language is to turn *English* into it, for to translate another *Tongue* into *English* is not halfe so hard nor profitable." Manifestly, Howell considers this an important part of linguistic discipline, but he gives no further details except that he refers in another place to the great gain to be derived from the use of the pen: "*the Penne maketh the deepest furrowes, and doth fertilize, and enrich the memory more than anything else,*

Littera scripta manet, sed manant lubrica verba."

He advises the student to have a diary always about him "when he is in motion of Journeys," in which "to set down what [either his eares heare, or] his *Eyes* meetes with most remarkable in the day time, out of which he may raise matter of discours at night;" he lays due emphasis on attention to idioms, and on the acquisition of a proper "tone or tune" in speaking, without,

falling "to lipping and mincing;" "some of riper plants [years] are observed to over-act themselves herein"; "let it bee sufficient for one of riper yeares, to speake intelligibly, roundly, and congruously without such forc'd affectation."

In these remarks, and others that might be quoted, this man of letters of nearly three centuries ago gives a fairly well rounded technique of foreign language learning and, *mutatis mutandis*, of foreign language teaching; and he adds to them adhortations of a more general nature, e.g., when he admonishes the student not to become discouraged or choleric when meeting with difficulties at the outset, and not to follow the example of "one of the Fathers, who threw away *Persius* against the wals, saying, *si non vis intelligi debes negligi* [if thou wilt not be understood go hang thy selfe];" but he should "woe her (the foreign tongue) as one would a coy Mistres, with a kind of importunity, untill he overmaster her [and she will be very plyable at last]."

The languages of the other countries visited by Howell also come in for more or less extended commentary. When, occasionally, he relinquishes the role of the objective observer and practitioner of the foreign tongue and ventures forth on what might, by courtesy, be called the field of philology, he shows that his head is enveloped in the haze of that early age of philological knowledge. Now and then he interlards his remarks with anecdotal quips and touches them with the humor of a likable personality. When the student comes to Spain, and here he spent nearly a whole year, "the first thing he must fall to, is *Language*, which hee shall find far more easie than the *French*, for in point of crabbednesse there is as much difference between the *French* and *Spanish*, as 'twixt *Logique* and [Naturall] *Philosophy*, the like may be said of the *Italian*, for a reasonable capacity may attaine both these langugaes, sooner than *French* it selfe." "There was a *Spanish Doctor*, who had a fancy that *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French*, were spoken in *Paradise*, that God Almighty commanded in *Spanish*, the Tempter *perswaded in Italian*, and Adam *begged pardon in French*." Spanish is in his judgment the easiest of all languages "by reason of the openesse and fulnesse of pronunciation, the agreement 'twixt the *Tongue* and the *Text*, and the freedome [it hath] from *Apostrophes*, which are the knots of a *Language*, as also the

proximity it hath with the *Latine*." In Italy, he notices the many dialects, the cause of which he finds in the fact that there are "so many absolute and potent *Princes* by Sea and Land." He recognizes the relationship of the various Germanic languages, calls "the *German* or *Teutonique* tongue questionlesse one of the first *mother tongues of Europe* and while saying this has a sly dig at Scaliger, with whom he does not agree as to the number of these mother tongues, and states in conclusion: "There is no language so full of *Monosyllables* and knotted so with *Consonants* as the *German*, howsoever she is a full *mouthd masculine speech*."

Towards the end of "his cautionary guide to young Englishmen who went abroad to complete their education," he tries to sum up the desirable results of the grand tour and expresses himself in one place in this wise: "To be able to sp[e]ake many Languages . . . is but vanity and superficial Knowledge, unless the inward man be bettered hereby;" that one phase of this betterment of the inward man is a sympathetic appreciation of the national character of foreign peoples, of their customs and institutions, becomes very apparent in a number of places. Thus, here also this interested student of language and quaint recorder of a traveller's experiences strikes a modern note; for him there seems to be no question that the study of foreign tongues should make, and does make, for international comity and a better mutual understanding.

As one hears James Howell talk about the learning of foreign languages: when to begin; in what spirit to approach the work; what are the best ways and means of obtaining a real command of the foreign tongue, in reading, speaking, and writing; how to get a good pronunciation; how to acquire that feeling for the language that shows itself in the correct use of idioms, one cannot help but feel that he has stated already, in an embryonic way and a somewhat haphazard fashion, some ideas that the last forty to fifty years have thought out anew, and have set forth in full form and systematic manner, and there comes to mind a saying of one who wrote some eighteen hundred years before Howell: *Nullum est jam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius*.

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CARLYLE AND JEAN PAUL FRIEDERICH RICHTER

The honor of having introduced Richter to the British public belongs to De Quincey.¹ In the London Magazine for December 1821 he published an essay entitled John Paul Frederick Richter, together with two analects. The promise also made here, that more analects were to follow soon, seems to have been forgotten for a time, for it was not until February 1824 that the same magazine brought out twenty-one very short excerpts and then in the following month the long analect entitled "Dream upon the Universe." Altogether, therefore, De Quincey published in addition to the above mentioned essay, twenty-four analects. This was the extent to which De Quincey carried his labors. More important than these translations, however, is the fact that it was he, who first called Carlyle's² attention to Richter who then was destined to make him more thoroughly and more effectively known among the English. Carlyle wrote two essays on Richter. The first one appeared in the Edinburgh Review for June 1827 (No. 91).³ Lord Jeffrey, it seems, had invited him to make contributions to his magazine, "for he was," writes Carlyle to his brother John on June 4, 1827, "to all appearance anxious that I would undertake the task of Germanising the public, and ready even to let me do it con amore, so I did not treat the whole earth, not yet Germanised as a parcel of blockheads, which surely seemed a fair enough request."⁴ For some time he cast about for a suitable subject, but quickly hit upon Jean Paul and then he wrote the essay with the utmost despatch in three weeks, because the number of the magazine for which it was intended was already in press.⁵ As was frequently Carlyle's method, and

¹ Cp. De Quincey's Works. Vol. XI. p. 3 (Ed. Masson) London, 1897, also Roe, Frederick W. Thomas Carlyle As a Critic of Literature, p. 95, New York. 1910.

² Cp. Froude, James Anthony, Thomas Carlyle, I 323, New York, 1882.

³ All references to and quotations from Carlyle's works are, unless otherwise stated, taken from the Centenary Edition, ed. by H. D. Traill, London, 1897.

⁴ Cp. Froude, James Anthony. Thomas Carlyle, I p. 322-23. New York, 1882.

⁵ Cp. Leopold, Werner, Die religiöse Wurzel von Carlyle's literarischer Wirksamkeit. S. 63, Halle a/S 1922.

to some extent also that of his time, his essay pretends to be a book review. In this case it was Heinrich Döring's biography of Jean Paul (Gotha, 1826). But from the amount of space devoted to the review it is easily evident, that it is nothing less than a pretext for Carlyle to launch out into a discussion of his own.

The introduction is very brief, it states the purpose of the essay, which is the introduction of Richter, "certainly one of the most remarkable men of his age," (Carlyle) to the English public. Though his style of writing is fantastic, perplexing and in every way unusual, yet he is constantly gaining in favor in England.

The external facts of Richter's life are briefly disposed of and his works are discussed, as it were, in the most general way, they interest Carlyle only insofar as they reveal his hero's personality. The tone of the essay is that of profound admiration, not to say love. In Carlyle's opinion Richter is essentially a Philosopher and moral Poet. To the reader he presents himself as a phenomenon whose outstanding characteristic is originality. The very language itself bears the impress of his singular individuality. He coins new words with the utmost freedom and to his figures of speech there is no limit—metaphors similes and allusions to all the provinces of earth, sea and air are employed with reckless abandon. Into his long lumbering sentences are inserted interjections, epigrammatic breaks, puns and even oaths, until his style appears to be a perfect Indian jungle. But we cannot dismiss his unique way of writing by applying to it the epithets, rhapsody and affectation. Richter is too much a man of science, of solid learning and of almost universal knowledge to be called a rhapsodist. Nor is he guilty of affectation, there is nothing in Richter that is merely assumed. Strange and tumultuous as he is, there is a certain benign composure, a certain consistency in his works that can only be the expression of a genuine state of mind.

Richter is an intellectual Colossus, all of his faculties, everything about him is of gigantic mould. His intellect is vehement, rugged, irresistible, penetrating the most hidden combinations of things, and crushing into pieces the hardest problems. With his active and strong imagination which is now vague, now splendid or sombre, he summons before us shapes of brilliancy, solemnity or terror.

And withal he is also a man of deep feeling, who loves everything with the heart of a brother. Love, in fact, is the medium through which he looks at everything, it is the atmosphere in which he breathes. But the ruling quality in Richter is his humor. Carlyle likens it to a central fire that pervades and vivifies his whole being. Upon it he expatiates at great length. The essence of humor is love, warm tender fellow feeling with all forms of existence and its fountainhead is the heart rather than the head. He (Carlyle) calls it the bloom and perfume, the purest effluence of a deep fine and loving nature, of a nature in harmony with itself and reconciled to the world.

His humor, as Carlyle notes, has no resemblance to irony or caricature which distorts objects or makes them appear ridiculous and at best ends in laughter.

Examining Richter's philosophy, but briefly, he finds it to be neither mechanical nor sceptical, its source being the depths of the human spirit. It yields to its possessor a noble system of morality and the firmest conviction of religion.

Near the conclusion of the essay Carlyle quite naturally propounds the question: How nearly do Richter's works represent his real manner of thinking and existing? Are they a true expression of his real self? Strange as his manner of writing is and imperfect as he may be, Carlyle yet discovers a consistency and a coherence in him. His hero has developed into a harmonious being and thus fulfilled the great law of culture that every one become all that he was created capable of being, and a reverence for the spirit of all goodness forms the crown and glory of his culture.

Carlyle's second essay on Richter appeared in the Foreign Review for January 1830. It is only in a very limited sense an elaboration of the first. Quite unavoidably, of course, he must in discussing Richter's literary character again dwell on his humor, on his rich imagination, great power of thought and mastery of the language. But the significant thing in this essay is the change of the view point. While the first was devoted more to a characterization of Richter as a poet, it would seem to me that Carlyle here emphasizes primarily the inner development of Richter. His long and arduous struggle with poverty and adversity of every kind and the influence of this on his character elicit his deepest sympathy. The essay is

divided into two parts, the biographical and the critical, the former being more than twice as long as the latter.

In the introduction Carlyle notes with gratification that Richter already meets with a certain recognition in England.* Various translations from his works and criticisms of them have been published in England and have been received with favor. This is all the more remarkable since Richter is by no means a man whose merits are easily discernible. Because of his intricate style and abstruse thoughts much patience and considerable catholicity are required to read him. From Richter's increasing recognition he infers, that the worship of mere elegance must be declining in England and that English taste is gradually developing from an insular into a European. And so he believes that by still further investigating "this wonderful Jean Paul," he is performing no unwelcome service to his countrymen.

Richter's life, despite its barrenness in external incidents must be called "heroic and devout," spent as it was in manifold and victorious struggles with the world, for not otherwise could a character like Richter's be formed in which philosophy and poetry are fused in a higher unity—into religion. To narrate and interpret these struggles—this "heroic and devout" life is the duty of the biographer. The various "Lives of Richter" were a disappointment to Carlyle and even Christian Otto who undertook the editing and completing of Richter's autobiography meets with small favor. So he offers his essay as a help towards characterizing Richter's practical as well as intellectual life.

The external facts and conditions of his life interest Carlyle greatly because of the influence they exerted on Richter's inner development. In the biographical portion of his essay he, therefore, emphasizes particularly the effect which poverty and wretchedness had on the character of his hero. Adversity, Carlyle finds, only tended to increase and establish on a surer and surer foundation all that was strong and good in Richter. Under it his nature became a blending of love, reverence and humor. A deep loving sympathy with all things and a calm deep view of man and man's life are chief traits of his character.

* In the first essay on Richter (1827) he was compelled to say: "Except by name Jean Paul Friedrich Richter is little known out of Germany."

And his works, which are deep, original and sincere, and written from the heart, are merely faithful transcripts of his whole being.

As in the first essay Richter's various natural endowments, his intellect, his imagination and his humor are analysed and discussed. Viewed under any aspect whether as poet, thinker or moralist, Carlyle regards him as a phenomenon. He again defends him against any one who might call him a mannerist or a man of affectation, "in spite of his hundred real and his ten thousand seeming faults," he still discerns in him a true poet and philosopher. A kindred spirit who in a materialistic and sceptical age sought to keep alive a frank, fearless, yet spiritual faith in Things Unseen.

Among the German authors to whom Carlyle is indebted Jean Paul Friedrich Richter occupies a most prominent position. There was a time when he was esteemed more highly by him than even Goethe.⁷ That he knew and studied Richter in the most thorough manner is evident from the essays on him, his translation of two of his shorter, humorous stories, Schmelzle's *Journey to Flaetz* and *Life of Quintus Fixlein*,⁸ and from the numerous quotations and excerpts scattered thruout his works. According to Kraeger⁹ sixteen of Richter's works are mentioned in Carlyle's. Among this number are found all the more important and many of the minor novels and all of his philosophical treatises. What wonder, then, that Carlyle's works, especially "*Sartor Resartus*" should reflect some influence of Richter.

It is but natural that it should be thought of as coming from the novels translated by Carlyle. Pape makes¹⁰ "*Quintus Fixlein*" the chief source of Richter's influence. He points out various motives and incidents and verbal agreements between this novel and "*Sartor Resartus*." Archibald MacMechan in the notes to his edition of "*Sartor*" likewise shows¹¹ how Carlyle borrowed "ornamental phrases and illustrations" from *Quintus*

⁷ Kraeger, H., *Carlyle's Stellung zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur*. Anglia 22 (N.F. 10) S. 214.

⁸ German Romance II. p. 131-332. ⁹ Kraeger, H. op. cit. S. 288.

¹⁰ Pape, Henry, *Jean Paul als Quelle von Thomas Carlyle's Anschauungen und Stil*. S. 41-50 Diss. Rostock 1904.

¹¹ *Sartor Resartus*. Ed. by Archibald MacMechan. (Athenaeum Press) Ginn & Co. 1900.

Fixlein. It was Hensel, however, who first pointed out¹² that it is the maturer Richter, to whom Carlyle owes so much, who had come under the spell of "Wilhelm Meister" and then reflected it in his novels "Titan" and "Siebenkäs." In them, as well as in "Sartor Resartus," the real emphasis is placed on the inner development of the hero. Not book I or book III, but book II, which contains the story of the life of Professor Teufelsdröckh, "the Story of a Soul," is the important thing in "Sartor Resartus." It contains the idea of Carlyle's remarkable work. Book II is, in smaller compass, than Richter's "Titan" or "Siebenkäs" an "Erziehungsroman" to use a German expression. In its technique it goes back to these two novels. In the last analysis we have here the influence of "Wilhelm Meister," but it is only indirect. Carlyle was too much aware of the limitations of his talent to attempt to imitate Goethe directly.

In posing as the English editor of Professor Teufelsdröckh's treatise Carlyle merely followed Richter's example who frequently projected himself into his novels.¹³ By doing so Carlyle was given the opportunity to express directly his ideas on the contents of this remarkable treatise and gain an understanding of the interesting, but baffling personality of the author. And when we recall that the purpose of the editor (i.e. Carlyle) was to win the English public over to the ideas contained in the treatise on clothes, we realize what a fine opportunity was given to the editor for self-characterization. Ridiculing and objecting at first to many of the ideas advanced by Professor Teufelsdröckh, he gradually changes his attitude, as he penetrates deeper into the secret of this man's being and in the end accepts completely his ideas.

The lonely wanderings through all quarters of the world undertaken by Teufelsdröckh after the loss of Blumine¹⁴ find an exact parallel in the journeys of the aviator Gianozzo in the humorous appendix to Titan.¹⁵ In fact incidents re-

¹² Cp. Hensel, Paul. Thomas Carlyle, S. 92-95 Stuttgart 1902.

¹³ In the novel "Hesperus" he is the receiver of the letters of the Dogpost-days. He becomes the biographer of the hero of his novel "Flegeljahre." In "Siebenkäs" he also introduces himself as one of the characters.

¹⁴ The name Blumine was undoubtedly suggested to Carlyle by Richter. It is a Germanization of the Latin Flora. One of Richter's works bears the title "Herbstblumine."

¹⁵ The exact title of this story is, "Des Luftschiffers Gianozzo Seebuch. Kornischer Anhang zum Titan."

corded in Gianozzo's logbook find their counterparts in Teufelsdröckh's journey.¹⁶

On one of his aimless flights through the air Gianozzo sees far below him a corpse-strewn battlefield and Teufelsdröckh suddenly appears in his wanderings on the battlefield of Wagram. Both men are sickened by the sight that greets their eyes and overwhelmed by the thought of the senseless slaughter. The solemn silence of midnight is experienced by Teufelsdröckh in the solitude of the North Cape; Gianozzo feels the charm of that mysterious hour standing alone on the summit of the Brocken. Wandering lonely in the mountains Teufelsdröckh is enthralled by the beauty of the sunset, while the last rays of a setting sun greet Gianozzo in a quiet, beautiful valley.

But aside from the external experiences the mood of the two wanderers is much the same. For both "the times are out of joint." Teufelsdröckh sets out on his unlimited wanderings "without assigned or assignable aim, an internal unrest his sole guidance." Life has become for him "wholly a dark labyrinth." Similarly Gianozzo suffers from a weariness of life, existence has become stale; his fellowmen with their injustice, their hypocrisy and utter inanity fill him with an unspeakable disgust. He flies from them, to be nearer to the sun.

When Carlyle wrote "Sartor Resartus" his head was, as Traill says,¹⁷ full of German literature and thought. He had published a number of essays relating to it. Among them were, as we saw, two on Richter, published in 1827 and 1830 respectively. That "Sartor Resartus" is largely autobiographical, and that he portrayed himself to a large extent in Teufelsdröckh is generally known. But there are traits in the latter's character which, in my opinion, point to a foreign source. I am convinced that Carlyle gave to the imaginary Professor Diogenes Teufelsdröckh many traits of a very concrete German author. And that author was Richter. The resemblance in character and in the whole manner of existence between the two is most striking.

In point of origin "Sartor Resartus" comes immediately after the second essay on Richter which was begun in August 1829, completed during the fall of that year, and then published

¹⁶ Cp. Hensel, *op. cit.* S 95.

¹⁷ Cp. Sartor Resartus. XIX.

in the *Foreign Review* for January 1830.¹⁸ "Sartor" was begun in September 1830 and completed in book form in the first six months of 1831.¹⁹ Is it not very possible, then, considering the close proximity in the time of origin, that Carlyle should have with the mental image of Richter still so fresh and vivid in his mind given to his hero many features and characteristics of his favorite? But more weighty than this are, to my mind, the striking parallels, frequently amounting to verbal agreements, between passages in the essays on Richter and in "Sartor." They more than anything else seem to show that Richter was the original source of many of Teufelsdröckh's characteristics.

Richter and Teufelsdröckh have in common a wild untamed energy. Thus Carlyle says of Richter, "we find in him a subduing force; but a lawless *untutored*, as it were half-savage force."²⁰ II. 142. Of Teufelsdröckh it is said; "In our *wild* Seer, shaggy, unkempt like a Baptist living on locusts and wild honey, there is an *untutored* energy, a silent, as it were unconscious, strength, which except in the higher walks of Literature, must be rare." p. 23. The same idea is found in both passages. Compared as writers they also have the note of wildness. They defy the rules by which other writers are governed. We can not look for, or demand of them the graces, the polish, the sprightly elegancies which belong to men of lighter make. In fact Carlyle is fond of giving the attribute *wild* to Richter. It occurs again and again in his essays. Thus he speaks of his *wild* manner (I 19) his works are like himself *wild*, strong, original, sincere (II. 142), his humor is with all its *wildness*, of the gravest and kindest, a genuine humor, the music of his nature is *wild* and manifold (II. 147) and in his passion "there is the same *wild* vehemence (II. 142). So, too, Teufelsdröckh is not a cultivated writer, a *wild* tone pervades the whole utterance of the man. (II. 24). We saw above that he was a *wild* seer.

When Carlyle speaks of the boundless learning and patience of research of Teufelsdröckh one is tempted to think of Richter. He, too, was known for his vast reading and almost universal knowledge. Of this Carlyle briefly remarks. "His knowledge is

¹⁸ Cp. Kraeger, op. cit., S 214.

¹⁹ Cp. MacMechan op. cit., XVII-XVIII and XXXVI.

²⁰ Here and in the following I and II refer to Carlyle's first and second essay on Richter.

gathered from all the kingdoms of Art, and Science, and Nature, and lies round him in huge unwieldy heaps. (II. 145). Of Teufelsdröckh he says, "Of his boundless Learning and how all reading and literature in most known tongues, from Sanchoniaton to Dr. Lingard, from your Oriental Shasters, and Talmuds, and Korans, with Cassini's Siamese Tables, and Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*, down to Robinson Crusoe and the Belfast Town and Country Almanack, are familiar to him,—we shall say nothing: for unexampled as it with us, to the Germans such universality of study passes without wonder." P. 23–24.

Again Teufelsdröckh and Richter are akin in the sympathy with which they regard nature and the life of man. "A warm, tender fellow-feeling with all forms of existence" (I, 16,) a deep loving sympathy with all created things (II, 126,) permeate Richter. Passion may be wild and vehement in him, or "a voice of *softest* pity, of endless *boundless wailing*." (II, 142). From Teufelsdröckh; "gleams of an ethereal love burst forth . . . , *soft wailings of infinite pity*; he could clasp the whole Universe into his bosom, and keep it warm." p. 25.

A keen penetrating intellect also makes the two kinsmen. Their intellects are characterized by a crushing force. Of Richter it is said: "He has an intellect vehement, rugged, irresistible, *crushing* in pieces the hardest problems; piercing into the most hidden combinations of things, and grasping the most distant." (I. 14). And again, "Few understandings known to us are of a more irresistible character than Richter's; but its strength is a natural, unarmed, Orson-like strength; he does not cunningly undermine his subject, and lay it open, by syllogistic implements or any rule of art; but he *crushes it to pieces* in his arms, he treads it asunder . . . ; and so in almost monstrous fashion, yet with piercing clearness, lays bare the inmost heart and core of it to all eyes (II. 142). To be sure Carlyle does not use the word intellect when speaking of Teufelsdröckh in this matter, but from the context it is evident that he means or, at least, implies intellect. "Wonderful it is with what cutting words now and then, he severs asunder the confusion; shears down, were it furlongs deep, into the true centre of the matter; and there not only hits the nail on the head, but with *crushing* force smites it home, and buries it. P. 23.

Again the description of Teufelsdröckh's apartment is given in the best style of Richter. Pape rightly calls attention to the typically Richterian atmosphere in "Sartor Resartus."²¹ As the principal source of it he cites "Quintus Fixlein." "Siebenkäs" might be cited with, perhaps, greater justice. Certainly the domestic life of Siebenkäs and his worthy spouse Lenette has left its mark on the Teufelsdröckh household. Old Lieschen's half-forcible monthly sally into her master's study, with broom and duster, remind the reader very much of similar attempts at orderliness and cleanliness on the part of Lenette. Indeed one might even quote as Carlyle actually does in his first essay (I, 8) a similar scene from Richter's life in Hof when he occupied one and the same room with his mother.

The lack of intercourse with the higher and cultivated classes which proves such a handicap to Teufelsdröckh is shared with Richter. He too, was, as Carlyle puts it, quite excluded from the west-end of Hof. We know how bitterly Richter complained of his isolation and his lack of intercourse²² with students and professors while he was a student at Leipzig, and later after his return to Hof. Carlyle was slightly more fortunate in this regard, he soon met Edward Irving and through the Buller family he came into contact with the higher and well-to-do class.

The manner in which the editor of the treatise on clothes comes into possession of the biographic material on Professor Teufelsdröckh reminds one of the fanciful methods often employed by Richter in obtaining the material of his novels. So he pretends that his novel "Hesperus" is brought to him from an unknown person named Knef, chapter after chapter, in a gourd fastened about a little dog's neck; in another of his novels "Flegeljahre" he is the biographer of the hero and so has first hand and intimate knowledge of his hero and his life. Then, too, he is fond of giving to his chapters fanciful names. In "Flegeljahre" they are named after minerals, in "Titan" he calls them "Jobelperioden," and in "Hesperus" "Hundposttage." So the autobiographic material of Professor Teufelsdröckh reaches its editor in six considerable Paper Bags carefully

²¹ Cp. Pape, *op. cit.*, S 45.

²² Cf. Spazier, *Jean Paul Friedrich Richter*, II, 8, Leipzig 1833; also Nerrlich Paul, *Jean Paul sein Leben und seine Werke*. S. 109. Berlin 1889.

sealed and marked in gilt China ink with the symbols of the Six southern zodiacal Signs. From them they are named Bag Libra, Bag Sagittarius, Bag Scorpio, Bag Capricorn, etc.

The reader of Carlyle's essays on Richter is struck by the profound appreciation with which he analyses Richter's humor. No other quality draws from Carlyle such fulsome praise. To him he is a humorist of the highest and finest type. In his lectures on the history of Literature he says: "There is more joyous laughter in the heart of Richter than in any other German writer."²³ And Carlyle not only knew Richter's humor as it manifested itself in his works, he also knew his theory of it. Kraeger²⁴ is, I think, right in attributing to Richter a deep influence on Carlyle in this respect. It is, however, largely confined to the theoretical side. There is little resemblance between the humor of the two men. Carlyle was too stern, too deeply in earnest to be heartily humorous. In its essence his humor, "consists," Archibald MacMechan says,²⁵ "in a juxtaposition of the remote and the incongruous with the result of awakening a feeling of amusement or of scorn or of sadness." Only in rare instances does it have the sly, whimsical spontaneity of Richter's, as he exhibits it especially in the shorter stories like "Quintus Fixlein" or "Maria Wuz in Auental." Carlyle's humor is grim, heavy and often labored. Whenever Richter's humor becomes grim and sardonic, and at times it does so in "Titan" (Schoppe) and in "Siebenkäs" (Leibgeber), it takes on a satirical tinge.

Richter has given us a very elaborate theory of humor in his *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Introduction to Aesthetics). For Carlyle's theory of it we are dependent largely on his analysis of humor in his essays on Richter. That he knew and studied the "Vorschule" is evident from his essays. In the first one he calls it "a work on poetic art based on principles of no ordinary depth and compass abounding in noble views and, notwithstanding its frolicsome exuberance, in sound and subtle criticism; . . . Of this work we could speak long, did our limits allow. We fear it might astonish many an honest brother of our craft,

²³ Lectures on the History of Literature by T. Carlyle, p. 213 Ed. Professor J. R. Greene. London, 1892.

²⁴ Kraeger, H. op. cit. S. 218.

²⁵ Sartor Resartus LV. Ed. MacMechan, New York, 1900.

were he to read it, and altogether perplex and dash his maturest counsels, if he chanced to understand it." P. 10. While in the second essay his opinion runs thus; "the *Vorschule der Aesthetik* abounds with deep and sound maxims of criticism, in the course of which many complex works his own among others, are rigidly and justly tried, and even the graces and minutest qualities of style are by no means overlooked or unwisely handled." p. 144.

Richter's discussion of humor in the "*Vorschule*" has an apologetic air.²⁶ He seems to feel that he must defend it against unjust charges, nay even defend its very right to existence. In Germany, at least, a clear conception of its place and function in life and literature had not yet been formed. The writers of the classical period, in particular Goethe and Herder, charged humor with a want of seriousness and with a violation of the laws and principles of poetic art. For Goethe it was a concomitant of a declining art. The Romanticists, on the other hand, defended humor, its very arbitrariness, in their opinion, gave beauty and variety to literature.

Humor, speaking abstractly, does not destroy that which is individual, but merely contrasts the finite with the infinite (i.e. with the idea). For the true humorist there is no individual folly, there are no individual fools, merely folly and a mad world.²⁷ From this it is evident that the field of humor is the universally human, that which is common to the whole human race. In contrast to humor, satire attacks an individual folly or shortcoming, its object, is never human nature in its universality. And this universality is the source of the kindly and human tolerance with which the true humorist regards the foibles and failings of his fellows. As an illustration of what has just been said Richter cites Sterne who was one of his favorite humorists and to whom he reverts again and again. *Tristram Shandy*, *Uncle Toby* are for him humorous characters of the highest type, and he finds them so because their foibles are the

²⁶ Cp. Berend Eduard, *Jean Pauls Aesthetik* S. 228-29. (*Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte* Bd. 35) Berlin 1909.

²⁷ "Es gibt für ihn keine einzelne Torheit, keine Toren, sondern nur Torheit und eine tolle Welt." *Vorschule der Aesthetik*. S. 125. Hrsg. v. J. Müller. (*Philosophische Bibliothek*. Bd. 105) Leipzig 1923. Quotations from the *Vorschule* are taken from this edition.

foibles of human nature as such and not merely of their own peculiar character and individuality.

This view of humor is the expression of a definite world view. To be sure earlier writers had repeatedly pointed to the insoluble riddles and contradictions of man's nature, to the presence of the animal and the divine in him. But they regarded the ridiculous and the absurd only as the opposite, as a contrast to the natural and the normal which the poet singled out merely in order to eradicate it. The old optimistic dogma of the nobility and beauty of man's nature is still apparent here. To Richter, however, these very riddles and contradictions are the most natural and most human thing in man, they are the infallible sign of the human being. He alone possesses the ability to unite in his nature the fool and the wise man.²⁸ For Richter humor is only an inverse sublimity,²⁹ the expression of a very grave and serious nature. "Darum, waren nicht nur grosse Humoristen, wie gesagt, sehr ernst, sondern gerade einem melancholischen Volke haben wir die besten zu danken."³⁰ Richter defends the presence of both seriousness and humor in literature on the ground that life itself is a blending of the two and that "nach jeder pathetischen Anspannung gelüftet der Mensch ordentlich nach humoristischer Abspannung; aber da keine Empfindung ihr Widerspiel sondern nur ihre Abstufung begehren kann, so muss in dem Scherze, den das Pathos aufsucht, noch ein herabführender Ernst vorhanden sein. Und dieser wohnt im Humor."³¹

Passing on to Carlyle we find that certain elements in his theory of humor are unmistakably derived from Richter. We saw above that Richter called humor an inverse sublimity and further he said of it, "er hebt—ungleich dem gemeinen Spassmacher mit seinen Seitenhieben—keine einzelne Narrheit heraus, sondern er erniedrigt das Grosse, aber ungleich der Parodie—um ihm das kleine, und erhöht das Kleine, aber ungleich der Ironie—um ihm das Grosse an die Seite zu setzen. Carlyle uses in part, the very same expression; "It (humor) is a sort of inverse sublimity; exalting, as it were, into our affections

²⁸ Cp. Berend Eduard, op. cit. S. 233.

²⁹ Cp. Vorschule der Aesthetik, S. 129.

³⁰ Vorschule der Aesthetik, S. 130.

³¹ Vorschule der Aesthetik, S. 130.

what is below us. (er erhöht das Kleine); while sublimity draws down into our affections what is above us (er erniedrigt das Grosse). (I 17).

Again when Carlyle attempts to determine the nature or essence of humor his view is closely akin to Richter's. He finds the nature of humor to be sensibility; "warm tender fellow feeling with all forms of existence." Its essence is love, its true source is the heart rather than the head. (I. 16-17). Richter preaches a similar doctrine, in the *Vorschule*²³ we read, "Ferner erklärt durch die Totalität sich die humoristische Milde und Duldung gegen einzelne Torheiten, weil diese als dann in der Masse weniger bedeuten und beschädigen, und weil der Humorist seine eigene Verwandtschaft mit der Menschheit sich nicht leugnen kann."

According to Berend,²³ it was the merit of Richter to have most thoroughly done away with the old idea that humor must be unconscious and involuntary. The humorist was in earlier times thought to be a queer droll sort of a man. But the distinction already made by Home between humor in the character of the author and humor in his writings opened the way for the view that a humorist could also be a man of grave and serious character.²⁴ That Carlyle was aware of these conflicting views is, to me, evident from the persistence with which he emphasizes, the seriousness of Richter's character. "Richter is a man of truly earnest, nay, high and solemn character." (I. 9). "Richter is a man of mirth, but he seldom or never condescends to be a merry-andrew." (I. 15). In his brief characterization of Moliere's humor of which he says it is more an affair of the understanding than of the character (I. 17) he merely gives other names to the two types of humor mentioned by Richter. That of character being innate and unconscious, while that of the understanding is the conscious and the assumed.

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²³ S. 128.

²⁴ Berend, *op. cit.*, S. 238.

²⁵ Cp. *Vorschule der Aesthetik*. S. 137-138, also Berend, *op. cit.*, S 238.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

VOLLSTÄNDIGES WÖRTERBUCH ZUM HELIAND UND ZUR ALTSÄCHSISCHEN GENESIS, von Edward H. Sehrts (Hesperia, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, No. 14) Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1925 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press). VIII+741 Seiten.

Vor 85 Jahren erschien das erste Wörterbuch zum Heliand von dem Begründer der wissenschaftlichen Heliandforschung und Schöpfer des Namens "Heliand" für dies altsächsische Evangelien-Epos, J. Andreas Schmeller, als zweiter Band seiner Heliand-Ausgabe unter dem Titel: "Glossarium Saxonum e poemate Heliand inscripto," wegen seiner lateinischen Sprache nicht (mehr) brauchbar für amerikanische Studenten. Ihm folgte Moritz Heyne nach einem Vierteljahrhundert mit einer Heliand-Ausgabe nebst "ausführlichem Glossar" (für Heliand und altsächsische Genesis), das letztere enthaltend nahe an 2500 Wörter auf 223 Seiten, d.h. durchschnittlich 11 auf einer Seite von 2 Spalten, in folgender Anordnung: A, Â, Ba, Bâ, Be, Bê, Bi, Bî, Bu, Bû, u.s.w. Die alphabetische Reihenfolge ist ausserdem noch unterbrochen durch die Praefixe a, bi-, gi-, te- u.a., indem z.B. auf lesan folgt: a-lesan, gi-lesan, a-leskian, lettian, a-lettean, gi-lettian, lêba, far-lêbian, gi-lêbôd, lêbôn, (s. S. 269 f.) lêdian, ant-lêdian, etc.¹

Heynes Werk erfreute sich rascher Verbreitung, wie die für ein solches Wörterbuch grosse Zahl der Auflagen, —vier!— innerhalb von 40 Jahren (I. Aufl. 1865; II. 1872; III 1882; IV. 1904) beweist.

Inzwischen hat Eduard Sievers i.J. 1878 seine "Syntax des Heliand" verfasst, in deren "Vorwort" (s.S. VIII) er die folgende Zusage machte: "Ein wörterbuch ist dem texte einstweilen nicht beigegeben. Sobald meine zeit es gestattet, soll als zweiter band ein vollständiges altsächsisches wörterbuch in angriff genommen werden, das zugleich anhangsweise den grammati-

¹ Gleich hier sei erwähnt zur Ermöglichung eines Vergleiches, dass Sehrts Wörterbuch (auf S. 332 ff.) auf lesan folgen lässt: a-lesan, gi-lesan, a-leskian, dann aber: lêstian, gi-lêstian, und nun erst: lettian, a-lettean, gi-lettian, während Behaghels kurzes Wörterbuch zu seiner II. Auflage des "Heliand und Genesis" (Halle a/S. 1910), enthaltend über 2900 Wörter auf 39 Seiten, d.h. durchschnittlich 75 auf einer Seite, folgende Reihenfolge hat: lesan, lêstian, lettian, die Composita mit "a" in streng alphabetischer Ordnung einschiebend auf S. 251 (alesan, aleskian, alettian) die mit "gi" auf S. 264 (gilesan, gilêstian, giletian). Jede dieser 3 Anordnungen hat ihre Vor- und Nachteile. Mir scheint Behaghels die praktischste für ein Schulbuch, weil Zeit ersparend und zugleich es erleichternd, den Einfluss der verschiedenen Praefixe auf die Grundwörter zu erkennen. Dagegen für eingehenderes Studium ist Sehrts Anordnung vorzuziehen.

schen stoff des altsächsischen in einer vollständigen übersicht behandeln wird." Leider hat dieser wohl hervorragendste Kenner des Heliand seine Zusage in fast 50 Jahren nicht erfüllen können, ebensowenig hat Otto Basler, der in Verbindung mit seinem trefflichen Werke, "Altsächsisch" (1923; vgl. meine Besprechung desselben in "The Journal of English and Germanic Philology," July 1924) ähnliches in Aussicht stellte, bis heute seine Absicht ausgeführt.²

Nun erscheint, lang ersehnt, ein "Vollständiges Wörterbuch," verfasst von Edward H. Sehrt, Professor am Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania, in der von Hermann Collitz herausgegebenen Serie "Hesperia" und erweist sich als ein auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage aufgebautes und zuverlässiges Werk, vorzüglich in Druck und Ausstattung, wie man es bei der "Hesperia" gewöhnt ist, von dem gleich hier gesagt sein soll, dass es für eingehendes Studium von "Heliand" und "Genesis" unentbehrlich ist. Es entspricht seinem Titel in der übersichtlichen Vollständigkeit, enthaltend auf seinen 741 Seiten oder 1482 Spalten rund 2670 Stichwörter, d.h. im Durchschnitt 3-4 Wörter auf jeder Spalte.

² Sollte Basler seine Absicht nicht aufgegeben, sondern für sein Wörterbuch genügendes Material gesammelt haben, so brauchte er sich durch das Erscheinen von Sehrts Wörterbuch nicht abschrecken zu lassen, falls er bereit und im stande ist, sein Werk als eine Art wünschenswerter Ergänzung, anstatt einer überflüssigen Verdoppelung zu gestalten. Einerseits könnte und sollte Basler mancherlei auslassen, z.B. alles von Sehrt gesammelte und *mustergültig gebotene* Material, auch die vielen Spalten voller Versnummern. Andererseits könnte und sollte er mancherlei wünschenswertes einstellen, z.B. für jedes geeignete Wort die Etymologie selbst, neben den von Sehrt gegebenen Literaturnachweisen, ferner eine wohlgedachte Entwicklung der Bedeutung der wichtigsten Wörter, besonders der Hauptwörter, worin Heyne versuchsweise vorangegangen ist. Und wäre es nicht vielleicht empfehlenswert, neben jede hochdeutsche Übersetzung eines altsächsischen Wortes das parallele *neuenglische* Wort zu setzen, wodurch das Werk für gar viele Studenten in Ländern mit englischer Sprache brauchbarer oder überhaupt erst brauchbar würde. Wie schon früher von mir bemerkt, leiden wir hierzulande unter dem völligen Fehlen von Lehr- und Lesebüchern des Altsächsischen *in der Landessprache*. Deshalb erscheint die Benutzung, oder wenigstens Mitbenutzung der englischen Sprache in solchen Büchern wünschenswert. Gerade der "doppelsprachige" Sehrt wäre vorzüglich geeignet gewesen für die Einführung solcher Doppelsprachigkeit. Und der öfters gehörte Einwand gegen die Heranziehung des Englischen in unserm Falle: "Jeder Student des Altsächsischen muss selbstverständlich neuhochdeutsch beherrschen," verliert sein Gewicht, sobald auf Grund wohl-bekannter Tatsachen das "muss" zu "musste" berichtigt wird.

Noch nutzbarer könnte Otto Basler sein verheissenes Wörterbuch gestalten wenn er, als ein "Pionier" unter den Germanisten, als zweiten Teil oder Anhang ein "Neuhochdeutsch—Englisch—Altsächsisches Wörterbuch" hinzufügte. Dies würde nicht nur den Wert seines Werkes erhöhen, sondern auch als ein Ansporn dienen für die Verfasser *anderer* Wörterbücher (Gotisch, Angelsächsisch Altochdeutsch, auch Sanskrit u.a.), dieselben zu vervollständigen und brauchbarer zu machen durch Anfügung eines zweiten Teiles: "Deutsch—Gotisch," "Englisch—Sanskrit" u.a.

Die gegenwärtige Besprechung muss sich angesichts des gewaltigen Umfangs des Werkes Selbstbeschränkung aufliegen. Die eigentlich philologische Seite soll deshalb nur kurz berührt werden, in Abschnitt I: Methode der Bedeutungs-Darbietung. Syntaktische und linguistische Probleme müssen Einzelbesprechungen durch berufene Spezialisten überlassen bleiben, von denen jeder sein Scherflein beitragen mag, sodass bei einer erhofften zweiten Auflage all' solche Anregungen benutzt werden können. Dann wird sich der Verfasser des monumentalen Werkes auch genötigt sehen, sein "Vorwort" zu erweitern durch eine Darstellung seiner eigenen Grundsätze, Grundlagen und Anschauungen. Schon hier sei bemerkt, dass das "Vorwort" in seiner jetzigen Kürze (1 1/4 S.) der Bescheidenheit des Verfassers alle Ehre macht, jedoch manches ungesagt lässt, was für den Gebrauch des Werkes nützlich, ja notwendig gewesen wäre. Manche Frage, die sich beim Durcharbeiten einstellt, hätte vorausnehmend beantwortet, mancher Zweifel betreffs Einzelheiten der Darstellung, Anordnung und sonstigen Einrichtung beseitigt werden können. Selbst Behaghel hält es im Vorwort zu seinem kurzen Wörterbuch zum Heliand für nötig, u. a. zu betonen, dass er *b* und *d* auf *b* und *d* folgen lasse, was letzteres auch Sehrt tut. Und das "Vorwort" zum "Angelsächsischen Wörterbuch" von Grein und Holthausen zeigt an, dass Composita mit unbetontem Präfix (ausser un-) alle unter dem Stammhauptide stehen, z. B. aet-, forberan unter beran; -welche richtige Methode ja auch Sehrt befolgt. Wenn dieser auch nicht, wie Oskar Schade für sein "Altd deutsches Wörterbuch" I. A. (Halle a/S, 1872-1882), eine Einleitung von 110 Seiten vorausschicken musste, so hätte ihn doch Siegmund Feist's "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache" (Halle a/S 1900) mit seiner "Vorrede" von 11 Seiten, Walther Prellwitz's "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache" mit seiner "Einleitung" von 14 Seiten, Matthias Lexers "Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch" mit seinem "Vorwort" von 12 Seiten, sowie besonders das "Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française" von Hatzfeld, Darmesteter und Thomas mit der vorzüglichen "Introduction" von 24 Seiten ermutigen sollen zu einer Voraus-Erklärung der Gründe für seine Methode im allgemeinen und besonderen (betr. Etymologie, Klassifizierung der Bedeutungen, Wahl der Belegstellen etc.). Besonders würden seine Anschauungen betr. der Heimat des Heliand, der Dialekte der 4 Handschriften, nicht nur interessant sondern auch nützlich sein, angesichts der zahllosen abweichenden Schreibweisen, wofür hier nur ein Beispiel gegeben sei: sökian (489b) neben (S. 490a): inf. sokean (sokian*), suokean*, suokian*, suocan*, sokien, soken;

3.sg. praes. sokit (V suókit)

sokid (suokit*)

3 sg. praet. sohte (sohta*)

sohta (suohta*) etc. Schon diese nur teilweise

Formenliste—Sehrt führt noch weitere 24 (!) Formen an nebst 57 Versnummern—eines vergleichsweise unbedeutenden Wortes zeigt die gewissenhafte Genauigkeit und erschöpfende "Vollständigkeit" seines Wörterbuches.

Wenn wir nun in die Besprechung der für die praktische Brauchbarkeit eines Wörterbuches bedeutsamen Eigenheiten des Werkes eintreten, vom Standpunkte eines amerikanischen Universitätslehrers, der seit Jahren nach einem nicht nur seine eigenen Bedürfnisse, sondern auch die unserer Studenten mit englischer Muttersprache befriedigenden Lehrbuche Ausschau gehalten, so möchten wir für vielfach verbesserungsfähig und z. t. dringend verbesserungsbedürftig erklären:

I. aus *prinzipiellen* Gründen: die Methode der Bedeutungs-Darbietung;

II. aus *praktischen* Gründen: die Methode, oder vielmehr den Mangel an Methode, inbezug auf das "Verzeichnis der gebrauchten Abkürzungen" auf S. VIII und seine Anwendung, bzw. Vernachlässigung im Wörterbuche selber;

III. aus "*Schönheits*"—Gründen: die Methode der Druckweise gewisser Wortklassen sowie eine verhältnissmässig sehr kleine Anzahl von Druckfehlern.

I

Die linguistische Einrichtung des Wörterbuches verdient im allgemeinen höchstes Lob. Das oben abgedruckte Schema von "sökian" 459b ist ein typisches Beispiel des durchschnittlichen einfachen Stichwortes. Es füllt etwa zwei Spalten, während Stichwörter mit verschiedenen Bedeutungen oder komplizierter Semantik, z. B. Präpositionen, wie *mid* (15 Spalten), *te* (19 Sp.), *an* (36 Sp.) und Adverbien, wie *sô* (15 Sp.), oder Verben wie *wesan* (28 Sp.) und *gar* das Pronomen *the* (46 Sp.) einen ihrer Wichtigkeit und Vielseitigkeit entsprechenden weiteren Raum in Anspruch nehmen. Für jede Nebenbedeutung finden wir erstens eine oder mehrere Belegstellen, zweitens die Nummern aller Verse, wo sie vorkommt; für jede Nebenform ebenfalls die betreffende Versnummer. Hier gibt Sehrt den grössten Reichtum an syntaktischem, linguistischem u. a. Material und liefert wirklich ein "Vollständiges Wörterbuch" wie er es im Titel verspricht. Dennoch, oder gerade deswegen, sei es gestattet, auf Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten in der äusseren Anlage und inneren Methode der Bedeutungs-darbietung hinzuweisen.

a) *Äussere Anlage*:

Als bezeichnendes Beispiel sei gleich von der ersten Seite des Wörterbuches angeführt:

"*abaro* (ags. *cafora* FT15; vgl. got. *afar*, Lucas I, 5; s. PBB XXX, 253) swm. (stets ohne Artikel, Syn. S. 21, 23) nur im pl. gebraucht (Syn. §§18, 44) und zwar stets in bezug auf die Juden; Nachkommen, Kinder (Syn. §114); *abaron* *Israheles**) die Kinder Israel 65, 69, 491, 3000. undar *Israheles abaron*: in

Israel 2126. obar all abaron Israheles: über ganz Israel 2221. obar úsa abaron: über unsere Nachkommen 5485. nom. pl. auaron 69* dat. pl. auarun (auaron*) 65*, 491. aboron (auaron*) 2126. aboron (abaron*) 3000. abaron 2221*. acc. pl. abaron 5485**.

Mein grundsätzliches Bedenken gegen diese Anordnung ist, dass die Bedeutung des as. Wortes hier und sehr oft zu spät erscheint, hier z.B. erst auf Z. 7, und zwar in genau demselben Druck wie die vorangehenden Zeilen, wodurch seine "Entdeckung" unnützig erschwert ist. Die ersten 6 Zeilen enthalten höchst wichtiges Material und sind deshalb gewiss sehr wertvoll. Aber ein "Wörterbuch" soll doch in *erster* Linie die Bedeutung oder Übersetzung der einzelnen Wörter geben und *danach* erst alle übrigen Belehrungen, Bemerkungen und Erklärungen. Praktischer wäre es sicher, weil Zeit ersparend für den Studenten, gleich nach dem Fremdwort, oder spätestens gleich nach den "Cognates"—die jedoch unbedingt in *leichterem* Druck gegeben werden sollten—die neuhochdeutsche Übersetzung, und zwar mit ganz besonders auffallendem Druck, und an den Anfang einer neuen Zeile, hinzusetzen, dann erst solche Bemerkungen wie: "(stets ohne Artikel, Syn. S. 21, 23) nur im pl. gebraucht" Besonders der Satz: "und zwar stets in Bezug auf die Juden" ist *vor* den Bedeutungswörtern "Nachkommen, Kinder" überflüssig und unverständlich und würde an Wert gewinnen, wenn es jenen nachfolgte.

An Übersetzungswörtern, die besonders schwer zu finden sind, habe ich bemerkt:

libbian	leben (6.Z.) 334 b.
fróio	Herr (Ende der 4. Z.) 153 b.
dód	Tod (Anfang der 4. Z.) 75 a.
dóian	ster— ben (3. bzw. 4. Z.) 76a.
dugan	taugen (Ende der 5. Z.) 88 a.
bédie	beide (7. Z.) 42 a.
god	Gott (Schluss der 4. Z.) 199 b.

In Greins "Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter" (Heidelberg 1912) sowie in Heynes Glossar zum Heliand sind die Übersetzungswörter viel leichter aufzufinden.

Besonders sei hier auf "ik," 291b u. 292a hingewiesen, für das überhaupt keine Bedeutung angegeben wird. Es wird nicht einmal gesagt, dass es die 1. pers. sg. ist; dass es ein "pron. pers." ist, erfahren wir erst auf Z. 20 (!), *nachdem* die Formen sämtlicher Kasus, sogar des Plurals (wir!) angeführt worden sind!!

Übergehend vom Äusserlichen—Form und Anordnung der Darstellung, Schreibweise und Drucktypus—zum Inhalt selbst, von praktischen zu wissenschaftlichen Fragen, beschränken wir uns aus oben angegebenen Gründen auf eine Kritik der Methode,

nach welcher die Bedeutungen der altsächsischen Wörter angegeben und aufgereiht bzw. entwickelt sind.

Auf 5 Punkte soll hier die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt werden:

1. Unnütze Verengerung von Bedeutungen,
2. Verflachende Erweiterung und Verallgemeinerung von Bedeutungen,
3. Erklärung statt Übersetzung von Wörtern,
4. Vernachlässigung der Grundbedeutung,
5. Falsche Anordnung, unlogische Reihenfolge, der Bedeutungen.

Eine Behandlung aller Einzelfälle würde weit über den Rahmen dieser Besprechung hinausgehen, nicht nur wegen ihrer Anzahl, sondern auch wegen der Schwierigkeit, die feinsten Schattierungen von Bedeutungen und Bedeutungsentwicklungen in der Kürze unzweideutig darzustellen. Ausserdem wäre eine ausführliche Diskussion über manche noch offene semantische Frage nötig. So seien denn nur einige wenige Belegstellen für jeden der obigen 5 Punkte angeführt, ohne eingehende Besprechung des Für und Wider, wobei es den Benützern des Wörterbuches überlassen bleibt, sich für des Verfassers Praxis oder des Rezensenten Theorien zu entscheiden.

(Der Kürze halber steht bei den unter 1 bis 5 folgenden Citaten: B für Behaghel (Heliand und Genesis), G für Gallée (Altsächsische Grammatik), H für Heyne (Héliand) und S für Sehrt.)

-1-

rink (438b) "junger Krieger, Mann," während

H:Krieger, Lehnsmann.

G:Krieger, Lehnsmann.

ferian (128b) "zu Schiffe fahren." B nur "fahren."

flet (136a) "Gemach, Trinkhalle." Letzteres hat weder B, noch G, noch H.

jungar—skepi (300b) "Dienst" (!!). G und H geben nur "Jüngerschaft," B leider "Dienst."

fridu—gumo (151b) "Friede bringer." H gibt genauer "Friede oder Schutzbringender Mensch"

Vgl. auch unter No. 3: lēf-hēd, stark, gi-wurht, rôda, bôm, man.

-2-

subri (510a) "rein, schön," obgleich weder B noch G noch Grein (Ags. Sprachschatz, 662, unter sýfre) letzteres anfügen.

Die Unwissenheit der Säue in der einzigen Belegstelle (V. 1723) bezieht sich auch wohl mehr auf Reinheit und Kot, als auf Schönheit und Hässlichkeit. Ausserdem gibt Sehrt selbst an:

subro (510b) "rein, sauber, tadellos"—

sigi drohtin (463a), Herr, Gott" (wie farblos!), während H (318a) "Siegherr, Bezeichnung (!) Gottes."

Haben wir nicht die Pflicht, den Studenten Heynes "Übersetzung" zu geben statt des verallgemeinernden, poesieberaubten "Surrogates"?—

heru (254b) "Schwert, nur als erstes Glied in den folgenden *Kompositis*, um den Begriff des zweiten Gliedes zu *steigern*." S selbst aber gibt in den "Kompositis":

heru-drôrâg (254b) "*vom Schwerte blutig*."

heru-sêl (255a) "Verderben, Tod bringender Strick."

heru-thrum (255a) "Verderben bringende Gewalt des *Schwertes*."

Wieviel richtiger H: "es drückt das tötliche, verderbliche aus."—

derni (72a) "heimtückisch, böse," während B nur "verborgen,"

G und H "heimlich, heimtückisch," letzterer mit dem Zusatz "durch böse Zauberkraft *verborgen*," und Sehrt selbst für: dernian (72a) nur "verbergen, verhehlen" giebt.

-3-

abaro (S. 1b, Z.10): "undar Israheles aboron—in Israel."—
lioht (S. 342a) "1. Licht, Glanz."

"2. übertragen: Leben, Welt, Erde."—Jede dieser

drei Bedeutungen, die H (274a) nicht gibt, ist sinnlos in den darunter angeführten Belegstellen;

vgl. v. 3081, 5392: liolto mêst endi llf êuuig

v. 3324, 3653; himiles liolto, open êuuig llf.—

lêf (329a) "schwach, gebrechlich,"—aber

lêf-hêd "Gebrechlichkeit, Krankheit" (!). Keine der 3 angeführten Belegstellen erfordert diese zweite Bedeutung.—

stark (505a) "1. stark"

"2. böse, feindlich."

Weder G noch B hat "feindlich," letzterer allerdings "böse."

Doch S selbst hat für:

stark-môd (505a) nur "mutig, tapfer" und für:

sterkian (507a) nur "stärken." G gibt auch für:

stearo (Ags.) nur "stark, vehemens, asper." Und von Sehrts Belegstellen zwingt keine zu "böse," sondern jede leitet zu "starr, rauh, rigidus."

gi-wurht (198b) "Tat,—böse Handlung." H gibt nur "Tat, Handlung." Keine Belegstelle nötigt zu "böse." Die eine hat den Zusatz "böse" als Adjektiv, die andere spricht vom Endgericht und Christi Entscheidung über *alle* Handlungen.—

arm (34b) "1. arm, besitzlos, dürftig."

"2. elend, unglücklich."

"3. demütig" (!)

B und G geben nur "arm," H "arm, besitzlos, gering, elend."

Sehrts einzige Belegstelle für "demütig" ist die bekannte erste Seligpreisung (v. 1302 ff.): that the sâlige uârin , thiehêr du iro môde uârin arme thurh ôdmôdi.

Die von ihm empfohlene Übersetzung würde folgende Tautologie ergeben: Selig sind' die in ihrem Sinn waren *demütig* durch Demut (!) Sehrt selbst gibt für keine der 5 Ableitungen von "arm" (35a) eine mit "demütig" verwandte Bedeutung.

- frt-lik (152a) "edel, lieblich, *schön*." H gibt "freigeboren," B "edel (?)" ; keiner fügt "schön" hinzu. In der einzigen Belegstelle (v. 3967*) wird durch "schön" (von Maria und Marta) unerquickliche Verwaschung herbeigeführt.
- fróbra (153a) "*Freude*, Trost,"—obwohl B, G und H nur "Trost" geben und S in Übereinstimmung mit diesen dreien für: fróbrían und gi-fróbrían nur "trösten" giebt.—
- gi-nádig (187a) "barmherzig, gnädig,"—während B und G nur "gnädig" geben.—
- róða (440a) "Galgen, Kreuz," während B und H nur "Galgen," G, am richtigsten, nur "Stange" gibt.—
- stól (508a) "Königssitz, Thron."—B gibt "Thron", H. "Stuhl" Thron," G nur "Stuhl"—am richtigsten Grein (Ags.) "sedes, thronus."
- bóm (59b) "1. Baum" "2. Stange" "3. Kreuz" H gibt dasselbe, hinzufügend "eig. Galgen," B "Baum, Stange," G nur "Baum." Sehrts einzige Belegstelle (v. 5534) für "Kreuz" widerlegt ihn selber: *sia thar an griete galgon rihtun, bóm an berege*.—
- man (359a und b) "1. Mann" "2. Kind, Jüngling, junger Mann." Sehrt's Belegstellen zu 2 zeigen alle, dass erst das *Adjektiv* den Begriff "Mann" einengt, nämlich: *luttílina, kindisc, iungaro, maguiunge, kindiunge, iunga*. Nach S müsste man also übersetzen: kindliches Kind, jüngerer Jüngling, kindjunger junger Mann, junger Jüngling!!
- legar (329b) "Krankheit;" gegen H's "1. Lager, Krankenlager 2. schwere Krankheit." Auch Grein (Ags.) hat nur: "Lager," und S selbst giebt.
- legar-bed (330a) "Lagerstätte, Krankheit (eigentlich Krankenbett)."—
- lèhni (330b) "vergänglich." So zerstört S das feine, tiefsinnige und poetische Bild vollständig und fälscht geradezu den Heliand! H sagt: "eigentlich was *leihweise* gegeben wird." Entsetzlich verflachend wirkt dazu Sehrts Übersetzung der einen von den 2 Belegstellen (v. 1548) *that is lèni feho* "das ist vergängliches Gut, d. h. davon habt ihr garnichts" gegenüber des Dichters unendlich tieferer, zugleich biblischer Auffassung, dass aller irdische Besitz bloss von Gott *geliehen* ist.—

-4-

Hier übertrifft H's Wörterbuch vielfach seinen Nachfolger, schon durch das häufige: "eigentlich."

- vgl. H (219b) "eigentlich Schnitzwerk" mit S (149b) "Zierat, Schmuck" für: frataha.—
- frid-hof: H (221a) "Schonung oder Schutz gewährender Hof, Freistatt, hier vom Vorhof des hohenpriesterlichen Palastes." S (151a) "Vorhof."—
- fridu-wih (H 220b) "Schutz gewährender Tempel" (S 152a) "Tempel."—
- fruma (H 221b) "was vorwärts bringt, Bestes, Nutzen . . ." (S. 154b) "Gutes, Nutzen, Vorteil, Gewinn."—
- gard (H 225a) "1. im Sing. eingefriedigtes Grundstück, Feld" (S 166b) "1. im Sing. Feld, Erde."—
- hand-mahal (H 235b) "forum competens, Gerichtsstätte, zu welcher man gehört." (S 219b) "Stammgut, Heimat."—
- aldar (10a) "1. Leben" "2. Alter"—statt umgekehrt! G gibt nur "Alter."—Vgl. auch unter unsrer No. 1: jungar-skepi, fridu-gumo; unter No. 3: lëf, stark, frt-lik, rôda, stôl, bôm, legar, lêhni.

-5-

Für die falsche Anordnung von für ein Stichwort gegebenen Bedeutungen sei als einziges Beispiel "fôdian" (137b) neben "a-fôdian" (138a) angeführt, weil der Mangel an logischer und sprachlicher Bedeutungsentwicklung sich in der Reihenfolge der für dies Wort von Sehrt, ohne irgend welche Erklärungen, gegebenen 4 Bedeutungen besonders auffallend ist. Wir finden die Übersetzungen in folgender Anordnung:

1. "erzeugen,"—mit einer einzigen Belegstelle, in der es diese Bedeutung unmöglich haben kann. Denn Zacharias hat wohl schwerlich dem Engel, der die Geburt Johannes des Täufers ankündigte, erzählen wollen, dass er und sein Weib in ihrer Jugend nicht konnten einen Erbwart (v. 150, fôdean an uncun "flettea") *erzeugen* in ihrer *Trinkhalle* (vgl. Sehrt S. 136b unter "fletti") oder auf ihrer *Diele* (vgl. Heyne u. Gallée unter "fletti"). Sehrt selbst fügt denn auch in Klammer hinzu: "oder zu 3?" d. h. zu "erziehen."
2. "gebären,"—eine mögliche und sogar wahrscheinliche Bedeutung in den 3 Belegstellen.
3. "erziehen."
4. "ernähren."

Es ist zu bedauern, dass Sehrt sich in der Reihenfolge der Bedeutungen nach Gallée (erzeugen, ernähren) und Heyne (erzeugen, gebären, ernähren) gerichtet hat statt nach Behaghel (1. nähren 2. gebären; *nicht*: erzeugen) und Grein (Ags. Sprachschatz, unter "fêdan": 1. pascere, nutrire, alere, cibare; 2. gignere, parere, producere "diese Bedeutung ist *vielleicht* doch zu statuieren.")

Wie irreführend das sich versteifen auf "gebären" ist, zeigt sich dann noch unter "a-födian" (138a), wo Sehrt als Belegstellen für "gebären" u.a. anführt:

v. 1136 thar he afödit uuas, tirlco atogan—, wonach dann Jesus in *Galilaea geboren* wäre, obwohl der Dichter kurz vorher ausführlich erzählt hat, dass er in *Bethlehem* geboren ward, dort von den Hirten und Weisen besucht wurde und von dort nach *Egypten* fliehen musste.

v. 2291—92: an Galileo land thar he afödid uuas. Hat man doch auf Grund dieses Missverständnisses der Bedeutung von "afödid" dem Dichter den Vorwurf grober Unwissenheit in bezug auf die allerbekanntesten Tatsachen im Leben Jesu sowie schlimmster Vergesslichkeit in bezug auf seine eigene Erzählung von Jesu Kindheit gemacht und sogar daraus gefolgert, dass er nicht ein Geistlicher, sondern ein unwissender Laie gewesen,—eine Kette von anscheinend un-ausrottbaren Irrungen.

Leider übersetzen auch Behaghel, Gallée und Heyne "a-födian" durch "gebären," während Grein für Ags. "a-fédan" nur "cibare, nutrire, alere, pascere (lactare!)" gibt.

Selbst wenn die drei erstgenannten nebst Sehrt recht haben sollten mit ihrem "gebären" als *einzigsten* Bedeutung von "a-födian," was füglich bezweifelt werden kann, so bleibt die *Anordnung* der 4 Bedeutungen von "födian" durch Sehrt doch jedenfalls sachlich und sprachlich falsch, indem sie die Bedeutungsentwicklung geradezu auf den Kopf stellt.

-II-

Angesichts der ausserordentlichen Sorgfalt und Genauigkeit in Anordnung, Gestaltung und Druck, die dem Leser auf jeder Seite des Wörterbuches entgegentritt, ist es um so überraschender, in Verbindung mit dem "Verzeichnis der gebrauchten Abkürzungen" (S. VIII) und seiner Anwendung auf Schritt und Tritt verwirrenden Unstimmigkeiten, ja Widersprüchen zu begegnen, die so zahlreich sind, dass eine Revision und Vervollständigung dieses Verzeichnisses sowie eine Durcharbeitung des Wörterbuches behufs Verbesserung der Unstimmigkeiten und Ausmerzung der zahlreichen entstellenden Fehler bei Gelegenheit einer hoffentlich bald notwendig werdenden zweiten Auflage dringend wünschenswert erscheint.

Dies "Verzeichnis" leidet nämlich an zwei bedenklichen Mängeln, deren Konsequenzen den Gebrauch des Werkes, besonders auch für nicht-deutsche Studenten, erheblich und unnötig erschweren.

1) *Die Liste ist unvollständig.* Innerhalb verhältnismässig kurzer Zeit fand ich im Buche selber 24 Abkürzungen, welche in dieser Liste von 39 fehlen; d.h. mindestens 37%, wahrscheinlich über 40%, sind vergessen worden. (vgl. Anm. 3).

2) *Die Liste ist nicht massgebende Norm*,—was sie doch sein sollte—für das Wörterbuch selber. In unzähligen Fällen sind die darin verzeichneten Kurzformen (z.B. pron.) ersetzt (a) entweder durch die daneben stehenden vollen Formen (pronomina) oder durch anders geschriebene volle Formen (*Pronomen, Pronominibus*) oder durch andere Abkürzungen (*Pron.*), oft sogar diese von verschiedenen Formen, sodass sich für manche Wörter 5 Varianten im Texte des Wörterbuches finden. (vgl. Anm. 4.)

Solche Systemlosigkeit, die sich durch das ganze Wörterbuch hinzieht, ist nicht nur unschön, sondern auch äusserst verwirrend. Am zweckmässigsten und verbreitetsten scheint das von Grein, (*Ags. Sprachschatz*), sowie von Behaghel und Heyne in ihren Heliand-Ausgaben angewendete System zu sein, aus welchem ja auch Sehrt die von ihm auf S. VIII abgedruckten, aber im Wörterbuche selber, trotz der Überschrift *„gebrauchten Abkürzungen“* all zu oft *nicht gebrauchten* Abkürzungen in der Hauptsache entnommen hat.

Anm. 3.

24 ABKÜRZUNGEN FEHLEND

im „Verzeichnis“ auf S. VIII, aber gebraucht im Wörterbuch, („a“ und „b“ hinter einer Seitenzahl bedeuten die 1. u. 2. Spalte. Nur eine kleine Auswahl von Stellen ist gegeben).

1. Z.=Zeile. 729 Anm. 1; 197 b unter: gi—wit, Z. 5.
2. finit.=finitum, 475 b.
3. flekt.=flektiertem, 578 b, 579b, 678 b, u oft.
4. impers.=impersonal, 439 b.
5. indef.=indefinitum, 360 b, 414 a, 414b.
6. indic.=indicativ, 484 a (v 475 b Indic.), 561a (2x). Aber 574 b *Indik!* Auffallend, dass *„ind.“* auf S. VIII fehlt, während *„conj.“* leider sogar mit 2 verschiedenen Bedeutungen angegeben ist.
7. Kompos=compositum, 357b, 434 a, 495 a, 687 b u.w. oft.
8. Nom.=Nomen, vgl. 579 b.
9. part.=partitivus, vgl. 362 b, 422 a, 422 b, 511 b, 512 b, 688 b, 689 b u. oft. Auch hier verwirrende Systemlosigkeit. Auf S. VIII *„part.“*=partizipium (warum *„z“* statt *„c“* in der lateinischen, da kleingeschriebenen, Form?), während im Wörterbuch selbst *„part“* unzählige Male=*partitivus*) ist.
10. poss.=possessivum, 675 a; Poss. 677 a.
11. praed.=praedicativ(o), 453 a.
12. Rel.=relativ; die Kurzform 581 a, die Vollform 483 a. Wieder der sinnlose Wechsel von *„R“* und *„r“*!
13. stn.=starkes neutrum 358 a, 370 a, 421 a, 421b, 432 a, 440 a u. oft. stn und stf finden sich auf S. VIII.
14. Subst.=Substantivum, vgl. 578 a, 579 b, 653 b u. oft. Auch hier wieder unverständliches Wechseln zwischen Subst. und Substantiv und Substantivum (580 b); vgl. 578 a, wo sich dicht hinter einander findet: auf Z. 20 u. 21 *„e“* Zwischen Artikel und Substantiv . . . *„f“* Zwischen Artikel u. Subst.
Noch weit schlimmeres Durcheinander begegnet auf S. 579 b:
Z. 1: Das Adj. (S. VIII, adj.).
Z. 18: Das schwache Adjektiv (S. VIII adj.=adjektiv).
Z. 3 v.u: Es steht ein Gen. (S. VIII gen.l) Pron. (S. VIII pron.) oder Nom. (S. VIII nom.=nominativ, u. nicht=nomen, das in der Liste ganz

fehlt) und schw. (fehlt S. VIII) Adj. (S. VIII: adj.) zwischen Artikel u. Subst. (fehlt S. VIII).

Wir finden hier in einem Satz erstens: 3 Abkürzungen, die auf S. VIII fehlen, zweitens: 3 Abkürzungen in einer Form, verschieden von der auf S. VIII gegebenen; drittens: "und" neben "u".

15. s.v., nirgends erklärt; 444 a, 507 a, 192 a.
16. sw. = schwach, 357 b, 204 a (4x), 421 a (4x), 204 b (3x).
17. swm. 422 a, 426 a, 433 b, 435 a, 439 a.
18. swn. 424 b, 426 b.
19. u. = und 164 a, 654 b.
20. Verb. = verbum, 475 b "Verb. finit."
21. a.a.0.729 Anm. 3. Es wäre wohl besser gewesen, auf S. VII einzuschieben: "Collitz, Waldeckisches Wörterbuch" u. dann auf S. 729, 730, 735 darauf hinzuweisen. Wie es jetzt ist, ist das "a.a.0" unverständlich, solange man nicht S. 729 Anm.1 gefunden hat. Übrigens hätte auch "Basler, Altsächsisch" auf S. VII eingefügt werden können, zumal dort nicht *ein* Spezialwerk zum Heliand nach 1897 genannt wird.
22. vgl. 511 b.
23. + = und, 655 a, u. sehr oft.
Fast humoristisch wirkt das Nebeneinander und Durcheinander von Varianten auf
S. 358: et (4x) u. (1x),
S. 700 b: c. te + inf. et dat. pers.
24. J.d.T. = Johannes der Täufer, 200 b.

— III —

a) Als "SCHÖNHEITSFEHLER" möchte ich bezeichnen:

1) Den unnützen, veralteten und dazu systemlosen Gebrauch des Lateinischen.

a) Unnütze lateinische Wörter.

1. ibid = ibidem (S. VIII u. oft.)
2. et, für: und, 412b, 413a (2mal), 413b(2x), 414b, 425a(2x), 457b(3x)
3. rei, für: der Sache, 61b, 413a, 414a, 416a, 425a, 441a, 457b
4. c = cum. Auch dies scheint mir unnützlich und entbehrlich.
5. ipse, 455a
6. centurio, 280a

Auch: maskulinum, femininum, neutrum könnten durch: männlich (m.), weiblich (w.) und sächlich (s.) verkürzend ersetzt werden!

β) Unnötige lateinische Endungen.

1. "bei . . . Verbis" 14b, 19a (2x), 20b, 26b, 27a.
(warum bei lateinischer Endung das unlateinische grosse V?).
doch "bei den Verben, 559b! "nach Verben" 525a, 529a (7x).
Sogar "Richtungsverbis," 23b, 24b, 26a, 26b—eine unerträgliche Mischung!
Dagegen: mit einem Verbum, 13a.
zu einem Verbum, 19b.
ohne Richtungsverb, 26a.

Ann 4— Abkürzungen im "Verzeichnis"	Abkürzung im "Verzeichnis"	Abkürzung im "Verzeichnis, nicht durchgeführt im Wörterbuche."
acc. = akkusativ adj. = adjektiv	vgl. 653 b Z. 5 v.u.: Subst. oder Adj. a) mit Subst. 654 a Z. 11 v.o.: b) c. adj.	(b) ersetzt durch Volkwort
adv. = adverb doch: 478 b, 479 b u. oft.	comp. = komparativ f. = femininum gen. = genitiv imp. = imperativ (warum nicht genitivus?)	Adjectiv 577a, 579b, 677a, wo stets auch Adj. daneben
inf. = infinitiv	compar. 424 a, 548 b fem. 366b (5x) Gen. 579 b, 580a imper. 564 a	Adverb 677a adverb 358 a, 365 a Komparativ 549 b
instr. = instrumental	Inf. 475b } 691a } 3 Varianten Inf. 475b } 690a } auf 2 Seiten! inf. 690b } Inf. 676b und 674b, 4 Z. nach: inf. ! inst. 478a instru. 27b intr. 432a	Imperativ 476a, in unsystematischem Nebeneinander mit "Indik. des Präs. mit folg. Inf." (1)
intrans. = intransitiv neut. = neutrum nom. = nominativ	Nom. 360b Nom. bedeutet aber Nomen 579b—vgl. j) u. k), wo es in Kurz- und Vollform erscheint Part. 656b, 677a, 678b	instrumental 27a Neutrum 581a
part. = participium (warum z statt c?)		

<p>pers. = person doch pers. oft personae oder personale, vgl. 292 Z. 14 v.o.: "pron. pers". pl. = plural praep. = präposition (warum in Kurzform <i>ae</i>, in Vollform <i>æ?</i>) praes. = präsens (warum <i>ae = æ?</i>) praet. = präteritum (warum <i>ae = æ?</i>) pron. = pronommen refl. = reflexiv sg = singular</p>	<p>Präp. in derselben Spalte wie: praep. 694a, 497b Praes. 476a, 677a, 690a Prät. 656b Pron. 512b, 560a, 579b, 580a(2x), 677a, 674a (je 1x Pron. u. pron.), 675 b(3x Pron. '1x pron.) 483a beides: Relativ pron. Relativ pronommen. reflex 439a, 489b, 490a, 495b, 676b</p>	<p>Person 512b Plural 689b Praesens 475b Pronomen 559a(2x), 577a Singular 360b</p>
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Diese Liste zeigt 10 Wörter, deren Kurzformen in der massgebend sein sollenden Liste auf S. VIII mit kleinem, im Wörterbuche selbst unzählige Male mit grossem Anfangsbuchstaben gedruckt sind. Sie zeigt ferner, dass, obwohl sämtliche Vollformen in der offiziellen Liste einen kleinen Anfangsbuchstaben haben, dieselben im Wörterbuche meist mit grossem Buchstaben anfangen.

2. "in den Compositis" S. 1 Z. 5 v.o, 254b.

3. Verba, 656b, 678a.

4. Pronominibus (*lat.* Dat. Plur.) und "Adverbien" (*deutscher* Dat. Plur.) II, 486b.

2) Das verwirrende Nebeneinander von lateinischen und deutschen Formen.

a) Verbum 497a, Verb. 475b, verbum 495b, Verba 678a, Verben 559a, Verbis 14b, stv. u. swv. S. VIII. Es finden sich also 7 Varianten, die sich alle leicht auf "v." reduzieren liessen. Auf nur 2 Seiten (13 u. 14) werden 4 verschiedene Formen gebraucht.

Unverständlich bleibt das Nebeneinander von: S. 522b: "a) nach Verbis der Bewegung a) intransitiva;" S. 525a: 1b) nach Verben des Sprechens ; S. 525b: "nach einem Verbum," alles unter dem einen Worte "te."

β) et, +, u. und: Unter dem Wort "werdan" allein findet sich folgendes systemlose Nebeneinander:

S. 654b "u. Nebensätze," S. 655a, "an +acc.," S. 655a "gen. und acc.," 655b "te und"

457b "c. acc. rei et dat. pers.," 428 b "c. gen. rei et praep." ganz lateinisch! 439 "c. dat. pers. et te + inf."!—vgl. auch 203b.

γ) "c." neben "mit": 450b "c acc. u. mit," 653b "mit Nebensätze," 654a "c. adj.," 654b "mit Nebensatz" (diesmal ohne Endungs-e!), 654b "c. dat. pers.," 655a "mit an +acc.," 655 a "c. gen. und," 655 b "c. te und"

Wir finden in den ersten vier, dem einen Worte "werdan" gewidmeten, Spalten "mit" und "c" je 8 mal, und zugleich innerhalb einer Spalte die drei Varianten: u, +, und.

3) Das widersinnliche Nebeneinander von c und k in den Kurz—und Vollformen, sogar innerhalb der offiziellen Liste auf S. VIII.

Welchen Grund oder Sinn hat die sich widersprechende Schreibweise zwischen Kurz—und Vollformen in den folgenden Wörtern aus dem "Verzeichnis der gebrauchten Abkürzungen" auf S. VIII:

acc.	für: akkusativ
comp.	" komparativ
conj.	" konjunctiv
masc.	" maskulinum
praep.	" präposition
praes.	" präsens
praet.	" präteritum
voc.	" vokativ

Sollen die Vollformen *lateinisch* sein, dann ist das "k" und "ä" falsch. Sollen sie *deutsch* sein, dann ist erstens der kleine Anfangsbuchstabe falsch, *zweitens die Abkürzung unpassend.*

b) Aus "SCHÖNHEITS"—GRÜNDE" möchte ich folgende Verbesserungen empfehlen:

1. Ein A, B, C u. s. w. gross gedruckt, wie in Greins und Heynes Wörterbüchern, sollte als Überschrift auf den Seiten eingefügt werden, wo ein neuer Anfangsbuchstabe eintritt.

2. Die mit th anfangenden Stichwörter sollten gesondert von denen mit t stehen unter einer neuen Überschrift TH, wie ebenfalls bei Grein und Heyne sowie bei Behaghel.

3. Es sollte die Verschiedenheit des Druckes der Präfixe begründet oder aufgegeben werden. Von den zahllosen Beispielen seien hier nur die folgenden aufgeführt:

far—folgon (139a),	fetter	Druck,		
far—fehon (124a)			schwacher	Druck
fur—faran (121a)			"	"
ant—findan (131b)	"	"	"	"
ant—förian (147a)			"	"
te—glidan (199b)	"	"	"	"
te—gegnes (532b)	"	"	"	"
te—faran (121a)			"	"
alle gi—Composita	"	"	"	"
doch gi—fölian (139a)			"	"
bi—ginnan (187b)			"	"

4. Auffallend und erklärungsbedürftig ist die Schreibweise, unter anderen, der folgenden zwei Verben:

a) *idug—lônnon* (291 b), welches Behaghel als "*idulnonn*," also ohne \wedge auf *i* und ohne *g*, sowohl im Wörterbuch als im Text (v. 5302)—hier allerdings mit der Variante "*iduglonon*" im Cott.—, und Heyne als "*idug—lônôn*" im Glossar und im Text geben.

Woher hat Sehrt den Circumflex auf dem *î*, während die von ihm angeführte Belegstelle v. 5302* (Cott.) *iduglonon*, also einfaches *i*, zeigt?

Ist der Circumflex ein Druckfehler?

Diese drei Varianten desselben Wortes innerhalb 7 Zeilen bei Sehrt bedürfen einer Erklärung für den Studenten, zumal wenn er weder bei Heyne noch in Behaghels Wörterbuch auch nur eine von ihnen wiederfindet.

β) Noch verwirrender wirkt:

lînon (340a), bei Heyne: *lînôn!*, bei Behaghel: *lînon*. Das auffallende und erklärungsbedürftige ist hier, dass in Sehrts Belegtexten sowie in Behaghels Heliandtext neunmal das *î* und *o* erscheint, während sämtliche von Sehrt angeführten Einzelformen *i* und *o* zeigen, sogar in den Cott. Varianten.

C. DRUCKFEHLER:

An Druckfehlern habe ich in dem mit derselben Sorgfalt wie alle Hesperia-Bände gedruckten Werke nur die folgenden bemerkt, die ersten vier am Schluss der Zeile:

- S. VI Anm. 2: Cote—tonianus, statt: Cot-tonianus;
 " " 5: verschriebenr, statt: verschrieben;
 " " 6: Stell statt Stelle;
 " " 12: nu statt nur.

397 b: vor "Kind . . ." fehlt:2)

S. 428a unter: pascha: 1) Ostermal, statt: Ostermahl.

S. 673b Z. 10 v.u: der, statt: das.

Von nicht bedeutsamen Versehen seien erwähnt:

S. 738b drübon Z. 2 und

S. 741b af-stepian, Z. 2. In beiden Stellen muss es statt: "Behaghel, Glossar" heissen: "Behaghel, Wörterbuch."

Unpraktisch sind auch die gewählten Abkürzungen für die beiden Bücher von Lagenpusch (S. VII u. VIII), deren eine den Namen des Verfassers, deren andere den des Werkes bezeichnet.

Noch einmal sei zum Schlusse mit allem Nachdruck betont, dass Sehrts Wörterbuch trotz der oben behandelten Fehler und Versehen ein höchst verdienstvolles Werk von bleibendem Werte ist, das durch die grosse Bereicherung und übersichtliche Zusammenstellung des Forschungsmaterials für alles weitergehende und tieferdringende Studium des Altsächsischen, insbesondere des "Heliand," die unentbehrliche, zuverlässige Grundlage darbietet. Dem bewunderungswerten Fleisse und der erstaunlichen Belesenheit des für sein Werk spürbar begeisterten Verfassers gebührt seitens der Germanisten Dank und Anerkennung.

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THE OLD YELLOW BOOK: Source of Browning's *The Ring and the Book*. A New Translation with Explanatory Notes and Critical Chapters Upon the Poem and Its Source. By John Marshall Gest. Boston. The Chipman Law Publishing Company. 1925. 24 cm., pp. xvi, 699. Price, \$7.

Mr. Gest has performed for students of Browning's *Ring and the Book* and of the case on which it is based a service for which they must all be most grateful. He has made a new translation, not of the entire OYB, as the title implies, but of the speeches of the lawyers, and has included the citations which Dr. Hosell saw fit to omit. To these he has added full explanatory notes. He has also furnished descriptions of the lawyers, an account of the legal system and the courts of Rome in 1698, a chapter on the examination of persons accused of crime and on the system of torture, and several comments on the case and on Browning's poem. The whole forms a magnifi-

cent and impressive monograph, which will prove indispensable for all students of Browning's poetry and is likewise a contribution of solid worth to social and legal literature.¹

Mr. Gest's motive in undertaking this great work is of course obvious and yet entirely legitimate. He is irritated because Browning treats the lawyers so harshly: "Archangeli is portrayed as a silly, conceited pedant;" the speeches of Bottini are not much better, "though perhaps containing less nonsense." Moreover, he complains that "such is the hypnotism of a great name, that many Browning readers profess to enjoy it." The present reviewer holds no brief for Browning in this matter, and has never cared for these parts of *The Ring and the Book*. Browning's case would have been quite as strong if he had, omitted the fried liver and the birthday frolic of Giacinto, Cinone, Ciniccino, et al., and the elegant Latinity of Doctor Bottinius. Further, we may agree with Mr. Gest in absolving the lawyers from the charge of sophistry, if by that we mean "an intentionally deceptive argument or reasoning." Still, the fact remains that the lawyer's chief business is generally to win his case, and that it is easy for any but the highest-minded to identify the success of his own case with the interests of truth and humanity. These remarks are not to be interpreted as an attack upon the representatives of the legal profession, for many of whom the writer entertains the highest respect; he is merely trying to get at the possible reason for Browning's antipathy toward the lawyers. As Mr. Gest says, Browning might have portrayed "the majesty of Law, as the controlling force, the saviour of human society, ruling and overruling the passions of men and women, even the strongest of all, the sex-impulse; he might have shown the relationship of law and justice, the sanctity of marriage, the thirst of a wronged man for revenge as opposed to the important necessity of the preservation of human life except where society under the authority of law demands its forfeit: he might have shown the growth of law from custom, and how our modern criminal law was slowly developed from the primeval idea of self-redress and vengeance." If he did not, it was possibly because he saw the other side of the shield: the pathetic spectacle of these lawyers of 1698 themselves bewildered as much as were the judges by the mass of precedents cited, only a small part of which could by any stretch of imagination have been really pertinent to the particular case; the irony of Fisc's asserting in the *Processus Fugae* that Francesca was guilty and then in the trial of Guido asserting with equally passionate earnestness that she was innocent; in general the mass of verbiage, if not so dear to, at least regarded as so necessary by, the legal mind; the travesty of justice

¹ The only review I have noted thus far is by Professor John C. Rolfe in the Univ. of Pennsylvania *Alumni Register*, June 1925, xxvii, 707-09.

which results from the law's delays: the infinitely greater travesty of justice resulting from the use of torture, which, if they did not invent it, the lawyers at least tolerated and tacitly approved of through some centuries. And remembering these things, Browning sought to portray certain average men as lawyers just as he had depicted certain other average men as spectators of the tragedy in the persons of Half-Rome, Other Half-Rome, and Tertium Quid. Even in the Old Yellow Book the lawyers do not shine in their attempts to procure justice or get at the truth, as compared with the aim of winning the case.

It was, then, a part of Browning's task to demonstrate that one of the prime requirements for getting at the truth shall be disinterestedness. How do we arrive at truth? There is both subjective and objective or mechanical approach. Both must be utilized; either alone is dangerous; each should check the other. Browning tended to prefer the first. Paracelsus tells his friends that

Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise
From outward things, whate'er you may believe.
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fulness; and around
Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,
This perfect, clear perception—which is truth.

And Browning apparently believed this himself. It is the passing from the subjective to the objective approach that tends to produce the fatal error and misery under which the world labors; the mechanizing of our processes of truth-getting brings about many of the World's tragedies. But the subjective approach requires the unbiassed activity of the simple self. If there is an ax to grind, the processes of reasoning and understanding are to that extent warped. We cannot serve God and Mammon.

Moreover, the subjective approach implies and requires sympathy; almost as if, reversing the proverb, one were to say, *Tout pardonner, c'est tout comprendre*. Sympathy begets insight. By putting myself in the other man's place I come not only to understand how I should have acted under similar conditions but also to see what he probably did and why he acted as he did.

It is chiefly the results of a lack of disinterestedness and sympathy that Browning studies in his poetized version of the Old Yellow Book.

The whole matter turns on the answer to the question, Was Francesca guilty of adultery? Half-Rome, with a grievance, since he distrusted his wife, thought she was guilty; the lawyers for the defense, also with an ax to grind, assumed that she was; and now Mr. Gest, without an ax to grind, to be sure, but with the lawyer's objective, mechanical approach to the

problem, also decides against her. But it is not enough merely to go over the evidence and decide according to rule; one must relive the experience; this, Browning did, with the result that while his version needs to be corrected as to some details, it is in the main, we think, correct.

The discrepancies between Francesca's testimony and Caponsacchi's have been studied by A. K. Cook, *Commentary Upon Browning's The Ring and the Book*, pp. 290-4, by Mr. Gest, pp. 602-10, and more recently by J. E. Shaw in *PMLA* xli. 56-67. Shaw's view, though revolutionary, seems after all to square with the facts as nearly as we can now get at them. "Then my husband began to be jealous of me," says Francesca (Deposition, 3d paragraph, Everyman ed. OYB p. 91). It is by no means clear that she was guiltless of any act which would justify his jealousy. "The said Canon [Caponsacchi] kept passing there as above, although I was not at all to blame" (ib. p. 91). Moreover, a careful reading of the love letters tends to show that they could have been forged only by one possessing miraculous insight into Francesca's mind; and this, Count Guido was apparently too dull to have had. He was a devil, apparently, but a rather stupid one. Francesca may well have carried on an innocent flirtation with Caponsacchi and apparently did so. But it does not follow from this that her flight with the Canon was an ordinary elopement, or that she was guilty of a crime. Against this view there is her reproof of the Canon for sending her improper verses (OYB, EL, p. 160, no. 4, cf. Gest, p. 227); the light sentence imposed for the elopement. (cf. Gest, pp. 267-8, 276); her protestation of innocence, which is entitled to special consideration (cf. Gest, p. 419); and the deposition of Fra Celestino (OYB, EL, pp. 57-8) and of the others who testified concerning the conduct of Francesca in the hour of death (ib. pp. 59-60). Against the last item of evidence Gest quotes from Rupert Hughes, *What Will People Say?* But there the circumstances are different, the wife's guilt is evident, and the argument from analogy is of no force. Gest fails to consider the circumstances of the flight. Francesca was pregnant (her child was born on December 18); she was in terror of her husband and her chief object appears to have been to escape from the Franceschini house in Arezzo: she was exhausted from the effects of traveling for more than forty-two hours and the nervous strain resulting from the fear of pursuit and capture. Under such circumstances it seems highly probable that her protestation of innocence was genuine.

Turning now to Gest's comments on the poem, we think he is pretty hard on the poet. "Browning deliberately chose to ignore or rather to distort the real facts of the case, to transform a pretty but foolish and susceptible girl into an angel of Thallasion [*sic*; read Thalassian] purity, and to create a chivalrous

guardian of feminine virtue out of a selfish and intriguing corrupter of the home, and . . . did this simply for the sake of reproducing, at the sacrifice of truth, the discovery of which he proclaims as the kernel of his poem, an elaborate shell whose intricate carving would be a greater artistic triumph." But we do not think Browning intentionally distorted the essential facts of the case. He changed the day of the flight from April 29 to April 23, St. George's Day, for what seemed to him artistic reasons. He idealized both Pompilia and Caponsacchi, and by representing Guido as diabolically plotting to demoralize Pompilia he doubtless blackened the character of the husband; these things likewise he did for artistic reasons, since he had to lift the three from the realm of prose to that of poetry. We grant that he takes liberties with the lawyers; yet it can hardly be said that what he makes them say in their spoken meditations in *The Ring* and the *Book* is inconsistent with the impression which one may draw from their speeches in *OYB*. The explanation of Browning's tactics with reference to Archangeli is possibly that, having convinced himself that the wife was innocent, he was so angered by the outspoken assumption of her guilt which runs all through the speeches of Archangeli and Spreti that he determined to show up Archangeli as the shallowest of thoughtless persons.¹

Nor is it quite clear how Mr. Gest would have had the poet portray "the majesty of Law."² In assuming Francesca's guilt, Archangeli and Spreti beg the question from the start. Bottini rather lamely argues (Gest, p. 222) that Pompilia wrote the love letters simply to induce Caponsacchi to take her to Rome, and cites the story of Judith and Holofernes as a parallel! Farinacius, the greatest lawyer of his day (1544-c. 1616), whom the lawyers of *OYB* cite more than a hundred times, was a man of notoriously evil life (Gest, p. 302). The finest lawyer in the whole business is Mr. Gest himself, whose desire to know the truth, even though we personally dissent from one of his conclusions, is admirable and altogether worthy of his great namesake. Without speaking critically on this point, we believe the book will be found a real and valuable contribution to the study of early modern law.

Finally, Mr. Gest corrects at many points the translation of the late Dr. Hodell, who, in tackling law Latin, was entering

¹ Spreti asserts (Gest, p. 114; *OYB*, EL, p. 135, l. 20) that the two spent the night together at Foligno; but I am not aware of any evidence of this. Against this assertion it may be urged that even by traveling continuously (allowing for post changes and stops) they could have covered the distance (138.75 miles in 42 hours over virtually medieval roads) only by making from four to five miles an hour (Treves, *The Country of The Ring and the Book*, pp. 176 f., 205). It is impossible that they should have staid here through the night.

² For the majesty of Law in England as it appealed to Dickens, see *Bleak House*.

a foreign field. For example, Hodell always translates *ecclesiasticus* as "priest" (in this following Browning himself); whereas Caponsacchi, whom the word was used to designate, was only a sub-deacon. In one of Bottini's speeches (Gest, p. 281, Section 22, note 5) *potius persona offendens quam offensa* is translated by Hodell "the person offending rather than the offence"; while Gest renders it "the personality of him who commits the injury rather than that of the injured person." This if not exactly elegant, is accurate.

Important appendices are added: Farinacius's speech in behalf of Beatrice Cenci, certain texts of the Corpus Juris, three controversies of Matthaeu at Sanz, and a brief but important glossary of law Latin words.

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DIE VIER ZWEIGE DES MABINOGI (PEDEIR CEINC Y MABINOGI.) Mit Lesarten und Glossar herausgegeben von Ludwig Mühlhausen. Halle, Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1925. M.7.—

The object of this work is to offer to the student of Medieval Welsh a series of reading exercises which may serve him in the early stages of his study. The texts selected for that purpose are the so-called "Four Branches of the Mabinogi," probably the best known of the purely Welsh prose works of the Middle Ages. The editor has furnished a glossary to the work but no explanatory notes as it is assumed that the student will have available Loth's French translation with its admirable critical apparatus.

The text of these stories which Mr. Mühlhausen has chosen to print is that of the "Red Book of Hergest," a manuscript in the possession of Jesus College, Oxford, and to this text he has added certain variant readings from the "White Book of Rhydderch" (Peniarth MS. 4) now in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. The Red Book Mabinog is carefully printed in 1887 by John Rhys and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, but as this work is both expensive and hard to procure there is ample justification for making the text available in an inexpensive form.

Mühlhausen's text is that of Rhys and Evans with certain modifications. He has divided the text into paragraphs, and has altered the word divisions, separating many words that have been run together in the manuscript and occasionally running together two that the scribe separated. For the punctuation of the manuscript (which possibly indicated merely the places where a reader was to draw breath) he has substituted one of

his own which is often neither Modern Welsh nor Modern English but would probably prove helpful to a German student. The editor might have made it even more helpful had he separated contractions such as *a'e*, *a'm*, *a'r*, *o'r*, *i'm*, *i't*, etc. Aside from changes of this sort, and a few additions or corrections, duly noticed, from the White Book he has followed the Rhys-Evans reprint with remarkable fidelity. A collation of the entire text reveals only seven errors (an eighth is noted in the Errata), and none of these is important. In the interest of accuracy they should, however, be noted. 22,25 *parth ac Aberffraw*: R. B., *parth ac ac aberffraw*. 28,24, *Llaessar*: R. B. *llaesar*: W.B., *llayssar*. 34,13, *hwn*: R. B. *hwm*: W. B., *hwnn*. 38,9, *Eu*: R. B., *Eeu*. 39,18, *w(neynt)* but the letters *wne* still remain before the gap in the Red Book. 47,5, *gwnaeth*: R. B. *gwnnaeth*. 57, 30, *gwymon*: R. B. *gwynnon*: W. B. *guimon*.

One other caution should be noted in using this text. The Welsh surd *l*, represented in the White Book and in modern Welsh by *ll*, is in the Red Book represented by a ligature, while the unligatured *ll* in that manuscript represents the doubling of a sonant *l*, a sound which both the White Book and modern Welsh represent by a single *l*. Typographical difficulties forced Mühlhausen to print the ligature as *ll*, but he should then have devised some way to represent the unligatured *ll* of the manuscript. It is misleading to print, as he sometimes does, *callon* without comment, and it is wholly wrong to print *calon*, and *delheis*, as he does elsewhere, and then give *callon* and *delleis* as variants from the Red Book, for in these words the unligatured *ll* is in each case used in that manuscript.

In his choice of the text to reprint Mr. Mühlhausen is not so happy as in his following of the one he does choose. Not only is the White Book text of the Mabinogion more than a hundred years older than the Red Book text, but in the opinion of its editor, Dr. Evans, the man best qualified to judge of such a question, it is the source of the latter. Moreover in Peniarth MS. 6, dated by Dr. Evans about 1235, there are two fragments of the Mabinogion which are nearly fifty years older than the White Book text, yet where they agree with it as against the Red Book Mr. Mühlhausen follows the latter. Nowhere does he give an explanation as to the reasons that promoted his choice. He has been forced to use the White Book text to fill gaps where the Red Book manuscript is defective and he has also taken from it certain clauses which the later manuscript omits, showing that the reprint of the White Book was available to him. It can hardly be that the later version is easier for the beginner, for although in some respects slightly more modern in spelling it contains also forms more archaic than those of the other text. Scholars are practically agreed that in every respect the White Book text is the better.

To the text as printed Mr. Mühlhausen has added a number of variant readings from the White Book and Peniarth MS. 6, and here again his methods are not clearly comprehensible. In a work of this kind it is manifestly impossible to print all variants or even those which *inhaltlich oder formal von Wert sind*, as he tries to do, but he might have given us a brief table showing the most common differences between the two texts, leaving only the most important ones for the foot-notes. Instead he prints many almost meaningless variants and omits others much more important. For example, to chose a page almost at random, on page 23 he records, among other things, six cases where R. B. has *meirch* or *ueirch* and W. B. has *meiryach* or *ueiryach*. Yet he does not notice that *ni* in l.6 is not in W.B., that in l.9 W. B. has *wy yna* for R.B. *hwy yna*, that in l. 13 W.B. omits *no hwnnw*, that in l.16 W.B. has *caei* for R. B. *chaei*, that in ll, 11 and 17 W.B. has *y uelly* for R.B. *uelly*, that in l.21 W.B. has *mwynant* for *mwynant* and *un* for *yr vn*, that in l.23 omits *yw*, and that in l.24 it has *gyn* for *kyn* (neither manuscript joining this word to the following one as Mühlhausen does). All this is in addition to variants like *ay* for *a*, *minheu* for *minneu*, *uynhynt* for *vynnynt*, and *E* for *Y*, which are as important as some that he does give. Again on page 25 we have the *meirch-meiryach* and *ueirch-ueiryach* variants duly noted, and also *geygehy*, but he does not mention W.B. *deuthant* for *doethant* in l.1, that in l.12 *dy hun* is omitted in W.B., in l. 17 it has *gantaw* for *gantaw*, and in l.19 *barhauw* for *barhaauw*, in l.25 it has *e doeth* for *ef a doeth*, in l.31 it omits *yw*, and in l.34 it has *uch i penn llyn oed yn iwerdon* for R.B. *a oed uch pen llynn yn iwerdon*. On the other hand he prints in l.11 *bychenet* from R.B. and gives *bychanet* as the W.B. variant, yet the R.B. scribe wrote *bychanet* and the *e* has been written over it by a later hand.

The glossary which Mr. Mühlhausen has added to the text shows an adequate knowledge of the language, but does not always consider the convenience of the student as much as it might. A beginner might look some time for *duc* and *cigleu* before finding them under *dysfod* and *clybod* where they logically belong, and Mühlhausen's fondness for running together equatives like *kynhegaret* and *kynhawssel* (English *asfriendly* and *aseasy*) is unnecessarily confusing. In a glossary of this kind too the usual as well as the special meaning of a word ought to be given, for although *llithiaw* does mean here *den Hunden das Eingeweide des erlegten Wildes vorwerfen* the editor should have given also the primary meaning *lure* or *entice* lest the student attempt to make the technical term apply in all places. With a very few such exceptions however the glossary is an accurate and carefully prepared piece of work, and it is no easy task to make a satisfactory glossary to a text that has not been normalized. The bibliography does not pretend to anything

like completeness so there is little point in calling attention to omissions from it, but it would seem as though the article by Professor W. J. Gruffydd in the *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion* for 1912-13 is at least as important as those that are included.

Although the scope of usefulness of Mr. Mühlhausen's work is not as broad as he hoped it would be it is a work that will serve as a very satisfactory introduction to the Red Book text of the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi." In view of the fact that the White Book text has recently been published by Professor Ifor Williams of the University of Wales (Mr. Mühlhausen did not know of this reprint until his own work was practically finished) the student of early Welsh can easily compare the two texts if he wishes.

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RESTORING SHAKESPEARE, A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MISREADINGS IN SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS, by Leon Kellner, New York (Knopf), 1925.

Since about 1900, a tendency has arisen to discuss and sometimes even to apply to Elizabethan documents, the palæographic method¹ that has long been used in dealing with textual problems in the *Bible* and in the Greek and Latin classics; and, as early as 1917, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson suggested that there was "still room for emendation of not a few of the doubtful passages in the printed text of Shakespeare by bringing to bear upon them, more systematically than has been done, exact and practical knowledge of the construction of English handwriting of his time."² Professor Kellner's volume, the result of many years' investigation, is a pioneer in this new and interesting field, and aims to substitute a precise and scientific method for the somewhat haphazard "commonsense"³ criticism that has previously governed editors in choosing between quarto and folio readings and in making emendations to the early printed text.

Kellner's first chapter, which is rather more popular in style than the rest of the book, reviews the well-known facts of Shakespearean textual criticism, and then proceeds, by the discussion of a series of *loci*, to demonstrate the value of the new method. The first of these examples, presumably one of the most obvious and convincing of the cases that he has found,

¹ See Kellner, pp. 6-7.

² *Shakespeare's England*, ed. Lee, Oxford, 1917, I, 299. Kellner does not refer to this passage. He seems, however, to have started his own work some years earlier. (See his *Preface*, p. vii.)

³ Kellner, p. 5.

is the passage from *A Comedy of Errors* (I, i, 159): "Hopeless and helpless doth Ægeon wend, / But to procrastinate his *lifeless* end." Kellner urges that the *lieueless* of the first folio is a misreading of *timeless*, in the common Elizabethan sense of *untimely*. He shows that *l* has been printed for *t* in several other Shakespearean passages, such as *succedaull* for the Latin *succedant* (*Henry V*, I, ii, 38); *lamely* for *tamely* (*Lear*, II, iv, 279); and *Calves* for *Cato's* (*Coriolanus*, I, iv, 57)⁴ and furthermore, he points out the close similarity of *l* and *t* (which is especially observable, one may add, when the latter is written cursorily so that the cross of the *t* is formed by the line which connects it with the preceding letter, and which consequently makes a large loop at the top: thus the letter would be written L, very similar to the common Elizabethan l L). He shows also that *m* and *u*, in spite of the former's having an extra minim, might easily confuse (for of course the angular character of Elizabethan "Gothic" script reduces loops to points as in German script). He also shows that *live* and *time* seem to have been misread in several other Shakespearean passages, and that *timeless*, in the sense of *untimely* is of common occurrence in Shakespeare, especially as applied to death—a sense in which it is obviously appropriate to the present passage. To this novel and ingenious emendation, only one possible objection presents itself: is not the text as it stands entirely satisfactory?⁵ The expression "lifeless end" for *death* is perhaps not of the happiest; but surely Shakespeare's early style is not without rhymes more forced than this; and surely the adjective "lifeless" is rhetorically explicable either as a transposed epithet, or as a sort of prolepsis, or possibly as an objective use of the adjective. Indeed, Kellner admits that "some" of his students found the passage as it stands "quite intelligible;"⁶ and many editors of the play would apparently agree with them.

In his second chapter, Kellner takes up the important and complex subject of Elizabethan handwriting. The obvious criticism, even of one whose knowledge of the subject is only elementary, is that the author has rather confused his problem. Of the Italian hand, on which modern English script is based, little need be said; for it was then hardly more than the novel affectation of the learned and the wealthy; but Elizabethan Gothic script, the usual hand of the sixteenth century, he

⁴ Kellner (p. 73 *et seq.*) cites some fourteen variations between quarto and folio that are explicable on the basis of the confusion of *l* and *t*; and he follows this with a long list of emendations by former textual critics, all to the same purport.

⁵ Kellner is evidently of the opinion that *lifeless* is itself an emendation for *lieueless*; but, as Schmidt and *N.E.D.* both attest, the spelling with a *v* (or *u*) was the regular Elizabethan form; and *lifeless* is therefore to be considered, not as an emendation, but as an orthographic modernization.

⁶ Kellner, p. 7.

passes over in less than a page. He defines it as "Secretary," whereas secretary is regularly taken (with "court" and "chancery") as one of its sub-varieties; and the illustrative plates at the end of the book seem to include letters of all sorts and types without raising any question as to whether Shakespeare or his scribe would be likely to use such calligraphic forms as Bacon's—whose hand was presumably influenced by the chancery, and from whom a number of examples are borrowed—or such forms as Burleigh's—whose hand was presumably at least somewhat under the influence of contemporary fashions at Court. Most of these examples are submitted with no reference whatever as to source; and his statement in his *Preface* seems to imply that he collected many of them in the London Record Office. Surely in such archives, one would find preserved the legal or "chancery" type of script, rather than the "secretary," which the average man was taught in school and according to which Shakespeare seems to have formed most of the letters of his signatures.⁷ Kellner might wisely have supplemented his study of Elizabethan writing by an examination of such manuals of the period as that by de Beau Chesne in which secretary Gothic is more or less distinguished from other sorts: thus he could have given preference to these forms in his illustrative plates and might have been restrained to a somewhat narrower application of the palæographic method.

If, in taking up the forms of the letters, Kellner seems somewhat too inclusive, he seems rather the opposite both here and in Chapter IV, in his discussion of the abbreviations with which manuscripts had abounded, especially since the fifteenth century. Shakespeare's well-known fondness in his signatures for abbreviation especially by the arbitrary signs of the Tironian tradition, invests such signs with a special importance in the present study. Kellner to be sure, treats briefly such obvious cases as the use of a tilda to replace a subsequent nasal; but among his omissions is to be counted so important a sign as the *per* flourish which Shakespeare seems to have used in his signature to the deposition of May 11, 1612.

The third chapter, which comprises almost half of the volume, constitutes the heart of the mystery. Here the author takes up letter by letter the mistakes in Shakespeare's text that he believes to be explicable on palæographic grounds. First, under the letter *a*, he lists the passages in which *a* has been misread for *e*, then for *i* and so forth through the alphabet. Most of these lists, he arranges in three parts, labelled respectively A, B, and C. Under A, he places examples gleaned from disagreement between the quarto and the folio texts; under B, he places such emendations of former critics as he finds support-

⁷ On Shakespeare's signatures, see S. A. Tannebaum, *St. in Ph.*, XXII, 133 *et seq.*, and 392 *et seq.*

ed by palæographic proof; and C consists of his own original emendations on the basis of the confusion of letters that he has established as possible by quotations under A and B. In discussing so large a mass of detail, which must be treated very minutely if at all, the reviewer is obliged to impose arbitrary limitations; and the present criticism of these lists will therefore largely be confined to the passages cited from *Troilus and Cressida*;⁸ for that play, without being as corrupt as *Macbeth*, contains a considerable number of interesting *loci*; and the problems of the relation of quarto and folio are amply illustrated without being complicated by the existence of more than one quarto text.⁹ Kellner's citations from this play are, to be sure, far less numerous than those from *Hamlet*, for instance, or from *Lear*; and, although he omits many difficult passages, at least some of which seem to be obviously explicable on palæographic grounds,¹⁰ yet even so he presents a very considerable body of details.

The eight variations between quarto and folio texts¹¹ that Kellner discusses in the sub-sections marked A, demand but little comment: in most of the cases the quarto is obviously wrong and the folio right; and Kellner's contribution consists merely in pointing out that the misprint seems traceable to the original misreading of a manuscript. The quarto, for example, gives "Araithne" for the "Ariachne" (Arachne) of the folio (V, ii, 152) and "stichied Mars" for the folio's "stithied Mars" (IV, v, 255). These collections under A are, however, very important in establishing the reader's acceptance of the general method and in proving the particular confusions of letters that

⁸ The limiting of this discussion to any single play is difficult because of the inadequate indexing of the volume. The only material indexed is that listed under C; and even this index contains mistakes such as the reference to *Hamlet*, I, v, 3, where I, v, 30, is obviously intended, and the misstatement that *Othello* I, ii, 58, is discussed in section 188. Cf. the reference to *Troilus*, I, ii, 313 when I, ii, 279 is apparently meant.

⁹ Of course the two quartos of 1609 differ only in the prefatory matter, and so are textually to be counted as one.

¹⁰ From Act I alone, Kellner omits such *loci desperati* as "of grace exact" (I, iii, 180) and "spirit of sense" (I, i, 57); he omits "So traitor then she comes when she is thence" (I, i, 31), which is perhaps to be explained palæographically; he omits "Hector shall not have his will this year" (I, ii, 82), in which Rowe's generally accepted emendation of *will* for *will* is easily explicable by the calligraphic confusion, already discussed, of *t* and *l*. The reviewer notes also the following variations, omitted by Kellner, between the quarto and folio texts of the first act—all of which seem to him at least possibly explicable on palæographic grounds: *broad* and *loud* (I, iii, 27); *primogenitie* and *primogenitive* (I, iii, 106); *eyes* and *ears* (I, iii, 219); *restie* and *rustie* (I, iii, 263); *proue* and *paune* (I, iii, 301); *for-fend* and *forbid* (I, iii, 302); *arre* and *tarre* (I, iii, 392). In Act II, Kellner cites four cases of confusion between quarto and folio, to which the present reviewer can add some fifteen others, all at least fairly probable. One wonders how far a more complete treatment of the material would have modified Kellner's results.

¹¹ See Kellner, pages 47, 60, 69, 74, 108, 111, 118.

are used in the various sub-sections marked B and C. At times one wishes that Kellner had increased the number of examples in the A groups; for, indeed, in a few cases, he gives no quarto-folio examples at all to support his subsequent contentions.¹³ In one of the cases that he does cite, moreover, he credits the quarto with the spelling *vild*,¹³ which, he maintains, is confused with the *wild* of the folio; whereas both the Cambridge edition, to which he himself again and again refers,¹⁴ and the copy of the quarto in the Huntington Library, give *vilde*, a spelling that makes the confusion that he is attempting to prove at least somewhat less probable. Such slips, although minute, do not increase one's confidence in the work; for in palæographic comparisons, every letter is of utmost importance.

The extensive collections of data in the B sub-sections serve a double purpose: they adduce the testimony of commentators to substantiate the findings already listed under A; and, at the same time, they should prove invaluable to the future editor in selecting from among the emendations of his predecessors the one that is palæographically most convincing. The fifteen cases that Kellner cites, although far from exhausting the possibilities, form too bulky a *corpus* for detailed discussion in a review. One example must serve. The quarto prints the climax of Nestor's address to Agamemnon (I, iii, 53-54) as follows: "And in an accent tuned in selfsame key *Retires* to chiding fortune." The folio gives *Retyres*. In spite of the substantial agreement of the two early texts, the passage seems certainly to be corrupt, a fact that critics have recognized by numerous attempts at emendation:¹⁵ *Returns* (Pope), *Replies* (Hanmer), *Re-chides* (Staunton), *Retorts* (Dyce), and two anonymous conjectures, *Recries* and *Reviēs*. To submit to the reader each of these emendations written with all the multiform possibilities of Elizabethan script is impracticable in the present space. Suffice it to say that palæographic tests make highly improbable the suggestion of Hanmer, which requires the misreading of *t* for *p*, *l* for *i* or *y*, and *r* for *i*: *p* and *t* do not look alike in secretary script, and Kellner does not find a single case of their confusion; *l* and *y* could never be confused, and *l* and *i* rarely; and, most important of all—a matter that Kellner does not seem to take into consideration—when one writes the two words in the various forms of secretary, it is hard to see any *prima facie* resemblance. These considerations, together with the fact that *Replies* makes neither better sense nor better poetry than several of the other proposals, impel the present writer to view it as a very doubtful emendation. Kellner, who usually records only results and so leaves the reader to infer the details of his

¹³ E.g., sections 56, 90 and 101.

¹⁴ Kellner, p. 118 (See *T. and C.*, I, iii, 341).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 74, 83, 108, etc.

method, favors *Retorts*, the suggestion of Dyce,¹⁶ an opinion with which the present reviewer, after a comparison with the other possibilities, is inclined to agree. By such reasoning, based on a knowledge of contemporary script and on the data that Kellner has collected, future editors of Shakespeare can avail themselves of a new method, more objective than mere personal taste, for testing proposed emendations. Surely the development of so valuable a criterion is ample justification of Kellner's labors, even if one must at the same time admit that in numerous details his work is incomplete and untrustworthy.

In the last group of sub-sections, those labelled C, the author is most daring, and consequently most liable to provoke question. The eight¹⁷ original emendations that he proposes to the text are not, on the whole, convincing. In several cases, he emends passages that most critics agree make entirely satisfactory sense as they stand¹⁸: his substitution of *sigh* for *fight* (III, ii, 54) is particularly unfortunate as obviously inappropriate to the obscene meaning of Pandarus; and elsewhere, in substituting *we* for *be* (I, iii, 70), Kellner says that "all critics seem to agree" in this change, a statement that is certainly not borne out by the facts.¹⁹ At the very outset of his first chapter, Kellner announces quite unmistakably his criterion in judging the need for emendation: "A metaphor not perfectly visualized might pass for sense in Marlowe or Massinger, but may safely be rejected as bad sense in Shakespeare; an inappropriate adjective has no *raison d'être* in Shakespeare, considering his careful choice of words; a flat sentence is an abomination which we refuse to accept as Shakespeare's Lucidity, even transparency is a chief characteristic of Shakespeare's diction." Even if one accepts this description as applicable to those passages that are charged with word-play or with Euphuistic felicities, most will hardly accept his application of this principle, and admit that "disasters in the sun" and "the law of writ and the liberty" are "absurdities" that could have been written only by a "drivelling idiot," and that "exufficate" (*Othello*, III, iii, 182) and "implorators" (*Hamlet*, I, iii, 129) "convey no meaning whatever."²⁰ This radicalism of attitude is doubtless traceable in part to the author's very natural enthusiasm for his new

¹⁶ Tatlock follows this reading in the Tudor edition. Rolfe has *Rechieds*, a very desirable reading on purely literary grounds, but difficult to explain palaeographically.

¹⁷ Two of these can be dismissed at once as unoriginal: the emendation of *dies* for *lies* (I, ii, 279) appears in Singer's second edition; and Steevens suggested *Love's* for *Jove's* (I, iii, 239).

¹⁸ Kellner, pp. 32-33, 43, 61, and 115.

¹⁹ The Cambridge editors list only four critics that have so emended the passage; and certainly neither Rolfe nor Tatlock so emends it.

²⁰ These quotations are to be found at the beginning of Chapter I.

method, and in part to his being a foreigner;²¹ but, at least in places, he has unfortunately not even consulted such obvious reference works as the *New English Dictionary* to verify the alleged meaninglessness of a passage.²² Thus he makes many changes that are both novel and ingenious, but unfortunately quite uncalled-for.²³

Of Kellner's original emendations to the *Troilus* the present reviewer can accept only one; but that one seems so obviously happy as to demand inclusion in all future editions of the play. Thersites (V, vii, 11), watching the combat between Paris and Menelaus, comments upon it, and calls out as he would at a bull-baiting:

The cuckold and the cuckold-maker are at it. Now, bull! now, dog! Loo, Paris,' loo! now my *double-henned sparrow!* loo, Paris,' loo! The bull has the game; ware horns, ho!

Thus read the folio and most modern texts; the quarto reads *spartan* for the second to the words that I have italicized. The folio version makes rather poor sense, a fact that some editors admit,²⁴ and the quarto text makes no sense at all. Kellner's volume gives ample proof of the common confusion between *e* and *o* and between *n* and *r*; and his suggestion, *double-horned Spartan*, based on the quarto, at once appeals to the reader as perfectly fitting not only the character of Thersites but also the sense, both figurative and literal, of the context. In spite of all the short-comings that may be urged against the palæographic method and against *Restoring Shakespeare* as a piece of scientific scholarship, even a handful of such emendations is surely an adequate justification.

²¹ On the other hand, Kellner, in his *Preface* points out certain compensating advantages from this fact.

²² E.g., page 43, where he emends *curb* (*Hamlet*, III, iv, 155) to *carve*, and asserts that "It is only in this passage that *curb* means *bow*." Under both *curb* and *curbed*, *N.E.D.* gives ample quotation in this sense from writers both of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance. Such a slip is unaccountable in view of Kellner's statement in his *Preface* that he has "exhausted all the resources of English lexicography before taking to conjectural criticism," and that he had *N.E.D.* "constantly at his elbow."

²³ Sometimes, even palæographically, his emendation is very doubtful. His reading of *love's* for *joys* (*T. and C.*, I, ii, 279), of which he seems quite convinced, is certainly weakly supported. He takes up only the initial letters of the two words, and there makes only a dubious case, for apparently he can point to no confusion of *l* and *j* in the quartos and the folio. As far as the rest of the word is concerned, Kellner cites no cases to show that *y* was ever confused with *v* or with *e*; and certainly the long tail of the *y* in Elizabethan script would make such a confusion highly improbable. In short, one must reconstruct *love's* into *loues* and *joys* into *joies*—both of course quite possible spellings—before the palæographic generalizations that Kellner himself has adduced, will warrant one in allowing the emendation of which he is assured. This unavoidable series of assumptions certainly renders his suggestion distinctly less probable.

²⁴ Schmidt thinks that he has "perhaps" an explanation. Rolfe quotes Schmidt. Tatlock finds that the passage is "in the obvious sense, of course, inapplicable," and tries to make it point to Helen.

Professor Kellner's volume is one that future editors of Shakespeare can afford neither to overlook nor to accept without verifying every detail. It is valuable for pointing out to textual critics the importance of checking old emendations of the basis of palæographic probability; it is valuable for making a scientific criterion²⁵ for explaining errors in Shakespeare's text; it is valuable as pointing out a means for the discovery of new emendations; and, in the opinion of the reviewer, it has triumphantly produced at least one such correction of the text. To such a work, in spite of its multitude of detailed inaccuracies, scholarship must give serious consideration.

JOHN W. DRAPER

DER RENAISSANCESTIL DES THEATERS, ein prinzipieller Versuch. Von Hans Heinrich Borchardt. Halle, 1926. 44 pp., 10 plates.

In an introductory chapter Professor Borchardt discusses briefly the relations of the history of the theater to other related subjects such as history and 'Kulturgeschichte,' the history of the drama and the history of art, and concludes that the history of the theater requires its own methodology and has a claim to independent treatment: "Als eigener Zweig der Kunstwissenschaften reiht sich die Theatergeschichte in den Komplex der Geisteswissenschaften ein." The three following chapters are devoted to the three chief problems of the history of the theater, the stage from the point of view of size and shape, stage decoration and stage presentation. Then come a very brief concluding chapter and a number of illustrative plates.

Throughout the study the parallelism is pointed out between the stylistic phenomena of art and of the theater and it is this which gives a unity to the investigation. The Renaissance stage of the sixteenth century is found to be of distinctly greater breadth than depth, that is, a narrow rectangle with its broad side towards the audience. The author repeatedly speaks of this as being the result of a new 'Raumempfinden,' as being thus of aesthetic or artistic origin, and contrasts it with the earlier market-place stage and with the later deep stage of the baroque period. This shallow stage, of limited dimensions and closed in the rear, fits in with that calm picture-quality which the author finds characteristic of the stage decoration of the Renaissance, "Für die Renaissance ist das Bühnenbild etwas Ruhendes, 'Bild'-haftes." And the stage presentation is in keeping with the stage decoration "Wie das Dekorationsprinzip nach bildhafter Wirkung sucht, so strebt auch der Darstellungstil der Renaissance nach plastischem Ausdruck und statuarischer Ruhe."

²⁵ Of course not all these errors are palæographic: printers' errors resulting from a "foul case" (Kellner, p. 16) must also enter in.

In the more detailed presentation and exemplification of these principles Professor Borcherdt gives an admirable survey of the Renaissance theaters of the sixteenth century, especially in Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, with many an illuminating remark about the Mastersinger stage, the School Drama, the Elizabethan stage, as well as the seventeenth century baroque stage.

I cannot escape a suspicion that the author in developing the parallelism between theater and art has at times generalized rather too freely and perhaps strained a point. For example, although the deep baroque stage doubtless stands in relation to baroque art, it does not seem to me at all certain that the shallow Renaissance stage stands in a like relation to Renaissance art, that is, I am not convinced that it owes its size and shape to a new 'Raumempfinden' of the Renaissance. Should the approach not be through the drama? Under the influence of humanism and Renaissance the long diffuse medieval passion play gave way to the shorter and more closely knit play, and for this type of play the practical advantages of a stage of limited dimensions and without much depth are too obvious to need any assumption of a 'Raumempfinden' peculiar to that period.

In general the study is an excellent one and a piece of pioneer work, for little has been done in tracing the history of the theater upon such a broad basis. The author states that his work is "ein prinzipieller Versuch" and admits that it cannot be a final presentation.

NEIL C. BROOKS

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LAUTDUBLETEN IM ALTENGLISCHEN, von Bruno Borowski. Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig, Forschungsinstitut für neuere Philologie, III. Anglistische Abteilung, Heft III. Max Niemeyer, Halle (Saale), 1924.)

DIE BEDEUTUNGSGLEICHHEIT DER ALTENGLISCHEN ADJECTIVA UND ADVERBIA MIT UND OHNE -lic (-lice), von Dr. Karl Uhler. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 62. Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1926. 4 Mk.

OHNE -lic (-lice), von Dr. Karl Uhler. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 62. Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1926. 4 Mk.

Mr. Borowski's interesting *habilitationsschrift* is made up of three studies, united under the rubric *lautdubletten* but not really connected with one another in any vital fashion. To the first study the author gives the formidable title, *Anlautsgestaltung des zweiten Kompositionsteils und Auslaut des Anfangsgliedes*. Under this head he takes up two alternations: *-red, -erd*

and *-wulf, -ulf*. He is concerned to show that each of these second elements begins with a vowel if the first element to which it is added ends in a consonant combination: thus, *Uhterd* for an older *Uhtred*, *Berhtulf* for an older *Berhtwulf*. On the other hand, if the first element ends in a vowel, or in a single consonant, the second element tends to retain its original form. In the case of *-wulf, -ulf* the author has proved his point, I think, though his contention holds only for late OE and he establishes the existence of a tendency only, not a phonetic "law." In the case of *-red, -erd* however the evidence does not fit the thesis, as the author admits, and in order to explain away the contradictions one must resort to contamination, analogy and other psychological (rather than phonetic) processes. Moreover, the alternation *-red, -erd* offers other difficulties. The vowel was originally long, and Mr. Borowski has to show that it became shortened before he can be permitted to derive *-erd* (by metathesis) from *-red* at all. His first argument for the shortening may be put thus: names in *-red* often with the spelling *-ryd*, and this spelling reflects the well-known late OE sound-change *e*+consonant to *y*+consonant (in unstressed syllables). But long as well as short *e* appears as *y* often enough to make the author's argument doubtful. A familiar example is the *Frysan* of *Beowulf* (1104, 1207, 2912) and *Widsith* (68) for the phonetically correct *Fresan*. Another *Beowulfian* example is probably the *hyde* of v. 2766 (see Kock, *Anglia* XLIV 182). Still another case, I think, is the *Hliþe*=*Hlyþe* of *Widsith* 116 (see *PMLA* XL 801 for a somewhat different explanation). Nevertheless, the author, by other arguments, has made it probable that the second element *-red* eventually came to have a short vowel. Mr. Borowski's second study he calls *Doppelheiten in der Stammbildung im Ae.* Here he deals with analogy rather than with phonetics, and the rubric *Lautdubletten* is not altogether satisfactory. We return to phonetic phenomena in the third study, entitled *Zur Ferndissimilation*. This study takes up the bulk of the *schrift*, and deservedly so, since it is a contribution of no little significance. The author makes out a good case for dissimilation as the explanation for such alternations as *-ward, -ward* in compounds, and thus gives us order where formerly chaos reigned.

Mr. Uhler's dissertation maintains the high standards which Professor Hoops of Heidelberg for so many years has set. The author has chosen a particularly neat problem, and has worked it out to a neat, clean-cut conclusion. He has investigated the OE doublets of the type *deop, deoplic* and has demonstrated that they do not differ in meaning. He further shows that already in OE times the tendency to use the simple form for the adjective, the composita for the adverb, had set in. And he concludes, with justice: *Hierin haben wir die ersten Anfänge der*

heutigen englischen Adverbbildung auf -ly zu erblicken. Once more we learn that a characteristic of our speech commonly associated with Middle and Modern English actually goes back to Old English, and the historical continuity of our language gains still another significant illustration.

KEMP MALONE

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FALSTAFF AND OTHER SHAKESPEAREAN TOPICS.

By Albert H. Tolman, Ph. D. Macmillan, New York, 1925
270 pp.

This volume contains seventeen occasional essays, thoughts, and groups of notes connected with Shakspeare, nine of which the author has previously published as separate items, two in *Modern Language Publications*, one in *Modern Philology*, and six in *Modern Language Notes*. Two others are labeled: "a radio talk from Mitchell Tower," "Inaugural address as President of the Chicago Literary Club."

Professor Tolman concerns himself with: (1) the text, (2) literary, and (3) character interpretation, his chief interest lying in the interpretation of character, whether that of the *dramatis personae*, or that of Shakspeare himself. There are three items on the text. First, there are a few suggestions on the text of *Julius Caesar*, their general purport being that the First Folio version is almost completely correct. Second, there is a characterization, chiefly an abbreviation from Lounsbury's *Text of Shakspeare*, of the early editions of Shakspeare from Rowe through Warburton, 1709-1747. Third, there is an expansion of Dr. C. M. Ingleby's three canons of criticism for the Shakspeare editor into nine. These canons are sound, but perhaps not always aptly illustrated. For instance, the fifth canon, which states that "the most satisfactory correction is that which involves the smallest and most easily explicable misprint," takes as a type the confusion in Elizabethan printing between the long *s* and *f*, and illustrates with Theobald's emendation of *unroo'st* to *unrooft*, and Rowe's *guest* to *guift*. In Theobald's emendation, the printer has inadvertently substituted one letter for a closely similar one. In Rowe's, he has misread one word for another, so that the illustration would seem more properly to belong under canon VI: "A suggested emendation becomes more plausible if it proposes a word or phrase which, when written in the Elizabethan handwriting . . . might easily be mistaken for what appears in the printed text."

The remainder of the book is concerned with thoughts upon literary and character interpretation, the literary interpretation

itself usually having its basis in some question of character. Thus Professor Tolman uses a recently discovered allusion to claim that Shakspeare's audience considered Malvolio a Puritan, and to indicate the effect of that conception on the play. Had this method of approach been regularly followed, the leading essay of the book, that on Falstaff, would have been considerably different. With the fundamental contention that Falstaff is a structural necessity in *I Henry IV* there can hardly be disagreement. But it does not follow that the particular interpretation and explanation of Falstaff advocated here is necessary for enjoyment and appreciation of the character. People enjoyed Falstaff in the seventeenth century so hugely that the editor of the *Shakspeare Allusion Book* was forced to treat him as a separate work. But what the seventeenth century records as having seen in him was "a boon Companion, a jovial Royster, and yet a Coward to boot," "Old, Fat, Merry, Cowardly, Drunken, Amorous, Vain, and Lying," "a lyar, and a coward, a Glutton, and a Buffon, because all these qualities may agree in the same man." It was not till Morgann approached the character in 1777, with eighteenth century ideas of poetic justice behind him, and the newer psychology with its everlasting "why," in front of him that Falstaff, along with Hamlet and others, began to need explanation. Professor Tolman is entitled to his own explanation of Falstaff, and what his particular conception may be made to mean in interpreting the play; but if Shakspeare's contemporaries needed any supplementary explanation, they seemingly failed to record the need. Perhaps then we might even be permitted to believe that Shakspeare himself accepted the recorded facts about Prince Hal, which made Falstaff structurally necessary, in much the same way that his contemporaries in turn accepted his facts concerning Falstaff, "because all these qualities [*did*] agree in the same man."

In several instances, certain phases of Shakspeare's age seem to have eluded Professor Tolman. He considers the concluding section of the patent of 1603 a "remarkable expression of the sovereign's personal favor" to the Shakspearean company. But the first surviving patent, that of 1574, had concluded with almost exactly the same remarkable expression of Queen Elizabeth's favor to Leicester's men, while succeeding patents regularly have a corresponding section. A knowledge of the patent machinery might also cast doubt on the amount of the sovereign's personal touch likely to be found in its product. Or again, we are given Miss Charlotte Porter's suggestion that the dramatic cannon of *Henry V* was a "new device of the new Globe Theatre." But some company, presumably the Shakspearean, had utilized at least the practical effect of a cannon so early as *I Henry VI*, though the Globe cannon may have had

improved dramatic action, seeing that it or a companion set the house afire in 1613.

T. W. BALDWIN

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GEIST UND KULTUR IN DER SPRACHE, von Karl Vossler. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925. VII+268 pp.

This book contains a series of lectures on the philosophy of language delivered at the University of Munich. Several of the chapters had appeared previously in various periodicals, but they have since been worked over, expanded, and brought to systematic unity. The author informs us in his preface that they represent seven years of work, and that he publishes them as a completed work because they now seem to him to a certain extent matured.

The preface, in the form of a letter to Mr. J. E. Spingarn, states the general theme of the book: "Bei meinen früheren sprachphilosophischen Bemühungen war mir vorzüglich um die Methoden der Forschung zu tun. Hier nun geht es um die Verflechtungen der Sprache mit den übrigen Tätigkeiten des Geistes."

In endeavoring to define spiritual and cultural elements in language the author clashes with some of the most famous students of linguistics of recent years and of the present day. He recognizes this clash several times in the course of his discussions, and defends his pursuit of inner values as more truly important than externals. "Die Sprache," he says (p. 208) "ist keine Wurzel und kein Stamm, sondern eine Blüte und Frucht des sozialen Lebens. Sie hat daher etwas Übersoziales an sich, das von denjenigen übersehen wird, die ihr lediglich eine praktische und empirische Wirklichkeit innerhalb der Gesellschaft zuerkennen." Thereafter he mentions specifically the modern French philologists and the followers of the Leipzig school of Wundt and Brugmann as representatives of more rigid and narrow views of linguistic research. He sums up what he considers the defect in their method as follows: "Tatsächlich sehen sie damit von der zentralen Idee der Sprache ab, verbannen sich aus der geistigen Urheimat ihres Gegenstandes und besiedeln mit entsagungsvoller, schattenhafter Wissenschaftlichkeit die Peripherie."

The author first discusses old theories of language as either having power in itself (the *Magier* conception) or as being merely an outward show or a hindrance to the truth (the conception of the mystic). He opposes the division between the philosopher with his shadowy concepts and the experimenter

with his dry facts; he would combine the two. He discusses language (*die Sprache*) as something more abstract, and more dignified than mere talking (*Sprechen*) or conversation (*Gespräch*). Language implies a personality. It is unthinkable without a community of persons. The guardian of language is not natural law, nor the teacher, nor the public, nor ridicule, nor *pietas*, but it is human habit (*Gepflogenheit*), which contains the ideas both of *solere* and *curare*.

The relation of language to religion, nature, and life is discussed in Chapters III, V & VI, somewhat as follows: Language is only a secondary medium of religion; the specific medium of religion is thinking (*Meinen*). Speech can merely express the *Meinung*. Yet religion has influenced language greatly in the way of church languages, text criticism, religious style, etc. In each language there is a characteristic aspiration essentially religious. Nature also has a part in language. Thought form and sound form go together. Language is a blend of the natural and the customary, and any history of language that treats only usages and conventions is a chronicle of words without true sense. In connection with life it is the task of the historian of language to recognize the whole spiritual life of mankind in his speech habits.

Chapter IV is a species of interlude on Vulgar Latin, summed up in this sentence: "Die lateinische Volkssprache gleitet und treibt aus den anthropomorphen, deterministischen, intellektualistischen Denkformen in die dualistischen, sachlichen, praktischen, voluntaristischen hinüber." Out of mythology it passes into a more symbolistic and spiritual attitude.

The seventh and longest chapter deals with language communalities (*die sprachlichen Gemeinschaften*). The author insists again on the need of seeking the inner meaning of language with the help of detail brought to light by comparers of languages. He discusses the qualities of the national soul revealed in French and German, the glittering formalism of the former and the activity, thought, and feeling of the latter. He contrasts the living, growing character of a natural language with the circumscribed clearness of the technical language of trade or diplomacy and with the rigidity of an artificial language. He insists that language wavers hither and thither between inner, metaphysical, untranslatable forms and outer, metaphorical, translatable forms, and that the outer forms and the grammatical categories are supports and bridges to the inner spirit of language which is identified with thought.

The last two chapters deal with the relations between language and science (*Wissenschaft*) and language and poetry. Language without a background of scientific thought is regarded as a *patois* or dialect. Philosophical, historical, and scientific prose set free the spirit. But it is in poetry that the

author finds the clearest relation between inner and outer speech form.

The present reviewer does not consider himself competent to dissect thoroughly the speculations of Professor Vossler. It does seem to him, however, that no definite or outstanding results have been reached. The value of the book lies in the brilliant characterizations that appear frequently through the argument, such as the description of the spiritual characteristics of vulgar Latin (Chapter IV), the declaration that Italian first demonstrated modern national feeling (p. 138), the contrast between French and German character as expressed in language (p. 142), the debt of modern science to the modern languages rather than to Latin (p. 181), the relation of the inner and outer forms of language and their susceptibility of translation (p. 221), the dialect nature of mediaeval languages (p. 239), and so on. These and other characterizations tend to carry the reader away with their force and sweep. At first thought they seem intuitive, but one soon observes that the author has at his command a store of references gathered from the artistic, critical, and learned literature of the world, as well as from direct observation of man's actions and from meditation upon them.

In conclusion, Professor Vossler's book impresses the present reviewer as a striking series of characterizations, partly speculative and partly documented, rather than the presentation of some indisputable relations.

It remains to be seen whether such speculations can ever be welded into unified generalizations. Meanwhile they are at least profound and inspiring, and written from the heart.

This criticism has been virtually anticipated by the author in his final paragraph: "Nachdem unser Sprachbegriff nunmehr unwandelt und von vielerlei Stellungen und Gebieten her betrachtet worden, meinen wir nicht, den Gegenstand erschöpft und das Wesen der Sprache eingefangen oder umzäunt zu haben. Vielleicht werden manche Leser, die an ein schulmässiges Philosophieren gewöhnt sind, gerade die endgültige Schärfe der Definition vermissen und finden, dass wir unseren Sprachbegriff in einer Abfolge von mehr oder weniger logischen oder spekulativen Visionen eher zur Schau gestellt als zergliedert haben. Mag sein, dass von dem intuitiven Wesen dessen, was wir für Sprache halten, mehr, als für eine wissenschaftliche Abhandlung gut tut, in unser Denken einging. Wir bitten, dieses sprachliche Zuviel, das leider ein logisches Zuwenig bedeutet, nachsichtig hinzunehmen und mit der Erwägung zu entschuldigen, dass der Mund hier von nichts anderem überläuft, als wess das Herz voll ist."

JOHN VAN HORNE

SHERIDAN TO ROBERTSON: A STUDY OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY STAGE. By Ernest Bradlee Watson. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, 1926.

Professor Watson's book is a companion to Professor Alwin Thaler's *Shakespeare to Sheridan*, which the Harvard Press issued a year or two ago. The two of them offer a valuable and pretty comprehensive survey of the state of the theatre from 1600 to 1865, a survey which will presumably, in good time, be carried on through the important 90's. All students who agree with Professor Watson that "no study of the acted drama can be either accurate or complete which does not take into account 'the stream of life on the stage'" will be grateful for these two painstaking and well documented studies.

In the division of the field it seems to me that Professor Watson has rather the advantage. As I suggested in a review of *Shakespeare to Sheridan*, the period covered by that work is really too large and diverse to be handled with entire success in a single volume. But Professor Watson, dealing with a shorter and more homogeneous development, is able to treat it with admirable thoroughness. And he has a fascinating story to tell, from the heroic days of Kemble and Siddons through the Keans, Macready, Phelps, Vestris and Mathews to Boucicault and Robertson. In respect to theatre management and repertory he centers his story on the fight for freedom from monopoly, of which his account is excellent. In respect to acting and stage management he centers it on the fluctuations between traditionalism and the growing spirit of realism, or, as he puts it, the problem is "to watch the progress of realism from the production of *John Bull* to that of *Caste*." And along with these relatively simple problems he is continually occupied with the far more difficult problem of explaining the dearth of good drama in a period when the theatre was so much alive.

"If there was an absence of a vital literary drama, there was an equally vigorous and unmistakable presence of a dramatic vitality in every other branch of stagecraft." One may dissent a little from this dictum, which expresses Professor Watson's leading principle, on the grounds that a vital theatre should not offer so consistently depressing a spectacle of financial loss. So far as the two great "patent" houses, Covent Garden and Drury Lane, were concerned, their vitality consisted in a desperate fight to keep alive, and with the exception of a few outstanding successes chiefly at the hands of comedians, the same was largely true of the "illegitimate" houses. But certainly in the matter of personalities Professor Watson is amply right. The stage was evidently not dull which saw the pompous scholarship of Kemble, the charlatan antics suffused with genius of Elliston, the brilliance of Vestris, the rich humors of

Liston, Buckstone, and the elder Mathews, and the romanticism of Fechter. Nor does Professor Watson allow it for a moment to appear dull, for he treats his collection of vivid personages with communicable enthusiasm.

His purpose being to show the unbroken development of all the arts of the stage, he rightly minimizes the novelty of the Bancroft management of the Prince of Wales's Theatre. Instead of being pioneers in stage realism, the Bancrofts were only carrying out with a wise determination tendencies which had been exhibited before them by Vestris and Mathews, Fechter, Sothorn, and Charles Kean. Their influence was great, of course, but they should be thought of as riding on the crest of a movement, rather than giving it an initial impulse.

In the case of only one of the major questions raised in his book does it seem to me that Professor Watson fails to give a satisfying answer, and that is the vexing one of why there was no great drama in this period. No doubt the considerations adduced in regard to monopoly, audiences, public taste, managerial tactics, all had something to do with it, but still the problem remains unsolved. Other times and countries have had good drama in spite of governmental restrictions and managerial venality. It is very unlikely that any geniuses were suffocated by Elliston or Buckstone. Dramatic health or sickness probably rests more on a state of mind than on the practical conditions of the theatre, and is therefore the more difficult to diagnose. Professor Watson has done as much toward such a diagnosis he could from the data he was considering.

HAROLD N. HILLEBRAND

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STUDIES IN GERMAN LITERATURE in Honor of Alexander Rudolph Hohlfeld by his Students and Colleagues.

Presented on his Sixtieth Birthday, Dec. 29, 1925. [University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 22]. Madison, 1925. 268 pp. \$2.

What could mean more to Professor Hohlfeld than to have part of the recognition for his faithful labors come in this form? And after the half-score of lean years it means much to all friends of German studies in our land to see in print such a sizable new volume with a full dozen of excellent articles by scholars now or formerly connected with the German department of a single American university.

A preface tells something of Professor Hohlfeld's career (outsiders will wish the account had been longer) since he began his activities at the University of Wisconsin in the first academic year of the new century. The success of his efforts as chief of the German department through a quarter of a century

have left no doubt that here was the right man in the right place. The editors of the volume, Professors Bruns, Morgan, and Roedder, speak for others in acknowledging gratefully his services, and they present as a tribute of esteem and "as a little harvest of the seeds he has sown and the fields he has tilled" the following articles.

"Rhythmus und Persönlichkeit in Goethe's *Faust*," a 33-page investigation by E. Prokosch. The author states frankly his aim to treat the subject in a more or less traditional fashion rather than with the method of a Sievers. To limit his field and to avoid overlapping with the work of others he confines himself chiefly to the discussion of rhythm for the characterization of Faust and Mephisto in both parts.

Three other articles deal also with Goethe. Professor Feise's study "Zum Problem von Goethes *Clavigo*," which grew out of an investigation on "Werther als nervöser Charakter," treats Goethe's relation to his sister, Cornelia, as it is reflected in *Clavigo*; and shows how the division of interest between this theme and that of Beaumarchais' *Mémoire* was responsible for the lack of unity in the drama.—Professor B. Q. Morgan reviews the "Three Translations of Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*" by Tucker, Swanwick, and Dowden, characterizing each and comparing and criticising several passages. Of these three successful versions Mrs. Dowden's is the best. For the closing scene of Act I Professor Morgan adds "in lieu of criticism" his own artistic rendering of these twenty-three lines. His attempt to "achieve a fuller faithfulness to the form, thought and diction of the original" is eminently successful. In A. W. Aron's "Anatole France and Goethe" we find "all the tangible expressions of Anatole France's interest in Goethe" from 1868 to 1922, arranged chronologically and accompanied by carefully worked out comments.

E. C. Roedder in "Blätter aus meiner Schillermappe"¹¹ deals with three of the titles of plays which Schiller at various times had considered as possible dramatic material. As the source of *Die Begebenheit zu Famagusta* the author regards the second volume of Abbé de Vertot's *Historie des Chevaliers Hospitaliers, etc.* (Paris, 1772), pp. 297-299. Eleven pages are devoted to the discussion of *Das Ereignis zu Verona* and *Die Braut in Trauer*. Then Professor Roedder disposes, once for all, of the idea prevailing here and there, that Maria Stuart was prepared for death from the time of her interview with Elizabeth in Act III.

One article is on a phase of Middle High German literature: "Die Frauen in der Mittelhochdeutschen Spielmannsdichtung", by G. F. Lussky. It is based on *König Rother*, *Crescentia* from the *Kaiserchronik*, and *Athis and Prophlias*.

The next earliest period represented is the seventeenth century in Professor M. Blakemore Evans's "The Attitude of Andreas Gryphius toward the Supernatural." After discussing mainly four tragedies representing the traditional Renaissance attitude toward premonitions, prophetic dreams, and ghosts: *Leo Armenius*, *Catharina von Georgien*, *Carolus Stuardus*, and *Papinianus*, Professor Evans reaches the conclusion that Gryphius's "own attitude was one of mild scepticism"—the poet Gryphius followed traditional literary form, but as a man he looked forward and away from the fanaticism of the preceding century.

Professor Lawrence M. Price treats "Richardson in the Moral Weeklies of Germany," presenting excerpts from a large number of *Wochenschriften* which he examined in Nuremberg, Frankfort, Leipsic, Strassburg, Vienna, etc. These show Richardson's decline in favor with these journals in the thirty years before 1776.

Two of the articles are devoted to Heinrich von Kleist. John C. Blankenagel gives a very clear survey of this author's "Pursuit of Happiness," from his earliest words in the *Stamm-bucheintrag* of 1792 to his end, based chiefly on the definite material of the letters. —Friedrich Bruns, who has looked well and wisely into Freud, studies "Die Motive aus dem Unbewussten bei Heinrich von Kleist" in *Der zerbrochene Krug*, *Kälhchen von Heilbronn*, and *Prinz von Homburg*, bringing out in the thirty pages a great deal which the student of that author would easily overlook.

G. C. Cast, taking religion as "man's sense or consciousness of his relation toward the Infinite, the All," treats "The Religious views of Gerhart Hauptmann as Reflected in his Works." The religion of Hauptmann's writings is one of the heart, of social justice, light, joy and fulness of life.

"Tolstoi und Kröger: eine Darstellung ihrer literarischen Beziehungen," by Charles M. Purin, shows similarities in style and substance, in psychological elements ("Einkehr und Umkehr" in Tolstoi's *Master and Man* and in a half dozen of Kroeger's stories), and includes a brief discussion of views of the two writers on literary art, and of the attitude of German critics toward the great Russian. Accompanying the study is a convenient list of Tolstoi's many works in their first German translations.

Though not every article in the *Festgabe* may be of equal merit, the aim and the achieved standard are high. It is a worthy tribute to a fine scholar and teacher and a credit to the university which produced and published it.

CHARLES A. WILLIAMS

University of Illinois

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